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CALENDARS.

Instructions to Editors.

The Master of the Rolls desires to call the attention of the Editors of Calendars to the following considerations, with a view to secure uniformity of plan in the important works on which they are engaged :—

He is anxious to extend, as far as is consistent with proper economy and despatch, the utility of the Calendars of State Papers now publishing under his control : 1st. As the most efficient means of making the national archives accessible to all who are interested in historical inquiries ; 2nd. As the best justification of the liberality and munificence of the Government in throwing open these papers to the public, and providing proper catalogues of their contents at the national expense.

The greater number of the readers who will consult and value these works can have little or no opportunity of visiting the Public Record Office, in which these papers are deposited. The means for consulting the originals must necessarily be limited when readers live at a distance from the metropolis ; still more if they are residents of Scotland, Ireland, distant colonies, or foreign states. Even when such an opportunity does exist, the difficulty of mastering the original hands in which these papers are written will deter many readers from consulting them. Above all, their great variety and number must present formidable obstacles to literary inquirers, however able, sanguine, and energetic, when the information contained in them is not made accessible by satisfactory Calendars.

The Master of the Rolls considers that, without superseding the necessity of consulting the originals, every Editor ought to frame his Calendar in such a manner that it shall present, in as condensed a form as possible, a correct index of the contents of the papers described in it. He considers that the entries should be so minute as to enable the reader to discover not only the general contents of the originals, but also what *they do not* contain. If the information be not sufficiently precise, if facts and names be omitted or concealed under a vague and general description, the reader will be often misled, he will assume that where the abstracts are silent as to information to be found in the documents, such information does not exist ; or he will have to examine every original in detail, and thus one great purpose will have been lost for which these Calendars have been compiled.

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1st. All formal and official documents, such as letters of credence, warrants, grants, and the like, should be described as briefly as possible.

2nd. Letters and documents referring to one subject only should be catalogued as briefly as is consistent with correctness. But when they contain miscellaneous news, such a description should be given as will enable a reader to form an adequate notion of the variety of their contents.

3rd. Wherever a letter or paper is especially difficult to decipher, or the allusions more than ordinarily obscure, it will be advisable for the Editor to adhere, as closely as is consistent with brevity, to the text of the document. He is to do the same when it contains secret or very rare information.

4th. Where the Editor has deciphered letters in cipher, the decipher may be printed at full length. But when a contemporary or authorised decipher exists it will be sufficient to treat the cipher as an ordinary document.

5th. Striking peculiarities of expression, proverbs, manners, &c. are to be noticed.

6th. Original dates are to be given at the close of each entry, that the reader may know the exact evidence by which the marginal dates are determined.

7th. Where letters are endorsed by the receivers and the date of their delivery specified, these endorsements are to be recorded.

8th. The number of written pages of each document is to be specified, as a security for its integrity, and that readers may know what proportion the abstract bears to the original.

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10th. Where documents have been printed, a reference should be given to the publication.

11th. Each series is to be chronological.

12th. The Prefaces of Editors, in explanation of documents in the volume, are not to exceed fifty pages, unless the written permission of the Master of the Rolls to the contrary be obtained.

*** Editors employed in foreign archives are to transcribe at full length important and secret papers.

CROYDON PUBLIC LIBRARIES
CENTRAL

CALENDAR

OF

STATE PAPERS AND MANUSCRIPTS,

EXISTING IN THE ARCHIVES AND COLLECTIONS OF

VENICE.

1581—1591.

CALENDAR

OF

STATE PAPERS AND MANUSCRIPTS,

RELATING TO ENGLISH AFFAIRS,

EXISTING IN THE ARCHIVES AND COLLECTIONS OF

VENICE,

AND IN OTHER LIBRARIES OF

NORTHERN ITALY.

VOL. VIII.

1581—1591.

EDITED BY

HORATIO F. BROWN.

PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHORITY OF THE LORDS COMMISSIONERS OF HER MAJESTY'S TREASURY
UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR HER MAJESTY'S STATIONERY OFFICE,
BY EYRE AND SPOTTISWOODE,
PRINTERS TO THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

And to be purchased, either directly or through any Bookseller, from
EYRE AND SPOTTISWOODE, EAST HARDING STREET, FLEET STREET, E.C.; or
JOHN MENZIES & Co., 12, HANOVER STREET, EDINBURGH, and
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CENTRAL

PREFACE.

THE period covered by this volume of the "Calendar of State Papers, Venetian," is the decade 1581 to 1591. The papers calendared exist in the State Archives at the Frari, and in the Marcian Library, at Venice. During the period under consideration, the Republic maintained no Ambassador at the Court of St. James, and our chief sources of information concerning England are the Despatches from Spain, France, and Constantinople. But on January 30th, 1591 (No. 1007), motion was made in the Senate to send a Diplomatic Agent to England; this motion, though repeated on several occasions, was always thrown out.

The series of documents from which this Calendar is drawn, are the following:—

1. Despatches from the Venetian Ambassadors in Spain, France, the Low Countries, Germany, Rome, and Constantinople;
2. The Minutes of the Senate;
3. News books.

Other series, such as the Necrologies of the Sanitary Office, and the records of the Criminal Courts, have been examined without yielding any results.

The official year began, in Venice, on the 1st of March, and though Venetian Ambassadors at Foreign Courts did not invariably maintain the Venetian style, where they do so the date of their communications is followed, in this Calendar, by the letters M.V.—More Veneto.

The Venetian Diplomatic Agents have always enjoyed a high reputation for the frequency, fulness, and minuteness

of their communications to their Government; and although a large number of curious and interesting details and episodes, which have come under the Editor's eye, could not be properly included in a Calendar which is confined to matters affecting English history, still the reader's attention may perhaps be called to some isolated points of interest before we proceed to deal with the three main topics which are illustrated by the present volume.

The high reputation enjoyed by the Medical School of Padua may, perhaps, account for the frequent and detailed reports upon medical treatment (*see* "Medical Treatment" in Index) supplied in the Venetian despatches. It seems to imply a particular interest in Medicine on the part of the Venetians when we meet with full accounts of the treatment of Cardinal de Granvelle, of the bleedings and purgings of Philip, of the effect of Bezoar stone upon the Infante, of the progress of Parma's dropsy.

Again (in No. 905) we read of a proposal to patent an invention by which ships shall be able to move "even against the wind," and the opinion of some experts that the invention is a farce; of others, that it may do in a river, but would be valueless at sea.

Despatches from Constantinople tell us how a scheme was on foot in 1586 (No. 385) for cutting a canal to join the Mediterranean and the Red Sea; they give us the reasons, which were commercial—to destroy the East Indian trade of Spain; the proposed line of the canal—Damietta to Suez, or the Nile to the Red Sea; and the objections and difficulties in the way of each—in the one case the silting of sand, in the other the effect on the River Nile and the city of Cairo.

Nor is Venetian ambassadorial life without its lively episodes which are recorded with more or less humour in the despatches. Hieronimo Lippomano was Venetian

Ambassador at Madrid in 1587. He possessed a picture of his patron, St. Jerome, painted, he says, by Titian, though if this be the picture now in Madrid, it is confidently ascribed to Lotto. This picture Lippomano valued very highly, and kept it in his study. One day he asked the King's favourite, Calavrese, to dine, and the St. Jerome was duly admired by his guest. About this time Philip resolved to present the Republic with a palace in Madrid for the residence of the Venetian Ambassador. The palace, however, was occupied by the Countess d'Ozeda, sister of Count Olivarez, the Spanish Ambassador in Rome, and hence the troubles which Lippomano vivaciously describes as follows:—

"I hope in a few days to take up my lodging in the new palace belonging to your Serenity. I have had to overcome some difficulties and annoyances and to incur various expenses, as is usual in such cases; and, among others, some of the furnishings were stolen and sold on the spot; the Chamberlain, with exquisite courtesy, caused these to be restored to me. But what most disturbed me was that the women servants, pages and attendants of the Countess of Ozeda, sister of Olivarez, Ambassador in Rome, being unwilling to remove themselves from these fine apartments, carried off the doors, locks, cupboards, windows, and some magnificent mirrors, and actually set fire to the house, which ran a great risk of being burned down; and so as the palace was thus rendered almost uninhabitable, I was obliged, for your Serenity's honour and my own convenience, to go to great expense. The Countess, perhaps regretting the action of her dependants, and afraid that if the King came to hear of it he would be angry, has given me to understand that everything shall be restored at once on condition that I paid for all the movables, as is the custom here. This is both honourable and advantageous, for it would

take more than one thousand ducats to replace what has been removed, whereas I intend to give the Countess only three hundred. I have been advised to make this present in silver goblets. This expense has come on the top of the others, for I thought I was done of it when I had given a silver-gilt vase to the Sergeant-Major, and other tips to his subordinates; but the King himself has insisted on a *douceur*, declaring that he had more right to it than anyone else. And as he had heard from Calavrese, his favourite, who is very well known to all those illustrious gentlemen who have resided here, that I possessed a picture of St. Jerome, of great beauty, painted by Titian, he favoured me with the information that if I would send it to him he would accept it willingly, as indeed he has done; for he keeps it in his private chamber, and though her Serenity, the Infanta, begged him for it he will not give it up; I am therefore obliged to look out for another for her Royal Highness and another for the Count of Chinchon, who, as Master of the Household, inducted me into the Palace, and has asked for the present of a picture."

At the Porte the French Ambassador appears to have made himself a fruitful source of trouble and annoyance, not merely to the English representative, as we shall see when we come to deal with Harborne's mission to the Sultan, but also to the Venetian *Bailo* with whom he was supposed to co-operate for the expulsion of the English. The following episode which arose upon a question of precedence, serves to illustrate the relations which existed between the Diplomatic Agents of the Christian powers at Constantinople.

"On Palm Sunday the Reverend Father, the Minister of S. Francesco, sent me a note in which he declared that the French Ambassador declined to sit on the ordinary seats in the choir, but demanded a separate chair

covered with velvet. Although the minister believed that this request was only intended by the Ambassador to take him out of the crowd of common people, especially at this time of plague, yet, as that might not be so, he had thought it well to inform me: and he added that he had prepared two *priedieus* exactly alike, one for each of us, to be placed by our servants in front of our chairs.

"That same day, the French Ambassador came to visit me; and after exchanging the usual compliments, I offered to accompany him to church, and inquired where he meant to sit, for if he had resolved not to use the seats of the Padri, but one of his own, I would send my servants and have one brought for myself and placed near his, as was usual. To these remarks, which I made in a very clear voice, he gave no answer, save a most vague one. Accordingly I thought it judicious not to attach a meaning to his action which perhaps did not exist, and refrained from pursuing the subject further; moreover, thinking that his conduct was simply dictated by a regard for his own safety, I did not even report the occurrence to your Serenity, being unwilling to disturb you on so slight a foundation.

"As Easter was approaching, in which the Ambassador of France and the *Bailo* of Venice are accustomed to assist at High Mass in the church of S. Francesco, I thought it well to take steps for preventing any diminution of the honour due to your Serenity. Accordingly I again sent my servant to the French Ambassador offering him my company to church, on the ground that our houses were so close together, and that such a step would demonstrate our complete union and accord.

"He accepted my offer, but added that his seat would be prepared in a suitable place, and that, as the church was large, I had better cause mine to be prepared wherever it best pleased me, provided always that it was not near his,

but separated. My servant showed surprise at this proposal, took his leave, and reported the matter to me. I heard the story with great pain, and resolved at once to send my secretary, whom I instructed in all the replies he was to make, and I especially charged him to say that he had come in order to be more clearly informed of the answer given to my servant who, unaccustomed as he was to such business, must have reported it incorrectly. My secretary performed his task accurately. The Ambassador replied that he could not understand why I should be offended at taking a place separate from him, nor why I insisted on appearing with him, for he was representative of the greatest power in Christendom. My secretary answered that neither I nor my household had ever dreamed of doing anything to diminish the honour of the King, his master; but that he was throwing grave doubts on his professed devotion to the Signory of Venice by endeavouring to deprive me of a place which my predecessors had always held without the slightest complaint or opposition on the part of his, which place consisted in sitting next the Ambassador of France, as was customary at all European Courts. The Ambassador retorted that he did not intend to regulate his conduct by that of his predecessors or of other Ambassadors, but by his own knowledge of what was just and right. He added that he was informed that M. d'Avaux had a separate place in church, and that he intended to follow his example. . . . He asserted that he was the only real Ambassador at the Porte, for your Serenity merely kept a *Bailo*, whose rank was that of agent, not of Ambassador. . . . The choir of S. Francesco is like the choir of most Venetian churches, and our difficulty is that the French Ambassador wishes to occupy the right-hand side alone, either in the first of the choir stalls or on a velvet chair brought from the Embassy with a stool in front of it, and that I

should place myself on the left-hand side in the same way as he on the right, so that between us there should be the distinction of right from left, and also the whole width of the choir, whereas I claim to remain at the same side as he does, be it right or left, and in the seat immediately next to his, as has always happened, the left side of the choir being occupied by secretaries and the merchants who accompany the Ambassadors to church. To avoid a scandal I did not go to S. Francesco on Easter Day. I went to mass with my household at St. Peter's. The French Ambassador caused his seat to be placed right in the centre of the choir, and came to church dressed in cloak and sword, which is an innovation. The Perotes are all in my favour. The Ambassador's assertion about M. d'Avaux is a sheer falsehood; for he always sat, as I explained above, with the Venetian *Bailo* next to him."

Some details of commerce, chiefly between England and Venice and England and the Porte, together with a notice of the English warehouses at Patras, may be collected under the heading "Commerce" in the Index. No. 565 contains some curious information as to the heavy bets which were lost in Rome when William Allen was unexpectedly raised to the purple.

But leaving aside such isolated episodes as those above related, we may proceed to indicate the three main lines of English history, which are illustrated in this volume: (1), the relations between England and France on the subject of Elizabeth's marriage with the Duke of Alençon (Anjou) and the death of Mary Queen of Scots; (2), the full accounts of Drake's operations in the West Indies, at the Azores, and on the Spanish seaboard, which are furnished by the Venetian Ambassadors in Spain, together with the story of the Armada; (3), the fuller and even more important details of Elizabeth's policy at

the Porte and of the missions of William Harborne and Edward Barton.

I.

The last volume of the Venetian Calendar left the negotiations for the marriage of Alençon in this position: the Duke's visit to England in August 1579 had led him to believe that the marriage was virtually settled. Elizabeth, by her reception of the Duke and by the presents she bestowed on him, had encouraged this belief; the Queen-Mother of France, though apparently still hostile to the match, declared that "things had already gone too far "with England to allow either party to retire," though her son, King Henry, believed that the Queen of England "was so artful in all her negotiations" that no reliance could be placed upon her present attitude. Matters had indeed reached a point at which a draft contract of marriage was framed (No. 31). Official opinion, as expressed by Belliévre, was hostile to the match. It would seem that no one really desired this union except Alençon, who nourished ambitious designs on Flanders. But Elizabeth, pursuing her policy of mystification, announced that she "wished she had her froggy swimming "once more in the Thames"; and by June 2, 1581, Alençon had set out towards the channel with a view to crossing over into England. He was detained by contrary winds, and in the interval the French Embassy extraordinary which had been sent to Elizabeth returned to Paris. The Ambassadors brought a message from the Queen that she had no intention of supporting Alençon against Spain in the Netherlands, and incidentally M. de Lansac, a member of the Embassy, records (No. 32) the very favourable impression which Elizabeth had produced. This cold breath from England seems to have delayed the Duke's departure, and from Picardy he proceeded to Flanders. Again

Elizabeth began to encourage her suitor; in August an Ambassador arrived with letters from her to the Duke (No. 40), and she was reported (No. 46) to be supplying him with thirty thousand crowns a month. In November unexpected news reached Paris (No. 53). The Duke with a suite of five gentlemen had set out for Calais, and the Queen was making great preparations to receive him with all honour, and had supplied him one hundred thousand crowns. By November 26th Alençon was in England, and immediately after that date it was rumoured at the French Court that the match was concluded; "on "the 22nd of November, in the presence of many nobles, "the Queen and Monsieur exchanged rings and kisses; "but no one knows what they said" (No. 56). This news is followed, December 14 (No. 60), by the report of a conversation between Elizabeth and Alençon, in which the Queen blows cold again; she points out to the Duke that marriage with her would raise many enemies against him, that "she was old, unfit for childbirth, certain to die in "childbed, and that is out of the question." In spite of this attitude on the part of the Queen, Alençon took occasion to announce once more that the match was arranged; in reply the Queen declared that Parliament must be consulted, and by December 28th, she is reported to have found such opposition to the marriage among her advisers that she "adjourned the whole question to next month" (No. 62). Meantime the Queen-Mother and King Henry learned that Alençon and the Queen of England were passing their days in feast and revelry, "conversing with the greatest possible intimacy and "freedom," reproducing, as Catherine de'Medici said, the romance of Amadis. But by February 12th (No. 68) "there "is positive news in Paris that Monsieur has left England. "The Queen accompanied him to the seashore and to

" show grief at his departure wore black." She gave him an escort of four Peers under the Earl of Leicester, and charged them never to leave him and to bring him safe back to England when he had concluded his business in Flanders, which was to receive the investiture of Brabant.

Alençon did not return to England, and the marriage negotiations lay dormant until, in May 1582, Elizabeth reopened the question (No. 84) with the King of France. But little seems to have come of this step on her part. Alençon was fully occupied with his operations in Flanders, at Bruges, Ghent, Antwerp, Cambray. That untrustworthy agent, Don Bernardino de Mendoza, declared (No. 200) that when he was dismissed from England in January 1584, Alençon, at the request of Elizabeth, sent a detachment of troops to seize him at Calais. On June 10th Alençon died. In August, Elizabeth sent a gentleman to condole with King Henry upon the loss of his brother, but the King declined to receive him. (No. 235.)

By November 7th, 1586, an agent from Elizabeth had reached Paris. He brought with him the depositions taken during the trial of Babington and his accomplices; and his mission was to prove to King Henry that Mary Queen of Scots deserved to be put to death. Some delay took place before the agent and Elizabeth's Ambassador in ordinary were admitted to audience. That, however, was granted on November 10th, when all the papers were handed to the King. The French Ambassador in London, de l'Aubespine, meantime informed his master of the trial and condemnation of Queen Mary, and was instructed to urge Elizabeth to spare Mary's life. Elizabeth's reply (No. 437) showed so little sign of yielding that M. de Belliévre was despatched on a special mission to England (No. 440) in December 1586. On January 2nd, 1587, Belliévre sent a report from London

announcing that Elizabeth had received him favourably, though the popular feeling was running high against him; but when he came to discuss the subject of his mission with the Queen he found her Majesty immovable (No. 445). The publication of the sentence caused Belliévre to seek another audience, in which he received for answer that "unwonted was the crime; unwonted shall be the punishment"; "it is absolutely necessary for Mary to die if Elizabeth is to live." In spite of this firmness, however, Belliévre writes that he does not absolutely despair of saving the Queen's life. The receipt of this despatch in Paris caused King Henry to send, with all speed, a messenger bearing autograph letters to Elizabeth, entreating her to act leniently. That was on January 5th; and Belliévre on his return to Paris reports, on January 30th, that the Queen of England had relaxed some of the rigours of Mary's prison, without making any promise as to sparing her life. Elizabeth received information from the brother of the English Ambassador in Paris that a plot to murder her was being hatched at the French Embassy in London. Destrapes, one of de l'Aubespine's household, was to be the agent (No. 468). Destrapes was arrested, and the English Ambassador in France received orders to lay the whole affair before King Henry, and to beg him to suspend his judgment till the matter could be unravelled. The result of this communication was that on the 6th of February, an embargo was laid upon all English shipping in France, to which Elizabeth replied in kind. Elizabeth then sent Secretary Wade to the King, with the depositions of the incriminated, and with instructions to demand the recall of de l'Aubespine, whom she characterises as a servant of the League and not of his Majesty. Wade obtained an audience with difficulty, and received no very favourable answer. In England, Elizabeth refused

to admit de l'Aubespine to her presence, and warned him that his life was in danger. Henry endeavoured to compel her to receive his representative by sending his answer to Wade's communications not through Wade, but through de l'Aubespine without succeeding, however, in his object; for Elizabeth under colour of protecting the Ambassador's life caused him to be virtually imprisoned in his own house. (No. 475.)

On March 2nd a courier arrived in Paris from England. He brought instructions to Wade and the Ambassador in ordinary, to tell King Henry that the execution of Mary had taken place (No. 477). Henry refused to admit them to his presence, and they were forced to deliver their message to Belliévre and the Secretary Bruslart, to whom they also handed a letter from Elizabeth, in which she threw the blame for the execution on Davison. L'Aubespine made a long report upon the execution of the sentence, (No. 484) furnishing details, the source of which he does not indicate. All relations between the Crowns of France and England were now suspended (No. 500). Wade was informed that he would not receive a passport till Destrapes was set at liberty; and the English, on the other hand, refused to release Destrapes till the prisoner Morgan was handed over to them. Matters dragged on in this state till the month of May (No. 517) when Elizabeth set Destrapes at liberty. On his arrival in Paris (No. 527) Wade obtained his passport, took his leave and returned home.

II.

The decade 1581 to 1591 is precisely the period of the great Spanish attack upon England; of the bucaneering captains; of the rise of British sea power. It is natural, therefore, that the despatches contained in this volume

should offer much that is of interest from the point of view of naval operations. The fullest information comes from Spain, but there is a considerable amount to be gathered from the Venetian Ambassador in France, while the *Bailo* at the Porte is copious on the subject of the preparation for a great Turkish armament during the years 1590 and 1591. The story of the Armada has recently been told from the Spanish point of view, and the reports of Lippomano, preserved in this volume, only serve to increase the impression of inefficiency and dilatoriness on the part of Philip and his ministers which is created by Mr. Froude's essays. It is interesting to note that neither the Venetian Ambassador in Spain nor the Papal Nuncio, nor indeed the Pope himself, felt any confidence in the success of the Armada; only Philip and his immediate Councillors, not his sea captains, were convinced that victory must be theirs. The despatches from Rome (Nos. 728, 734) give us two interesting and, I believe, important documents; one is an extract from a letter written by the Duke of Parma, describing what took place on the 6th, 7th, and 8th August, as Medina Sidonia sailed up the channel; the other is a report on the operations off Calais during those same days. This information is supplemented by (No. 746), a letter written by some one on board the Armada, dated from Scalloway (Vacallaos) Bay, and by an account of the sufferings of the Spanish on the Irish coast.

On the subject of Drake's operations in the West Indies and on the coast of Spain and Portugal, the Spanish despatches give useful, and to some extent, new information. We have the advantage of possessing the reports of eye-witnesses to his most important actions at Corunna, at Cadiz, at Lisbon and Cascaes, in the Indies and Azores, where he liked to lie in wait for the galleons from Peru.

One of the most powerful weapons in the hands of Philip's enemies, whether they were French or English, Catherine de' Medici, or Queen Elizabeth, was Don Antonio of Portugal, the Grand Prior of Crato, natural son of Lewis son of King Emmanuel, and claimant of the Portuguese throne. Many of Drake's operations on the Spanish and Portuguese seaboard were directed, nominally at least, to creating a movement in Don Antonio's favour. On October, 25th, 1585, Don Antonio was to have sailed for Spain on board Drake's fleet of 44 ships, with 10,000 infantry, and 500 horse (No. 289) though Elizabeth's orders detained him at the last moment. By the middle of October, Drake had reached Galicia where he landed and harried the country round Bayona, whose Governor reports to Santa Cruz upon this attack. Leaving the coast of Spain, Drake made for the Canaries, pushed westward to San Domingo, took the town and exacted a ransom; seized New Carthage and in fact seems to "have "found no hindrance to the development and the execu- "tion of his designs." (No. 304.) Meantime Santa Cruz was reporting to the King upon all the possibilities which lay before Drake, and suggesting the proper method of meeting the danger. (No. 305.) He points out that if Don Antonio should attempt to land in Portugal far larger armaments must be made, and concludes thus: "It is "necessary, for your Majesty's service, that all this "should be carried out as rapidly as possible." But Philip's ill-health, coupled with his determination to attend to every detail of execution himself, rendered anything like rapidity of action impossible at the Spanish court. What Drake had done at Teneriffe, the Canaries, Cape Verd, on his way west, is fully detailed in the deposition of Alvaro Rocha (No. 308), master of a ship which was seized by the English in those waters, and in the report printed in

Number 321. His conduct in the West Indies is shown even on the evidence of a Spaniard (No. 337) to have been humane towards the native population, who "all love him "and throw their houses open to every Englishman." By the summer of 1586, Drake was back in England once more; his booty is reported as being enormous, and the honours bestowed upon him very great. He had thoroughly alarmed the Spanish, whose finances depended so largely upon the revenue of the West Indies; and (No. 393) we find Santa Cruz drawing up for his Majesty's inspection an elaborate list of the men and ships that would be required to make an attack on England.

In the spring of 1587, Drake was once more off the Spanish coast; on April 29th, about five in the afternoon, he sailed into the harbour of Cadiz and a full account of what he did there will be found in No. 513. His fleet consisted of about forty-two sail, that is to say, five great ships of five hundred tons each, two galleasses of two hundred tons, extremely beautiful, six ships of one hundred tons, thirteen frigates of sixty tons, and the rest light vessels. Don Pedro d'Acugna was lying in the port with seven galleys and one galleon. He opened fire on the enemy, and thus the engagement began. Drake replied with his artillery, which had a longer range than the Spanish; and so terror-stricken was the population that when crowding into the castle for safety, twenty-five persons were suffocated. The Governor, Don Juan de Vega, sent to Xeres and to the Duke of Medina Sidonia for help, and the Duke arrived, during the night, with three thousand men.

The English either captured or destroyed a large amount of provisions intended for the Armada, and they proposed to carry off one large Biscayan of seven hundred tons, but found her too heavy, and were obliged to sink her. The

Spanish captured an English frigate, of whose crew only five were found surviving when she was taken.

Drake was unable to effect a landing, and so the Spanish loss in men amounted to fifty only; but early on the morning of the 30th all the Spanish shipping was in a blaze, and by midday the English endeavoured to beat out of the harbour in the teeth of a west wind; they did not succeed, and it was only by midnight that the wind served and they made the open.

Leaving Cadiz, Drake threatened Lisbon (No. 521), but failed to enter the harbour as the wind dropped. The following numbers down to 534 are chiefly occupied with accounts of his movements on the Spanish and Portuguese coasts. After a plundering expedition to the Azores, he was back again in Plymouth by the 9th of July. One result of his expedition is noted by the Ambassador in Paris, namely, that sugar is so cheap in London "that "what costs five reals in France is sold for half a real "there."

Philip, as we have seen, had already for long been collecting at Seville, at Lisbon, at Corunna, a vast fleet, and abundant supplies of biscuits, wine, salt, meat, cheese, some of which Drake had destroyed at Corunna and at Cadiz. These preparations were so large that the Venetian Ambassador felt sure they were intended for offence, not for defence merely, though Philip's habit of secrecy prevented any real knowledge as to the destination of the fleet from leaking out. Pope Sixtus, it was known, did all he could to spur Philip on to attack England, but on the other hand, Cardinal de Granvelle and Parma, in Philip's name, were vainly endeavouring to arrive at some terms of accord with Elizabeth.

Philip at last made up his mind that the Armada should sail in the autumn of 1587. By September 4th, we hear

(No. 578) that "the Armada is ready, and the men "forbidden to go ashore on pain of death," though it was probable death to stay on board, so bad were the rations, and so violent the epidemic. "If the Marquis of Santa "Cruz arrives within eight or ten days, they say that "beyond all doubt he will sail with one hundred and "thirty ships for Flanders and England." But Santa Cruz was out to protect the rich Indiamen, and his return was delayed by bad weather. He did not reach Lisbon till October. Still the King, with the obstinacy of a weak nature, insisted that the fleet, despite the lateness of the season, should sail, and Santa Cruz (No. 585) promised to be ready by the 20th of October, and raised no objections on the score of the season, "for he knew that the King "was resolved upon action, and could not bear to be "contradicted or thwarted." But though Santa Cruz did not at once object to sailing, nay even promised to do so, facts themselves began to render the departure of the Armada an impossibility. The troops were not ready; mules for the artillery could not be found; the ships which had recently acted as escort to the Indiamen were discovered to be unseaworthy. The Marquis sent an expert to explain the situation; the King refused to listen to him. Courier after courier left the Escurial for Lisbon with orders to sail. The Marquis replies that by St. Martin's Day, November 11th, he will have forty ships ready. Anger on the part of the King, and bitter complaints from Don Juan d'Idiaquez (No. 592), that his master has spent such vast sums only to find an inefficient navy and a disobedient officer. Santa Cruz retorts that he "cannot work miracles." Philip thinks he can; and orders prayers and the exposition of the Host. The Admiral despatches Don Pedro Enriquez to court to clear his reputation, and to assure the King that six hundred men are at work day

and night on the damaged ships; that he will sail on the 25th of November, though he humbly points out the great danger to the whole Armada from the stormy nature of the Atlantic Ocean, from the tides and currents of the Channel, from the fact that in England during the winter there are little more than six hours of daylight, and up to two o'clock the sky is usually covered by a dense mist; if the wind is from the south—that is favourable to the Armada—the atmosphere will be obscured for the whole day; if the sky is clear the "wind will be in our teeth"; but, above all, he urges the danger from "certain airs which are deadly to foreigners." The Marquis goes on to recommend delay till March of next year, but concludes an impressive letter by declaring that "If after all, your Majesty should insist "on my sailing, be assured that you will not have either "officer or private who will risk his life with greater "alacrity, courage, and ardour." (No. 595.)

A private letter from Lisbon (No. 603) fully confirms the Marquis's defence: "The fleet is in want of sailors, "the hospitals are full of soldiers," "the ships require "more repair than was expected." The King took the advice of the Prior, Don Ernando, and others, and at last, and very unwillingly, consented to allow the Marquis to have his own way. This produced a relaxation of the work in Lisbon. A review of the troops was to be held, but between desertion, death, and sickness it appeared that fresh levies would be required. (No. 609.) The sickness was indeed very serious, and it was about to deal the King a cruel blow. By February 13th, 1588, news reached Madrid that Santa Cruz had died of the spotted fever. The person in whose arms he expired (No. 629) declared that he frequently sighed, and complained that the attacks made upon him at court were sending him to his grave; and adds in a spirit of prophecy that "it is indeed a death

" to be deeply lamented for many reasons, and perhaps as " time goes on the loss will be seen to be even greater " than it looks."

It is impossible not to feel some compassion for Philip; within a year he had lost one of his ablest advisers, Cardinal de Granvelle, his most intimate servant, Santoias, his one capable agent at the Porte, Marigliani, and his most experienced admiral, Santa Cruz. Philip very promptly endeavoured to repair this last misfortune by appointing the Duke of Medina Sidonia to the vacant command three days after the receipt of the news that the admiral was dead. The Duke's high rank made this appointment almost a necessity. He was the only nobleman under whom the other officers would serve; "he has excellent qualities," the Ambassador reports," and is greatly beloved. " He is not only prudent and brave, but of an extreme " goodness and benignity. Only one might desire in him " a wider experience of the sea."

The Armada sailed, and the story of its career and fate has been so often told that we need not rehearse it here. Confirmatory evidence as to its movements in the Channel, before Calais, and in the German Ocean will be found in numbers 680, 681, 687, 765, 706, 707, 713, 714, 728, 733, 734, 745, 746, 749, 750, 761, 765. Drake's superiority in seamanship, the handiness of his vessels, the greater range of their guns, are well illustrated in these despatches; while the terrible letter from Scalloway Bay (No. 786) gives perhaps the best account we possess of all that happened after the flight from the fireships on the night of the 7th and 8th of August. The Armada dribbled slowly back to Spain, the battered galleons put in to Corunna, to Santander, to the ports of Galicia and Biscay; their storm-tossed officers and crews reached land only to die of sickness in very many cases. And the last of the

ill-starred fleet had not yet reached Spain, when in December (No. 788) news arrived that Drake had sailed from England. It was doubtful at first what his destination might be, the Azores or the Portuguese coast. Whichever it should prove to be Philip was quite unprepared, and "those who were competent to judge declared "that if Drake were to go to the Azores he would not "only ruin the whole of the India traffic, but could "easily make himself master of the islands." The rumour of Drake's departure was premature, and the delay lulled Spanish preparations and precautions to sleep. But suddenly, on the 4th May 1589 (No. 830), the famous captain appeared off Corunna. With him was Don Antonio, and the whole expedition was designed in conjunction with the Portuguese partizans of the Prior of Crato, to produce a rising in Lisbon which would expel the Spanish and place Don Antonio on the throne. Drake held the naval command and Colonel Norris was in charge of the troops, both acting nominally under Don Antonio.

The fortifications of Corunna were very weak, and Drake may have believed that the city would easily fall into his hands, the Spaniards themselves certainly thought so, but the courage of the Governor, the Marquis of Seralva, saved the place. Drake easily made himself master of the suburbs and ravaged the country round Corunna, but he could not penetrate into the city itself. (No. 839.) On the 18th he abandoned the attempt.

Considering that Lisbon was the real object of this expedition, the delay at Corunna was a serious mistake; it allowed the Cardinal Archduke, the Governor of Lisbon, to take measures for the defence of the city, and more important still, to imprison and suppress the most notable adherents to the cause of Don Antonio. It is highly probable that if Drake had struck straight at Lisbon, his

expedition would have been a success instead of a failure. After wasting fourteen days before Corunna, Drake set sail. He found some difficulty in clearing Cape Finisterre, and it was only on the 26th May that he reached Peniche. There he landed about fourteen thousand men (No. 841) who set out at once towards Lisbon, while Drake and his fleet continued by sea to Cascaes at the mouth of the Tagus, where he cast anchor, without attempting to force an entry between the two forts. The English troops under Don Antonio and Colonel Norris, meantime, had advanced rapidly upon Lisbon without staying to plunder. The reception of Don Antonio by the populace was enthusiastic, and hopes were entertained that Lisbon would rise as soon as the English appeared under its walls. The Portuguese troops in the garrison were certainly favourable to the Prior. They refused to march when ordered out on a sortie by their commander, Count Fuentes. Money too and provisions in abundance found their way into the English camp, together with a certain number of Portuguese gentry. But the vigour of the Cardinal Archduke, and the severity of his repressive measures held the people of Lisbon in order. On the 2nd June (No. 844) Don Antonio and Norris reached the suburbs in the evening. Don Antonio was lodged with the Duke d'Avero. The next day the city was invested and skirmishes took place with no advantage to the attacking party. Troops meanwhile were coming up fast, and the Cardinal's conduct inspired his few Castillian regiments with exceptional courage. Drake still lay idle at Cascaes; no rising of the populace occurred. In short, the blow had missed its effect.

Don Antonio and the English withdrew to Cascaes, where the troops were cantoned. The Spanish did not attempt to molest them on their march towards the sea,

but by the 14th of June the position was clearly so hopeless, and the Archduke's forces growing so much stronger every day, that the English embarked with all their guns and munitions, leaving behind them the unfortunate Portuguese who had joined their enterprise, and abandoned the ill-starred undertaking. It was the end of all Don Antonio's hopes to recover the kingdom of Portugal, and the beginning of Drake's disgrace, for on his return to England Elizabeth showed her displeasure, and open recriminations passed between Drake and Norris, who laid the blame upon the shoulders of the sea captain because he had failed to bring his fleet up to the walls of Lisbon. (No. 875.)

That Philip did not at once abandon the idea of a second expedition against England is made quite clear by the despatches from Madrid. He had ordered the prayers for the Armada to cease, but he began to issue instructions for the collection of fresh stores and the construction of a new Armada. Don Alonzo de Bazan, Santa Cruz's brother, was appointed to the real command, though Sidonia's feelings were spared by allowing him to retain the supreme title. But Philip had lost his best officers, Recalde, Oquendo, and Moncada, who were dead; and Don Pedro de Valdez who was a prisoner in London. His exchequer was running dry; the West India fleets did not sail home; he was obliged to borrow money from the Fuggers and the Spinolas. Moreover, the affairs of France, the progress of Navarre, and the weakness of the League kept him anxious; he had lost the sympathy and support of the Pope who openly and mordently criticised his conduct of the last campaign, and showed such signs of favouring Navarre that he was even accused of heretical leanings, and the Cardinal Santa Severina actually

declared that if he were made Pope he would exhume and burn the body of Sixtus.

Marigliani was dead and Ferrari was quite unable to outmanœuvre Barton, the English Ambassador at the Porte; no truce with the Turk was concluded and the Sultan was preparing a vast fleet whose destination was expected to be Italy. Parma was suffering from dropsy and could not or would not conduct an active campaign in Flanders and France. Circumstances were too strong for Philip, and the rumours of a second Armada and a fresh attack on England dwindled slowly away.

III.

The third, and perhaps the most important of the main topics illustrated by this volume of the Calendar is the relations between Queen Elizabeth and the Sultan Murad; relations which were partly political,—intended to secure the support of the Sultan against Spain as a counterpoise in the Mediterranean, partly commercial,—directed to the establishment of the British flag in Levant, and the freedom of British shipping from that servitude to the French flag which the French nation claimed in virtue of treaties stipulated between Francis and the Sultan Suliman.

This important subject has been studied and illustrated by few writers; first by Von Hammer, who is very brief and is based upon the Imperial Ambassadors; Von Hammer is followed by Zinkeisen, who again is followed by Dyer; that is one line of study. The second line, and by far the more fruitful, is that which draws its material from the Venetian archives. That line has been examined and illustrated by my learned friend Dr. Moritz Brosch and by my predecessor the late Mr. Rawdon Brown, among whose papers, now in the Record Office,

is an interesting treatise on "The Entente Cordiale; "William Harborne; Elizabethan Diplomacy at Con- "stantinople," which carries the subject down to March 1585, but no further. When compiling this volume, I have found, read, and calendared all the papers relating to this subject, and have had access to Harborne's own despatches, now in the Record Office; and while availing myself of Mr. Brown as well as of my predecessors, I shall endeavour to tell the story in my own words, referring to the present collection of documents.

The earliest notice of the Turkey Company in England is the discussion of that project by Lord Burghley, in 1579. The result of this discussion was that in February of 1580, an English ship, sailing under the French flag, arrived at Schios. Its supercargo, William Harborne, carried a permit from the High Admiral (Capudan) of Sultan Murad III. Harborne's object was two-fold; he wished to sell his cargo of cloth and he was also charged with a diplomatic mission. This latter fact, when it became known, arrayed against him the French Ambassador, M. de Germigny, and the Venetian agent, Carrazza, who was acting as chargé d'affaires for the Republic until the new *Bailo* could arrive.

In spite of this opposition Harborne succeeded in obtaining an ample patent of liberty for the English flag and English commerce throughout the Sultan's dominions, dated 13th May 1580. M. de Germigny's influence proved sufficient, however, to cause this patent to be cancelled about six weeks after it had been signed; and in a letter addressed to Henry III. of France, Murad declares that he will treat with England only through the medium of that King. The revocation was kept secret till November 1580; but when the news reached Venice (No. 2) the Senate ordered their *Bailo* to do

all that in him lay to thwart any English efforts to reopen the question.

Harborne, meanwhile, had returned to England, where he informed Lord Burghley of his early success and subsequent check, but showed a determination not to renounce his designs. He set sail once more for Constantinople. Everything conspired to render his position there extremely difficult, if not untenable. Mustapha, with whom he had negotiated the former treaty, was dead; Sinan the Grand Vizir was furiously insulting to all Christians; and to make matters worse, the captain of the ship on which Harborne sailed, piratically seized two galleons manned by Turkish subjects and in Turkish waters. These crews escaped and their complaints at Constantinople alienated the valuable support of the Capudan Uluge or Occhiali. Harborne, finding that he could do nothing towards the rehabilitation of the cancelled patent, devoted his great skill and perseverance towards the formation of a party favourable to English interests, and was so far successful that he secured the support of Mehemet, who was married to Murad's favourite sister. This accomplished, Harborne returned to England, and on November 15th, 1582, he obtained from Elizabeth credentials dated from Windsor, addressed to the Sultan and to Mehemet Pasha. (Nos. 132, 133.) Thus fully accredited, Harborne sailed once more for Constantinople. The principal object of his mission was still commercial, but he was now also to act as full English Ambassador at the Porte; and no doubt Elizabeth and her ministers were even thus early aware that the threat of a Turkish descent upon Spanish possessions in the Mediterranean would prove a powerful weapon in case Philip should ever try to open hostilities with England. At all events, Harborne's conduct on his arrival in Constantinople seems to have

been intended to mark clearly the wide difference between the Catholic powers and the Protestant Sovereign, his mistress. That arrival is reported by Giovanni Francesco Moresini, under dates April 5th and April 19th, 1583 (Nos. 126, 130) in the following terms :—

"In my preceding despatch, I announced the arrival of an English ship at the Seven Towers, on board of which was an Ambassador from the Queen of England, sent to reside at this Porte. He was detained some days at the Seven Towers, owing to the hostile representations of the French Ambassador. But, finally, the Magnificent Pasha gave orders to the captain of the sea to send two galleys to tow the vessel into harbour, and to Siavus and Capigi Pashas to go and meet the Ambassador at his landing, and to conduct him to the house which had been hired for him, as is the custom on the entry of your Serenity's Bailo. Accordingly, on Good Friday, the said ship entered the port, towed by the two galleys, at the hour when the Christians were celebrating the Divine office in their churches, by singing melodies suitable to the Passion of the Cross. Suddenly, when the vessel was off Serraglio Point, a great noise of artillery was heard, accompanied by a continual music of trumpets and drums, and other signs of rejoicing, to the great grief and pain of these poor Christians who are here, when they saw that on such a day, and at such an hour, people who call themselves Christians act in a way so contrary to the usage of the Church, and to the dishonour of so solemn a function. People were so greatly shocked that when the Ambassador went from his ship to his house, he was escorted by no Christians, only by the Turks above mentioned; and as he passed through the streets of Pera not a Christian raised his hat; and even the Turks, in contempt, called him a Lutheran, and show that they are far from pleased to see

him; all the more so as, according to custom, the Ambassador provided on that very day a sumptuous feast of meats, to which hardly the Turks would come, as even they abhorred in a Christian such an insult to his religion. That evening, on board ship, they had fireworks, salvoes of artillery, and music, with great uproar. But they nearly paid the penalty of their sin, for one of the rockets fell back into the ship, close to the powder magazine, and set the ship on fire, and it was only with great difficulty that the flames were mastered. I thought it advisable to send my secretary to call on the said Ambassador and to offer him my services, begging him to make use of all I have in my house, in sign of the good friendship which your Serenity has for the Queen. I begged to be pardoned if I did not visit him in person, as the custom of the Porte was that no Ambassador should receive visits till he had kissed hands with the Sultan; and I assured him that, as soon as etiquette would permit me, I would not fail to wait on him. The Ambassador showed great satisfaction at this message; and two days later he sent one of his suite to thank me, assuring me he would report my friendliness to the Queen.

"The day after my visit to the Pasha, the French Ambassador had an audience of him also, on the subject of this English Ambassador; he raised a vigorous opposition, and left a protest in writing, the substance of which was that if the Englishman is received here as Ambassador, and if English ships are allowed to sail these waters under any other flag than that of France, his Sovereign will consider himself absolved from the alliance, as this is a point expressly mentioned in his treaty with the Sultan. If, in addition to this representation, some presents were added, the English would most certainly be dismissed. But the French Ambassador has no authority to

spend money for this purpose; and, on the other hand, the English make very large promises, so it is unlikely that the Pasha will care to risk the prospect of presents. It is true that some think that he will accept the English presents, and then raise some pretext for dismissing them, in order to oblige the French Ambassador."

The arrival of Harborne flying the English flag constituted an acknowledgment of England by the Porte, and as M. de Germigny insisted, a breach of previous treaties with France. But Harborne's ability and determination overcame the French opposition. On May 3rd (No. 131) he kissed hands and presented the gifts which Elizabeth had sent to the Sultan. The ceremonial, the suite, and the banquet were identical with those in use on the reception of an Ambassador from France.

At this point we incidentally get a curious and vivid glimpse into the working of a diplomatist's life in Constantinople. (Appendix No. 1.) As Harborne had now kissed hands the Venetian Ambassador was in duty bound to call on the recognised representative of England. Moresini accordingly set out with all his suite. His dragoman, Pasquale, was sent on ahead, on horseback, to announce his master's coming. Harborne, however, begged to be excused on the ground that his house was all in disorder. This message reached Moresini when he was half way between his own and Harborne's house; and being unwilling to return home he sent Pasquale to explain that it mattered little as to the state of the house, for it was natural when one had only just arrived that things should not be in order at once: he desired merely to pay a formal visit, that was all. Harborne, however, insisted, and Moresini was obliged to give way. But no sooner had he reached home, than Harborne sent three gentlemen, accompanied by a dragoman, to offer profuse

apologies. The dragoman was the Venetian Consul at Palermo, a certain Giacomo de Merzè, whom Harborne, to the great disgust of Moresini, had enticed into his service by a salary of fourteen thousand aspers and four suits a year. When asked to abondon de Merzè, Harborne replied that he could not do without him, as de Merzè was skilled in the Italian, Turkish, and Greek tongues, though he promised to wait till a formal release should arrive from Venice.

The result of Harborne's reception by the Sultan was the renewal of the cancelled treaty; violent protests from de Germigny and repeated instructions from Venice that the English are to be opposed at all points. Significant too is the fact that immediately after this triumph of English diplomacy, on June 14th (No. 143) an agent arrived from Don Antonio of Portugal. His mission was to sound the Turks as to the possibility of a joint attack on Spain. The Venetian Ambassador informed his Government that negotiations had gone so far between Harborne and the Porte that it was doubtful whether he would be able to carry out his instructions, upon which the Republic authorised him to use "the method usual with the Turk," to the extent of fifteen thousand sequins, but only after favours received. Neither Moresini, however, nor de Germigny was able to effect anything against Harborne. To the French Ambassador's violence (No. 176), the Grand Vizir replied that the Porte stood open to all, "that there was no "occasion for such a row"; that the Ambassador had better apply direct to the Sultan,—a sure sign that he would get no answer. De Germigny actually did present a note to the Sultan in the public street; but on one pretext or another all reply was deferred, and by December 27th the first fruits of the new treaty were visible in the arrival of an English merchant ship at Constantinople (Nos. 185,

191). It saluted the Sultan with guns and trumpets as he was passing in his caique, but the master was advised not to repeat that compliment, as the Sultan was afraid of a stray shot.

The year 1584 opened with vigorous concerted action on the part of Venice and France against the new English Ambassador, but no progress was made. Each move of de Germigny's, each visit to the Grand Vizir, was countered by Harborne, who now (No. 192) began to point out that an English alliance was of the greatest value to the Turk, as it was Elizabeth alone who held France and Spain in check. On March 6th, the Venetian Ambassador writes to his Government that the situation is all but desperate. (No. 202.) The Grand Vizir had indeed made a pretence of attempting to satisfy French demand; he exhorted Harborne to abandon the point of the flag; but the Englishman replied that "they would lose their lives "rather than yield."

It is evident that de Germigny was not the sort of man to conduct this delicate negotiation; the Grand Vizir complained to Moresini that "the French Ambas- "sador was a terrible man, and when things did not go "as he wished he flew into a passion"; his master, the King of France, had neglected, on the occasion of the circumcision of the Sultan's heir, to make an adequate present to the Grand Turk, and de Germigny (No. 208) was not authorised to spend money in bribes; indeed, he once made an attempt to induce Moresini to do that necessary business on his behalf. It seems clear that Harborne's position was growing stronger and stronger. The reason is probably to be found in the judicious use of presents coupled with the real desire of the Turks to maintain friendly relations with a power which was avowedly hostile to the Catholic sovereigns in the Mediterranean.

(No. 216.) However, that may be, on April 23rd, 1584, the Grand Vizir frankly told de Germigny that it was all labour lost to expect that the Sultan would expel the English Ambassador.

De Germigny's attacks on Harborne, though fruitless at the Porte, seem to have affected the English Ambassador's social status to some extent. He was compelled to complain to the Grand Vizir that the "other Ambas-" sadors went about saying that he was a merchant and " not entitled to the rank of Ambassador ;" and the protest was made in sufficiently haughty terms, for Harborne declared "that he was a great noble, greater than any " other here, and even if that were not so, they had no " right to consider his private position, but only the magni-" ficence of the Queen, his mistress." The Pasha replied coldly that it should be enough for Harborne if the Sultan recognised him as an Ambassador. De Germigny's position, however, was no longer compatible with the honour of France, and Henry had already determined to replace him by de Lancome (Jacques de Savary). Harborne himself writes to Sir Francis Walsingham under date 28th March 1584 : (Record Office State Papers, Turkey I.), " there " comes in lieu of Dugermignie for Ambassador, a gentle-" man out of Poictou who formerly had the like honour " at Rome, and is not *de robe longue*. We cannot yet " understand his name."

So far Harborne had been successful. But in the shifting internal policy of the Porte, in the ceaseless intrigues of the Serraglio, there was always a danger that the patrons upon whom foreign agents relied for support might be suddenly removed. Hitherto, Harborne's ability had secured for him two very powerful protectors, Siavus Pasha, Grand Vizir, from December 1582, and the Secretary to the Sultan the learned Seadeddin. In July of 1584 Siavus was suddenly deposed, and Osman, who

had lately returned from the Persian war, was created Grand Vizir in his place. Harborne, writing to Walsingham on September 1, shows his alarm in these words, " We " pray that our suits and demands with Osmond may " have no worse success than with him who never denied " us anything," (State Papers Record Office, Turkey, I.). De Germigny was not likely to miss such an opportunity for damaging Harborne; by August 8th he had paid a visit of congratulation to the new Vizir, and presented him with a handsome clock (No. 237), at the same time he demanded that the English Ambassador should be expelled. Osman replied that the whole question was new to him, but that he would go into it and do all he could to favour France. De Germigny also urged the Venetian Ambassador to prefer a similar request, which Moresini, in obedience to instructions, readily promised to do. But by August the orders to withdraw had reached de Germigny, and he kissed hands, at the end of that month receiving the usual gifts of cloth of gold, silver plate, and thirty thousand aspers for the journey. (No. 241.) The Turks intended to withhold the banquet which had been customary on the departure of an Ambassador, but de Germigny caused it to be known that if they did so he would leave without kissing the Sultan's hand. On September 10th de Germigny quitted Constantinople. A secretary remained behind in charge of French affairs.

This was a great victory for Harborne and the English. His position was now secured, and on the arrival of Lorenzo Bernardo to replace Moresini as Venetian representative, he received full recognition as English Ambassador. (No. 291.) We find (No. 315) that his mission was gradually assuming a more purely diplomatic and less commercial character. The cause is twofold, Turkish waters were so insecure that English merchants were unwilling to risk their goods; and Spain was

beginning to show such a threatening front towards England that Elizabeth found herself obliged to do all that in her lay to strengthen her Turkish alliance. In the pursuit of this policy Harborne met with strong opposition on the part of the Capudan Pasha, who declared that he could not abide the English Ambassador nor the whole race, and added: "they are a bad lot these Lutherans." (No. 318, 324.) This hostility, whether it was the result of bribes or of conviction, took the form of insults to Harborne in March 1586. The English Ambassador having occasion to speak to the Capudan was intentionally kept waiting, whereupon he left in a rage and sent a secretary to complain. The Capudan, bursting with scorn, drove the secretary from his presence with scurrilous abuse, making use of these actual words: "Just look at this "fellow who wishes to stand on an equality with France "and Venice." (No. 325.) These strained relations could not last and Harborne was not quite the man to submit tamely. An opportunity for revenge soon presented itself. Drake had made some gifts to the Capudan which the latter intended to return in kind. He sent to the English Ambassador to inquire Drake's style and title. Harborne saw that this communication was to be conducted with Drake, not through himself but through the captain of an English ship lying at Constantinople. He ordered the Englishman to leave at once, whereupon the Capudan flew into a violent fury, so much so that Harborne declared to the Grand Vizir that he went in fear. The climax was reached in June 1586 (No. 368), when Harborne had an audience of the Grand Vizir. The Capudan was present. High words passed and the Lord High Admiral and the Ambassador came to blows to the great disgust of the Grand Vizir who with difficulty succeeded in quieting them.

Fresh difficulties were in store for Harborne. By the 28th of March the new French Ambassador had arrived;

the Venetian Ambassador reports him as appearing to be a courteous and humane person, but he soon had reason to rectify that judgment when M. de Lancome caused him all that mortification as to his seat in the Church of St. Francesco at Pera, which has been recorded above. Nor was it long before Harborne received a similar proof of de Lancome's courtesy. (No. 336.) The day after the French Ambassador's entry the English Ambassador sent his secretary and some of his suite to make the usual complimentary greetings. The secretary began "My master the Ambassador ——" when the Frenchman broke in, saying, "Ambassador! Why, he is "a merchant, your master; Ambassador! I know only "one Ambassador at the Porte, and that is myself. Out "of this at once, and tell your master that he had better "mind his trade and not usurp titles like these, or I'll "have him drummed out of the place." The secretary, greatly disturbed, left without a word, and when he reported this to his Ambassador, Harborne exclaimed, "I think that he won't be quite strong enough to do that," and with that he went straight off to an audience with the Grand Vizir. De Lancome, in fact, was no more a match for Harborne than de Germigny had been. At his first audience his remarks were cut short, and at a sign from the Grand Vizir he was conducted to the door without any answer to his three formal requests, one of which included the expulsion of the English Ambassador. At the Porte everything seems to have gone wrong with de Lancome from the very first; his wine was seized by the custom house officers and sold at auction; a dragoman of the Embassy was thrashed in the Ambassador's presence; all redress was refused; his position was rapidly becoming as untenable as that of de Germigny. Whether we are to see the hand of Harborne in all this is doubtful; at all events Harborne was a friend of the Grand Vizir, and the

Vizir was the foe to de Lancome. He continued to live at Constantinople, presenting from time to time petitions and complaints to which no attention was paid. Harborne meanwhile was proving the strength of the English position by the way in which he prevented the Spanish agents, Marigliani and Ferrari, from obtaining a renewal of the truce. The English had every reason to dread such an issue, for it was of great value to them that Philip should be kept in a state of alarm lest a Turkish descent might be made on Calabria or even Catalonia. (No. 493, 576, 577.) This hostile attitude towards Catholic powers and this obvious ascendancy at the Porte led to an accusation being launched against Harborne from Rome; he was charged with encouraging the Turk to assault the States of Italian Princes. Harborne in a letter to the Venetian Ambassador, Moro, repudiates the charge as a calumny. (No. 655.) But Harborne's mission was drawing to a close. In July 1588 he kissed the Sultan's hand and took his leave. On August 13th he set out in company with the Polish Ambassador, leaving a secretary behind him with the title of agent. (No. 711.)

The Record Office contains among the State Papers, Turkey, a fragment endorsed December 1588. "An "extract of the effect of Mr. Harborne's journey from "Constantinople." In this document Harborne states that he left Constantinople on the 3rd August, and this is the date accepted by Mr. Pears in his learned paper, "The Spanish Armada and the Ottoman Porte" (English Historical Review, July 1893); but the Venetian despatch is quite positive, is written on the spot and on the day named.

"I departed from Constantinople," says Harborne, "with thirty persons of my suite and family, the 3rd August, passing through the country of Thracia, Romania, the great

Wallachia, and Moldavia, where, arriving the 4th of September, I was, according to the Grand Signor's commandment, very courteously entertained by Peeter (?) his positive prince, a Greek in profession; whence I proceeded into Poland where the High Chancellor sent for me the 27th of that month, and after most honourable entertainment, imparted to me in secret manner the late, past, and present occurrences of that kingdom, and also wrote unto her Majesty. I hasted unto Melvin where, the 12th of October, I was welcomed by the Senate of the city, whom I find to be devoted to her Majesty, and whose letters, likewise, unto the same were presented me. At Danswich the 27th of that month, I was courteously received by one of the Burrough masters, accompanied by two others of the Senate and a Civil doctor, their Secretary. After going through the land of Pomer, I rested one day at Statyn, where, the Duke being absent, nothing ensued. At Postacke I passed through the city without demur, and at Westmore received like friendly greeting as in other places; but at Lubicke, as I came late and departed early in the morning, I was not visited. At Hambrough the 19th of November, and at Stoade the 9th of December, in like manner I was saluted by a Burrough master and the Secretary, and in all places they presented me with sundry sorts of their best wine and fresh fish, every of them with a long discourse, congratulating, in the names of their whole Senate, her Majesty on her victory over the Spaniards and my safe return, concluding with offer of their ready service to her future desposing, yet the Danswikers, after my departure, caused the merchants to pay custom for the goods they brought with them in my company, which no other, either infidels or Christians on the way, ever demanded, and I was informed by sundry
nation there resident, that most of the Hance towns on

the , especially Danswiche, Lubicke, and Hambrough have laden and for Spain, great provision of corn, cables, ropes, powder, shot, saltpetre, harquebuses, armour, iron, lead, copper, and all other munitions serving for the war. Whereupon I gather, their feigned courtesy proceeded rather from fear than of any good affection to her Majesty's service (Meluin and Stoade only excepted), which of their duty for their commodity I very well affected."

Edward Barton succeeded Harborne at Constantinople and arrived there about August 15th, 1588, at least, his first despatch from the Porte bears that date, and is published in Mr. Pears' article, quoted above. He remained at the Porte till his death at the age of thirty-five, which took place on January 1st, 1597. He is buried at Halki, one of the Princes' islands. The inscription on his tomb was published by Sir William White, late Ambassador to the Porte, in No. 25 of the English Historical Review. Barton was chiefly occupied in thwarting Spanish negotiations for a truce (No. 908) and in an attempt to cause the Turkish fleet to make a descent upon Apulia, Calabria, and Catalonia, for which purpose he believed that he had secured from the King of Navarre a promise of the port of Toulon, and hoped to make use of Don Antonio. His difficulties were not so great as those of Harborne, for he had not to create, but inherited, a position at the Porte. To use the contemporary words of Mr. Falent, addressed to Mr. Bacon, "the vent was open and thoroughly cleared," while the death of Henry III. and the accession of Henry IV. to the throne of France deprived de Lancome of much of his authority.

Edward Barton seems to have been no less able than his predecessor. On the 1st November 1589 Ferrari, Philip's agent, reached Constantinople. His mission was to secure the renewal of the truce with the Sultan, and

he at once opened negotiations with Orembey, the dragoman. But Philip's piety prevented him from sending a fully accredited representative to the infidel Turk, and Ferrari's only letters were signed by Marigliani, not by the King. (No. 891.) The Turks who were flattered by the presence of Ambassadors from the Christian powers were insulted by such a mission, and Sinan Pasha, the Grand Vizir, made Ferrari understand this at their first interview. Meanwhile, Barton, who as yet only bore the title of agent, though accredited by the Queen, on learning the news of Ferrari's arrival, went straight to Seadeddin, the Sultan's Secretary, and then to the Grand Vizir, and by November 25th we see the results of his operations in Moro's report (No. 896) that in spite of Ferrari's presents to Sinan, an answer was to be deferred till the Capudan returned, and Moro adds "I believe this "to be a device of the English agent in order to gain time "to upset Ferrari's negotiations." In this Barton proved successful, and on January 6th, 1590 (No. 908), Ferrari was suddenly dismissed, without any answer to Marigliani's letter.

By May of the same year (No. 931) the interests of Navarre at the Porte were being protected by England, and de Lancome complains that the Sultan had addressed a letter to Henry as King of France, whereas he was not yet on the throne, to which the Grand Vizir replied that he had the news from England, from Venice, and Ragusa. These advances of Sultan Murad towards Henry IV. were undoubtedly suggested by Barton, and their object was to secure the port of Toulon for the use of the Turkish fleet in the case of an attack upon Spain. Towards achieving this object the English agent was devoting all his ability, and he found support in Sinan Pasha, though a strong party at the Porte, headed by the Capudan, was desirous of attacking Malta or Crete rather than Spain. Venetian

interests in Crete naturally caused the Republic to desire the success of the Grand Vizir's party, and consequently to support the English agent who was the moving spirit of threats against Spain. Philip was so alarmed at the position in Constantinople that he was obliged to consider the fortification of Palermo. (No. 1,002.)

Although Sinan was willing to co-operate with England against Spain, he had no intention of undertaking operations outside Gibraltar. He told Moro that "the "Queen of England is asking us for two hundred galleys, "for which she will pay, and with these she proposes to "attack the King of Spain. But we have nothing to "do in those parts. The Queen should send her fleet "here and then something might be done." (No. 943.)

That Elizabeth was powerful at the Porte is proved by the success of her interference to prevent a Turkish invasion of Poland, on the ground that Poland furnished her with munitions of war. In a letter addressed to Elizabeth Murad accepted the Queen's intercession and promised help against Spain. (No. 947.) Barton, in the interests of Henry IV., was continually working towards the expulsion of de Lancome, so as to leave the way open for an Ambassador from the King of France. He made himself the intermediary through whom Henry's letters were presented to the Sultan in July 1590 (No. 950), and he went so far as to demand the arrest of the French Ambassador. (No. 956.) He succeeded in his main endeavour; on July 30th a Chavass was sent to de Lancome to inform him of his dismissal; and when de Lancome sought an interview of Sinan the dismissal was confirmed by the Grand Vizir in these words, "neither your King nor mine desires that "you should be Ambassador any more." And so the decade which began by de Germigny's attempt to expel Harborne ended in Barton's expulsion of de Lancome. Perhaps with a view to strengthening Barton's position,

perhaps as a reward for his late successes, Elizabeth bestowed the full title of Ambassador upon her representatives. The Queen of England is reported (No. 994) to be steadily pursuing her policy of securing a Turkish descent on Spain. In January 1591 Barton presented a formal, though vigorously worded demand for Turkish assistance, and the comments of the Venetian Bailo, Lippomano, in his covering despatch show how ready the Grand Vizir was to lend her his aid; the Agà of the Janizaries declared that most of the hostile movement on the part of Turkey could be traced to the instigations of the Queen of England. (No. 994.) Murad's III. reply, enclosed in Lippomano's despatch of January 14th, reads as though the Sultan were really in earnest and intended full co-operation with Elizabeth and Henry. His anxiety to have a son of Don Antonio on board his fleet points to Spain as the real object of attack. The Grand Vizir writing to Don Antonio (No. 1,023) declares that it is one of the Sultan's objects "to restore you to your thorne"; and in February Lippomano reports that all the ministers in complete accord declare that the destination of the Turkish armament is Spain. That unanimity was only apparent, however; as we have already noted there was a strong party headed by the Capudan Pasha, who wished to thwart Sinan Pasha, and to pursuade Murad to attack Crete. Intrigues for the overthrow of the Grand Vizir succeeded. Barton's vigorous diplomacy was checked. The preparations for the armament grew less and less active, and the joint Turkish, English, and French attack on Spain remained an unfulfilled project.

Ca'Torresella, Venice,
23 February 1895.

HORATIO F. BROWN.

P.S.—The appearance of this volume has been considerably delayed by the fact that a large part of the manuscript was destroyed by fire, and had to be rewritten.

VENETIAN AND OTHER PAPERS.

A.D. 1581.

1581.
Jan. 7.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1. GIOVANNI CORRER, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

There is bad news of the troops in Ireland; it is said that his Holiness is in treaty with the King of Spain to send some infantry thither, and that he will contribute to the expenses.

Rome, 7th January 1581.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 14.
Original Minute, Venetian Archives.
Deliberations of the Senate, Constantinople, Reg. VI.

2. To the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR, Constantinople.

In reply to yours of the 25th November last, informing us that the French Ambassador had caused the revocation of the treaty between the Sultan and the Queen of England, and the permission to trade in his ports; considering the damage which the presence of the English in those parts would cause to us, we charge you, should the negotiations be re-opened, to do all you can secretly and dexterously to bring them to nothing.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 14.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

3. LORENZO PRIULI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King has resolved on the advice of his doctors to retire after the Epiphany to Saint Germains. Eruptions have appeared on his face and legs. The Queen-Mother stays here with the Council. She has received full powers from her son. The retirement of the King increases day by day. His favourites who accompany him draw infinite advantage therefrom, for they alone possess his ear; but the rest of the nobility take it very ill.

Secretary Villeroy has arrived from Monsieur with the terms of peace. Everyone desires it. The reliefs for Cambray progress slowly. They are in great straits in Cambray, and the Ambassador of England tells me that he believes they have not provisions for a month. If Cambray falls, Monsieur will lose his repute.

About Ireland I am informed that the Spaniards are preparing larger succours for the rebels there, and the Ambassador of England told me that his Queen will presently proclaim to all the powers the

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hostile designs of the Catholic King, and his ill offices towards her; and will plead in excuse of any action she has taken against his Catholic Majesty, that it was the result not of hatred but of the treaty obligations which exist between England and the Low Countries; that her conduct towards the King has always been marked by the greatest regard for his interests as is proved by the fact that the King was always informed of what took place, and that she had never consented to accept the protectorate and superiority of the Low Countries which had been repeatedly offered to her.

Rumour still insists that the Marshal de Cossé is to go to England; but as yet there are no signs of his departure.

In Bles (Blois), 14th January 1581.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

4. LORENZO PRIULI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Money has been provided for the English Embassy of Marshal de Cossé. The Queen of England urges his despatch. Recently she has sent one of her gentlemen to Monsieur to inform him that Parliament is on the point of meeting to settle their business. As yet the date of the Marshal's departure is not definitely fixed.

Cambray is in sore straits.

In Bles (Blois), 27th January 1581.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

5. LORENZO PRIULI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The English Embassy is still suspended. Monsieur de La Fin, however, is expected to arrive with definite orders from Monsieur. Monsieur has already sent his Secretary Marchaumont to the Queen of England.

In Bles (Blois), 11th February 1581.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

6. LORENZO PRIULI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Abbé dal Bene returned three days ago from the Duke of Alençon, and came to see me. He said that Monsieur, having heard that the Italian Princes accused him of actions hostile to the interests of France, Italy, and religion, such as the conclusion of peace in France, the expedition into Flanders, and the projected marriage with the Queen of England, had resolved to send the Abbé on a mission to his Holiness to justify his conduct. After Rome the Abbé was to visit Venice for a like purpose, but he desired first to know how his visit would be taken. As to the pacification of France Monsieur held himself justified, because although the Huguenots had retired to their forts there was no hope of finishing the war in one year nor yet in ten, and their relations with Germany were so close that even if they were crushed in France they would instantly receive vigorous support from that quarter.

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On the question of Flanders matters were concluded. The Procurators of the States had administered the oath to Monsieur as Count of Flanders, and three reasons had forbidden him to refuse that title. The first was the interests of France which required a counterbalance to the Spanish power in those parts. The second was founded in justice towards the Flemish, who had freed themselves from Spain and voluntarily elected Monsieur, which act constituted the soundest and most legitimate title that a ruler could have (*anci esser il più vero et più legitimo titolo di chi domina*). The third reason was the claims of the French Crown to the County of Flanders, which could not be barred by the renunciation made by Francis I. when in prison.

As to the question of his marriage with the Queen of England; here, again, the desire to counterbalance Spain was the cause of his action; and no Prince need be shocked if he took a heretic to wife, for he would do it for a good end, and with a view to assist rather than to depress the cause of the Catholic religion, and with the hope of bettering the position of that religion in England. He begged me to communicate all this to your Serenity.

The Abbé then proceeded to tell me on behalf of Monsieur that he was informed that the Catholic King was in close relations with the Prince of Scotland, and intended to offer him one of the Infantas for wife, and to make use of him in a war on the Queen of England; that preparations for a great fleet are going on in Spain; at Corunna they are baking biscuits in large quantities, and preparing for the victualling of forty thousand men. This armament is a threat not only to France but also to Venice, who alone among Italian Princes is capable of resisting Spain, and towards whom Spain is ill-affected. Our conversation lasted an hour.

In Bles (Blois), 23rd February 1581.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 24. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

7. Lorenzo Priuli, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Mons. de Lansac and the Secretary Pinard left this place on Monday last, the 20th, for Paris, to join their colleagues and to start for England as soon as possible. There are seven persons besides Mons. de Marchaumont, who has gone on ahead, namely, the Conte de Soissons, brother of the Prince of Condé, the Marshal de Cossé, Secretary Pinard, Mons. de Lansac, Mons. de la Motte Fenelon, Mons. de Cariegia, Governor of Rohan, Mons. de Movison, one of the Presidents of the Parliament of Paris, and they have in their suite a great number of gentlemen. Rumour runs that their mission is to conclude, if possible, the marriage of Monsieur with the Queen of England and to establish friendly relations between the two kingdoms. It is certain that this is the object of the Embassy, but its success is still very doubtful. The Queen of England shows a disposition towards this match, so do her Ministers, and so too, the intimates of Monsieur, who talk of it as a thing accomplished; but the Ministers of the

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King of France say that there are many points to be settled, and do not treat the matter so lightly. Cardinal Birago told me a few days ago that the King could not do less than send this Embassy, to please his brother and the Queen of England, as he did not desire that they should say that the negotiations fell through by his fault; but every one at Court has little hope and little desire that it should succeed; although the Queen-Mother speaks of it as a fact almost accomplished, and shows, in appearance, at least that she is well pleased, and talks of going herself to England with her son, as indeed, she has talked before. Parliament has met in England, and, after the death of Lord Robert, of which we had notice some days ago, the marriage finds fewer opponents in the Parliament of that country, there are many gentlemen who have demanded the free exercise of the Catholic religion; and this question of religion caused the Queen much anxiety and led her to expect disturbances, all the more so as a rising was looked for in Scotland, where the King had put the Earl of Morton to death, as head of the rebels and creature of the Queen, with whom he was accused of plotting to entice the King to the frontier and to betray him to the English. The execution of the Earl of Morton was so swift that the Queen's messengers who had been sent to procure his release, found him already dead. All of which gives great trouble to the Queen, not only for having lost so important an adherent, but because it shows that the King of Scotland is tending towards the Catholic religion. The partizans of England and of Monsieur declare that this is the work of the Spaniards, carried out by Mons. d'Obigni (Daubigny) a Catholic, and, though born of a Scotch father, yet a Frenchman and dependent of the house of Guise; who, although he had only been in Scotland a short time, penetrated so deeply in the good graces of the King, whose near relation he is, that he overthrew the Earl of Morton who had ruled the King till then. However that may be there is news that the King is, or is about to become a Catholic, a step which would cause grave anxiety to the Queen of England.

The pacification of France is advancing. Chaors and Montaigu have been surrendered. The reluctance of the King to assist Monsieur, his brother, in the Flanders affairs, causes Monsieur to wish frequently to let all negotiations fall through; but he persists because he knows that the pacification of France is a necessary step to his Flanders expedition.

In Flanders matters move coldly. The faction of the malcontents wish to direct affairs as they choose, to the small satisfaction of the Prince of Parma. Money is scarce. The country eaten up with soldiery. The reports of large sums sent from France and Italy are false.

Strozzi, who has been here only two days, is said to have gone to Tours to speak with the agent of Don Antonio. I do not know what news this agent brings, but they say that Don Antonio is alive and in Portugal.

In Bles (Blois), 24th February 1581.

[*Italian.*]

1581. March 2. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

8. LORENZO PRIULI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Monsieur has sent Villeroy back, and he has informed the Queen-Mother that the Huguenots will not proceed with the restoration of the forts till they are convinced that the King will support the expedition of Monsieur to Flanders. The restoration of Chaors is confirmed. Strozzi went to Tours to speak with those Portuguese gentlemen mentioned in my despatch of the 24th. They say that among them is a personage of importance. *Some few insist that Don Antonio himself is in France and that he has with him in gold and jewels about two millions of money, that he has written to Monsieur to support his cause with the King. If his presence be true it cannot remain hid for long.*

In Bles (Blois), 2nd March 1581.

[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*]

March 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

9. PAOLO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Should any agent from the Queen of England arrive at this Porte in order to carry on the negotiations about the capitulation between Turkey and England, I will, in obedience to your orders, hinder him as far as possible.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 4th March 1581.

[*Italian ; deciphered.*]

March 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

10. LORENZO PRIULI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Ambassadors who ought to have left for England are still in Paris. The reason for this delay is not known, but it is believed that Monsieur wishes to be sure of the help from the King in his Flanders expedition. The tempers of these Princes are so at variance that there is little hope of an accord. In Flanders they say that Monsieur's arrival is eagerly expected, though the lower classes are not content.

They say that Don Antonio is in this kingdom. The Ministers laugh and scoff at the news; but it is certain that recently there have been many Portuguese at Tours, Nantes, Rochelle, and Poitiers ; and it is not unnatural that Don Antonio should have wished to escape from his dangerous position in Portugal.

In Bles (Blois), 10th March 1581.

[*Italian.*]

March 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

11. ZUAN FRANCESCO MORESINI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

There was a rumour in the Court that a Secretary of France had returned from Constantinople with the news that this year the Turk would not be able to send the fleet which his most Christian Majesty and the Queen of England had asked for ; but that another

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year he would not fail to satisfy their demands. The news is generally credited as it comes from a good source.

Madrid, 20th March 1581.

[*Italian.*]

March 18. Enclosure in Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

12. Copy of a letter from LISBON, dated 18th March 1581.

Don Antonio had intended to embark here. It having come to our knowledge that on the 13th instant six or seven of his followers were to meet at a certain house, we set a watch; and as I and a single police officer were going along the street, I met a man who, according to the indications given me, should have been the man who was to call for Don Antonio; his name was Oliviera, I pulled the hood from his face and it seemed to me that he had more beard than I had been told of; and so I said "this is not our man"; and I let him go. Then I went back to him, and raising my hat, I laid my hand on him, and the officer did the same on the other side of him. The man left his cloak in my hands and took to flight. I followed and he shut himself in the very house we had been warned of; it belonged to a priest. They kept us out till the door was broken; then they came out by the roof, the man and other three. We arrested the priest and his servant, who, under torture, said that he had heard that Don Antonio was at Quinta delli Commendatori, a place three leagues from here, and that he intended to embark at Cascaes. I informed the Duke of this and set out for Quinta with fifteen horsemen. I had a harquebusseer on the crupper. We found nothing there; and passed on to Cascaes at one hour of day but found no traces of Don Antonio. At setting out I sent a soldier called Palavera Dias to the river with six harquebusseers; he found a boat in which was the man who had arranged the embarcation, and with him other seven who were to embark with Don Antonio, and two Augustine Friars, one a capitular seventy years old. They were all arrested, and they disclosed the name of the pilot and master of the carvel which we seized along with three others which were destined as her consorts; and I wait their coming. This took place on the 13th instant. I came back on the 14th; we were overtaken by the night and wetted by the rain, being in thin shoes and some few with cloaks. The carvel had orders to put in at a certain point and to cry "Saint Francis," to which the others would reply "Saint Anthony."

[*Italian.*]

March 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

13. LORENZO PRIULI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

It is thought that, although Monsieur has resolved upon his expedition into Flanders he will not be able to carry it through without great assistance from the King, and on this point of assistances there is great division of opinion. Secret assistance cannot be powerful; and open assistance would entail war with Spain. It is supposed that the King of France will come to no resolve until

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he sees the end of the negotiations with England, whither Ambassadors are already gone. Four days ago the Prince Duffin left to join them, being appointed to fill the place of the Conte de Soissons, brother of the Prince de Condé, who is ill. *The mission of this Embassy is certain; it has two objects, one to conclude a treaty between these two Crowns, which it will do beyond a doubt; the other is to effect the marriage and here it will find much difficulty; first because they cannot find any way by which Monsieur can marry a Huguenot wife without incurring ecclesiastical censures, secondly because they cannot discover a form of marriage ceremony which will satisfy both parties, as the Queen refuses absolutely to be married by Catholic rite (non volendo in alcun modo quella Regina sposarsi alla Catholica). At present there is a proposal that the rite should be performed by two ministers, one Catholic and the other Huguenot, the Catholic Bishop addressing Monsieur, and the Huguenot Minister the Queen. And although both Monsieur and the Queen are so deeply pledged that neither of them can in honour do less than say that they desire the marriage, still one can understand that neither would be averse from retiring though neither desires to be the first to take that step. It is well known that the Queen has frequently said that she sees clearly how important the marriage is on Monsieur's side, as the King his brother is without children, while they have small hope of any, he, young, and she, old; but that if Monsieur were satisfied she would not fail of her word. (Si sa che quella Regina ha più volte detto che conosce chiaramente, che il matrimonio è considerabile per la parte di Monsignore, ritrovandossi il re suo fratello senza figliuoli, et con poca speranza di haverne, lui giovine et lei vecchia, che tuttavia quando Monsignore si contenterà che lei non mancarà mai alla sua parola.) On the other hand although Monsieur represents himself as resolved to maintain his promise, yet he says and gives the King and his mother to understand that he made this promise and has committed himself so far, only under the necessity for supporting his cause with the Flemish by the help of the Queen of England, because the King would not give him the aid which he required; tacitly showing that the rupture of the marriage would not be distasteful to him, provided his Flanders expedition were supported as it should be. The King will not interfere, declaring that he does not desire that the Queen of England should be able to complain of him that, he had not only scorned an alliance with her himself, but had prevented his brother from forming one. Indeed the King is not averse from this marriage under the influence of his intimates who would be glad to see Monsieur out of the kingdom, as he is but little their friend. The Queen-Mother has instructed the Ambassadors, and chiefly Mons. de Lansac, that if the Queen offered any opportunity for breaking off the match they should accept it, but that they should on no account fail to effect a treaty between the two Crowns.*

In Bles (Blois), 22nd March 1581.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

1581.
March 23.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

14. Lorenzo Priuli, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The malcontents in Flanders have resolved to hire German troops, and if necessary, Italians and Burgundians. They have received money from Spain which has been spent on paying the troops.

In Scotland matters are not quiet, and the Queen of England suspects that the King of Scotland is in communication with Spain, as he is at present governed by the Catholic party.

It is doubtful whether Don Antonio is really in France; it seems impossible that his presence should remain hidden for so long a time.

In Bles (Blois), 23rd March 1581.

[*Italian.*]

April 18.
Copy Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

15. Alberto Badoer, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the Doge and Senate.

There is news that in Edelburgh all the colonels and captains engaged by the King of France have met and resolved to raise troops on word not on money, so as to have them ready whenever the King may call for them. This makes some say that although the King will not help his brother in Flanders, yet, if the King of Spain threatens the Queen of England, he would give her vigorous assistance, and it is possible that a defensive alliance has already been concluded.

Prague, 18th April 1581.

[*Italian.*]

May (?)
Memorie Publiche, Marcian Library, Cl. vii. Cod. DCCCVIII.

16. The Ambassadors of France have left for England, and it is considered certain that a league between these two kingdoms will be concluded, though whether the marriage of Monsieur to the Queen will take place, is doubtful. It is difficult to see how Alençon can take that heretical Queen to wife without incurring pontifical censures. Besides which she declines to be married by Roman rites and he by English, and they finally agreed that a Catholic prelate should say the service for Monsieur, and a Huguenot for the Queen.

[*Italian.*]

May 29.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

17. Zuan Francesco Moresini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The Azores have refused obedience to his Majesty, indeed they are afraid that French and English troops have been introduced, and this is considered all the more important both because the place is naturally strong, and because the West and East Indian fleets touch there on their way home. His Majesty is expected to send troops.

Madrid, 29th May 1581.

[*Italian.*]

1581. March 31. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

18. LORENZO PRIULI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The last time I spoke with the Abbé del Bene he told me he had orders from Monsieur not to mention either Flanders or the English match to the Pope, but I am informed that the Abbé did not tell me the truth. It is impossible he should not mention the match which cannot take place without his Holiness's consent, and I believe that Monsieur would avail himself of a refusal on the part of his Holiness in order to break off the match honourably. It is suspected here that the Abbé goes to Rome with the approval of the Queen-Mother to break the English match, and to propose a Spanish marriage instead.

In Bles (Blois), 31st March 1581.

[*Italian ; deciphered.*]

April 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

19. LORENZO PRIULI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

A Portuguese gentleman came here a few days ago, he calls himself Constable of Portugal. He says that the Indies have not yet declared for the Catholic King, and will not do so till they have further news of Don Antonio. In Portugal there is an universal disposition to rise against Spain. Strozzi goes frequently to Tours to speak with the Portuguese gentlemen there. They say Don Antonio is in France, but will not disclose himself till he has come to an understanding with the King or with Monsieur in order to have a safe place of retreat.

The Ambassadors of his Majesty and of Monsieur have arrived at Calais, whence they write that they have advices from England stating that the Queen, believing or pretending to believe that they were still at Paris, desired them to delay their departure for a few days, in order that they might find matters made smoother for the conclusion of their mission. The Ministers here interpret this as a sign that the Queen is little disposed to the match, and that it was with this intention that she requested so numerous an Embassy, not thinking that it could be got together so quickly. They say that although this match does not present so many difficulties from the Queen's point of view as it does from Monsieur's, still there are some serious obstacles, for the Queen would be called on to go to great expense and to embark on an important war to support Monsieur in Flanders. Further her present Ministers cannot be sure of what would happen after her marriage.

In Bles (Blois), 1st April 1581.

[*Italian.*]

April 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

20. LORENZO PRIULI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Abbé del Bene has not yet left for Italy. The cause of this delay is perhaps in no small degree due to the fact that the Ambassadors sent to England are still at Calais, waiting orders from the Queen. The Queen is supposed to have changed her

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mind. These Princes have always been so covert in their actions that one never knows either the truth or what to believe, (*sono stati sempre questi prencipi tanto simulati nelle loro attioni, che ne si è mai saputo con verità ne si sa quello che credere*). Strozzi has gone to Bordeaux, where, he says, Don Antonio is to arrive.

In Bles (Blois), 7th April 1581.

[*Italian.*]

April 21. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

21. Lorenzo Priuli, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Ambassadors to England passed over on the 15th inst. The Queen sent two of her ships to convey them, and made ready on the shore horses and carriages to take them to London, where they will be most honourably lodged. We are now waiting news of their business, though as I hear, the Queen's Ambassadors cannot conclude the affair very quickly; a general conference is announced for the 25th. The Ambassadors of his Majesty resident in England, and Marchaumont, secretary to Monsieur, who preceded this Embassy, say that the Queen is more than ever resolved on the match, and so we may expect soon to see the end of this long and dubious business.

Filippo Strozzi returned to Court six days ago, after conducting to Tours, Don Francesco of Portugal, Conte de Vimiosa, who calls himself Constable of Portugal, and was Lieutenant-General of Don Antonio. He was lodged in the castle, and shortly after was brought to Court. To-day he has had audience of their Majesties; he is honoured and caressed and these French captains follow him like mad men (*questi Capitani Francesi li corrono dietro come pazzi*) and offer their services to Don Antonio. It is very doubtful whether Don Antonio is really in France.

There is news from Scotland on the subject of the King's religion, very different from what one expected. For he has recently published a confession of faith in which the majority of the articles of the Roman Catholic belief are denied. The news of the Earl of Morton's death is contradicted. He is alive, but a prisoner.

In Bles (Blois), 21st April 1581.

[*Italian.*]

May 3. Orignial Despatch, Venetian Archives.

22. Lorenzo Priuli, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

There is no news from England, except that the Embassy has arrived in London, and has been very courteously received. In Scotland the Earl of Morton's guilt has been proved, his goods confiscated and divided. They say he will be executed; and that it has been really proved that he was in correspondence with the Queen of England to betray into her hands the King of Scotland.

In Bles (Blois), 3rd May 1581.

[*Italian.*]

1581.
May 13.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

23. Giovanni Correr, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

Mons. de Foix, the French Ambassador, on being asked by his Holiness whether he thought the marriage of the Duke of Anjou with the Queen of England would take place, replied, that the Queen's attitude up to the present time lead him to think that it would not.

Rome, 13th May 1581.

[*Italian.*]

May 20.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

24. Lorenzo Priuli, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

There is no positive news of the English match. The Parliament has requested the Queen to name her successor. The Prince of Scotland proposed that they should examine his claims, and the Queen of England has let it be understood that if he would come to England and be brought up in the national religion, she would consent to his being declared heir. But no one is able to persuade the Prince of the Queen's good faith, more especially after the discovery of Morton's plot. The nation is anxious to have the succession settled; the Queen, however, keeps the idea of her marriage alive.

Affairs in Ireland are not quiet. The rebels increase in number. The Governor asks for more troops.

The Conte de Vimiosa is going to raise troops for Don Antonio this August.

In Bles (Blois), 20th May 1581.

[*Italian.*]

June 2.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

25. Lorenzo Priuli, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Queen-Mother returned to Court on the 24th of last month, and retired to Chenonceaux on the 26th. They say she had words with his Majesty respecting his treatment of his brother. His Majesty followed her to Chenonceaux, where he stayed five days, and then they all came back to Court on Wednesday last. The King seems to have yielded to his mother's advice. But at this moment news came that Monsieur, accompanied by only five men, had set out for England. He told his Lieutenant-General, the Marquis de Buf (? Bœuf) that he would be back in twelve days. Monsieur informed the Abbé del Bene of this journey, and the Abbé told the King, who subsequently received the news, that contrary winds had compelled his Highness to disembark, and take refuge in Evereux, which is some miles distant from the sea; but if he be not stopped he will cross over on the first fine weather. It is supposed that in despair at his brother's refusal to help him, he has resolved to seek aid and advice from the Queen of England. It is difficult to form a judgment on the matter. Monsieur's resources will not permit him to do much; but at the same time it is certain that the Flemish will support him, and so will the Queen of England,

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if she maintains her present policy; *and though there be some who say that she is seeking an accord with Spain, all that is merely a feint to increase the jealousy of France; it is well known that she neither can nor will trust the Spaniards.*

The English Embassy is to be back soon; and the Queen will return the compliment by sending other Ambassadors here, to ratify all that has been agreed on.

In Bles (Blois), 2nd June 1581.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

June 3. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

26. Lorenzo Priuli, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

During the time the King was at Chenonceaux, the Conte de Vimiosa visited him. The Court still talks of levies in France to assist the Azores, to the reduction of which the Catholic Majesty will direct his fleet. I enclose a report from the King's Historiographer, setting forth the reasons why this crown should support Don Antonio.

In Bles (Blois), 3rd June 1581.

[*Italian.*]

June 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

27. Vicenzo Tron, Hieronimo Lippomano, Zuan Francesco Moresini, Matheo Zane, Venetian Ambassadors in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

Troops are being raised, and a fleet prepared for the Azores, to combat some English troops which have been landed on the island; as the place is of great importance. It is a source of much trouble to his Majesty.

Madrid, 12th June 1581.

[*Italian.*]

June 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

28. Lorenzo Priuli, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Queen-Mother, on her departure from Blois, learning that Monsieur had not embarked for England, went straight to meet him at Manta (Mantes), a place not very far from here. Monsieur is determined to succour Cambray, and is enraged with the King.

The English Embassy is expected back. I hear that they have concluded nothing, because the Queen insists that the King of France shall aid his brother against Spain. She promises agreement on all other points, and the despatch of an Embassy to France.

Paris, 18th June 1581

[*Italian.*]

June 25. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

29. Lorenzo Priuli, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

To-morrow part of the English Embassy is expected here in Paris. It will bring the articles of the marriage contract and of the league, signed by the Queen, the league is to be offensive against Spain as well as defensive. Towards this object she promises one

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hundred and fifty thousand crowns at once, and two hundred thousand francs a month afterwards. She allows one month in which the articles must be signed here. It is generally supposed nothing will come of this matter. When the Queen heard of the disagreement between Monsieur and the King she is said to have encouraged Monsieur in his opposition.

Paris, 25th June 1581.

[*Italian.*]

July 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

30. Lorenzo Priuli, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The English Embassy report to his Majesty that the Queen said that since Monsieur had taken on himself the affairs of Flanders against a King so powerful as his Catholic Majesty, she did not find herself able to support him without the assistance of this Crown. This negotiation was carried on between the Ambassadors and six English deputies among whom were my Lord Robert and three others of his party, who are opposed to the marriage. They did not consult Parliament (*con il Parliamento non hanno conferrito cosa alcuna*), and a definite conclusion is not credited, all the same there are certain articles floating about, which I send just as they are in discharge of my duty.

The Ambassador of England yesterday demanded audience of their Majesties, with him was a Secretary who had been sent from England after the French Ambassadors had left. But his Majesty sent to beg to be excused as he wished to speak first with his brother, as indeed he endeavoured to do yesterday, in the open country between Paris and St. Germains. The King sent in front of him a large number of people, and Monsieur, who had only five with him, retired in suspicion, and the King came back without accomplishing anything. But by the action of the Queen-Mother the meeting is arranged for to-day, though as yet the result is not known.

No one believes that Monsieur will change his Flanders policy, matters being too far advanced, and if he does not Spain will become more and more suspicious that the King and his brother are in accord.

The Ambassador or representative of Spain has expressed in audience *the satisfaction of his master at the promises made, his dissatisfaction at the results. The Ambassador has asked the Nuncio to interfere in the same sense.*

I enclose the letter which Monsieur has addressed to the Parliaments of this kingdom.

Every one speaks of Don Antonio's visit to this kingdom as a fact. The Ambassador of Spain says he believes it. The Bishop of Guardia is said to be with him.

There is a report from Scotland that at last the Earl of Morton has been executed in public, without any uprising. His execution is quite justified, but it has caused great sorrow to the Queen of

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England, against whom the Irish revolution continues. The rebels have seized the money she sent to pay her troops.

Paris, 1st July 1581.

[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Enclosure in preceding Despatch.

31. EXTRACT from the Marriage Contract of his HIGHNESS and the QUEEN.

The marriage shall be celebrated in a public place, upon a raised platform. There shall be a Bishop on one side and a Minister on the other in the dress of the National Church, that is, the Bishop for Monsieur, and the Minister for the Queen.

The Prince shall hear mass, and the Queen shall say her prayers after the manner of her country.

The Prince shall be crowned King, and shall not be allowed to leave the kingdom except in the case of his succession to the throne of France, nor shall he have power to cause the Queen to leave the kingdom against her will.

In case the Queen should die first, Monsieur is to enjoy the kingdom for his life, and should there be male offspring, one shall be King of France and the other King of England.

Should there be female offspring, they shall succeed, as is the custom of the country, which is not under Salic Laws.

If there be sons they shall be brought up in England under the direction of the survivor of the contracting parties.

As regards religion, Monsieur shall have his own church, his Bishop, his worship, for himself and his suite, English may not assist under pain of corporal punishment.

The Queen shall continue her own religion. Monsieur shall have his body guard and a secure place to promenade in with his suite.

July 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

32. LORENZO PRIULI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The English Embassy were allowed one month in which to convey the reply of his Majesty. That period is passed, and has been prolonged for another month. It is thought that they will drag the matter on like this as long as they can. *Mons. de Lansac. one of the Ambassadors has been to see me and is full of praise of the Queen ; he says in the matter of religion she is not in that desperate state which is generally thought. She always mentioned the Pope, with greatest respect, and said if only he saw into her heart, he would not wish her so ill ; that her one desire was the union of the faithful, and that if the Emperor and other Princes wished to summon a Council which should be universal and free, she would give her adherance. She blamed the Calvinists, and said she knew them for criminals whose desire it was to destroy allegiance to Princes (confessando che sono conosciuti da lei per homeni deliciosi et che attendono a levar la obbedientia a principi). He added that if the marriage took place it would render great service to Christendom. That if children were born of the marriage the next day the kingdom would return to the Catholic Faith ; and that even if there were no offspring, that might very well happen, as the Queen showed an*

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excellent disposition towards that faith, though she kept it concealed for fear of causing divisions in the kingdom. Finally he said to me, "I tell you, my Lord Ambassador, that in her heart of hearts the Queen of England is as much a heretic as I am who would die a thousand times for the Catholic Faith."

He then expatiated on the great obedience, respect, and love which her subjects show her, on her riches and her grandeur, assuring me that they and their suite of eight hundred persons were treated like so many Kings, with feasts and tournays and revels, in which the English had spent a great deal of money. They met with the greatest respect from the common people, who are usually insolent to all strangers especially towards the French (*Che suole esser molto insolente contro ogni sorte de forestieri et particolarmente contro Francesi*). And he had often seen the Queen on her way through the city receive such blessings from the people as though she had been another Messiah. She bears herself most modestly with the people, and chiefly in the matter of money. Parliament lately voted her two millions of francs but she accepted only one; and yet in spite of this parsimony she had more than six millions of gold in ready money.

I have thought it my duty to report the conversation of this gentleman, of great weight in this Court, though his account is not very probable.

Paris, 14 July 1581.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

July 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

33. Lorenzo Priuli, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

It is true that Don Antonio of Portugal arrived at Calais and passed over to England to treat with the Queen. They say he will return this way. The Conte de Vimiosa has arrived here.

The Azores on receiving help from France and news of Don Antonio, rose in revolt against the King of Spain, and seized some of his officers and cut others to bits.

Paris, 15th July 1581.

[*Italian.*]

July 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

34. Lorenzo Priuli, Venian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Queen-Mother and the King of France, though he is unwilling, are both assisting Monsieur in Flanders. An Ambassador from England is expected daily, and preparations for his honourable reception have been made at the King's expense. There are not wanting those who assert that the league will be made against Spain. But I have not heard anything from a trustworthy source as yet. Three thousand English infantry have been landed at Dunkerque to join the troops of the Prince of Orange.

Paris, 28th July 1581.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

1581.
July 29.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

35. Leonardo Donato, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

I must inform your Serenity, that on Sunday, in Saint Peter's, an English heretic attacked the priest officiating at mass, and endeavoured to snatch the Host which he was on the point of elevating, from his hands. The heretic was at once attacked with cuffs and kicks by the people, and dragged to the prison of the inquisition, where he has confessed that he is one of several who have come into Italy for this very purpose, and that he desires to die for his sect. He has been condemned to death, and will be executed one of these days.

Rome, 29th July 1581.

[*Italian.*]

July.
Memorie Publiche, Marcian Library, Cl. vii. Cod. DCCCXI.

36. An Englishman in St. Peter's, attending mass, when the Host was consecrated, attacked the priest, and endeavoured to snatch it from his hand. Failing in this, he took the cup which still had some wine in it, and threw it on the ground. He was seized and buffetted by the people, but rescued by the cannons, who consigned him to the Holy Office. He declares that there are several of his sect in Rome, who are resolved to put down the adoration of the Host or to die.

[*Italian.*]

July 29.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

37. Lorenzo Priuli, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Duke of Alençon's Flanders army is growing rapidly; it is thought that the Prince of Parma will not try to stop his passage. Don Antonio is in England. All his hopes of causing Portugal to rise consist in his keeping the Azores, whence he can draw money from the Indian fleets. His hopes are not well founded, for it is improbable that the India merchants will put their goods to sea while matters are so unquiet. If he can keep the Azores it will cause great trouble to his Catholic Majesty, for they will become a nest of French and English corsairs; and the King will be obliged to maintain a large fleet for the protection of his Indiamen.

In England, in the city of London, fines were inflicted on two hundred and forty persons who had refused to attend service in the Calvinist churches. The fine consists of sixty-six crowns per head per month for every month that they have absented themselves.

They say that the Earl of Ormonde, who alone held for the Queen in Ireland, has been removed from the management of affairs. News from Scotland gives some hope that the King will become a Catholic.

Paris, 29th July 1581.

[*Italian.*]

1581.
Aug. 5. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

38. Leonardo Donato, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

That English heretic who committed the sacrilege in Saint Peter's has been burned alive, after having a hand cut off, and being scorched with lighted torches on his way to the scaffold, where he bore himself with such firmness as to excite universal comment.

Rome, 5th August 1581.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

39. Vincenzo Tron, Hieronimo Lippomano, Zuan Francesco Moresini, and Matheo Zane, Venetian Ambassadors in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

His Majesty has been assured that Don Antonio has disembarked at Calais, and further, that he has passed into England with only two companions, one a chamberlain, a person of importance, the other a common servant. Many say that his journey to England is merely the work of chance; others suppose that the Conte de Vimioso is the cause of the move. By order of the King, complaint has been made that Vimioso has been received favourably in France. The Ministers hope that this will cause Don Antonio to be rejected by the French.

Lisbon, 6th August 1581.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

40. Lorenzo Priuli, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Ambassador of England went yesterday to the King. On his way back to Paris he waited for me in the Park of Vincennes, and sent one of his gentlemen to meet me, and to say that he desired to enjoy my company and conversation in that place. When I reached him he said, with face all joyful, "Well, how did you find the King and what did he say to you?" I replied that we had only discussed particular matters, and had not entered on any general topics nor touched on the subject of Monsieur. He said, "Well, I must tell you that I found the King very well disposed towards Monsieur, for he said to me that, having done all he could to dissuade him from his Flanders expedition, but finding him firm, it was impossible to abandon him. The King of Spain cannot be allowed to increase in power, and the County of Artois is impatient to return to its allegiance to this Crown. Spanish affairs are bad in Flanders; and the Prince of Parma has neither as many men nor as much money as they have recently declared. The part of the Netherlands which is in revolt against Spain is united and ready to accept Monsieur. He also said that he found the King disposed in favour of Don Antonio, who has equipped fourteen ships in England and has placed them under the command of Drake, the famous corsair. This fleet was sent to the Azores, to secure them and to fall in with the Indian fleets. Other corsairs gathered round Drake. The Queen of England did not

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interfere, but allowed Don Antonio to do as he pleased. Drake's fleet had worsted the Spaniards. The King of Spain deserved this treatment, for he had behaved in a like way about Ireland. The Queen hoped that the Azores would play the same part in Indian affairs as Flushing played in Flemish (et che speravа che le isole Terzere fariano il medesimo effetto nelle cose delle indie che ha fatto Fleusinghen nelle cose di Fiandra). If they could seize the India fleet they would produce a crisis such as that which took place when her Majesty seized the money of the King of Spain which was destined for Flanders under the name of private merchants. And this is the true way to humble the pride of Spain (et che questo è il vero modo di abbassar la superbia di spagnuoli) by plucking their pen feathers (levandoli queste pene maistre).

The Ambassador of the Queen of England who has been expected here for eight days, when he was six leagues off, sent to excuse himself with the King for visiting Monsieur first, as he had letters to deliver from his mistress which would not brook delay, owing to the great love there was between the two. They say he has brought much money to Monsieur.

Paris, 7th August 1581.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Aug. 8. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

41. Alberto Badoer, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the Doge and Senate.

Don Bernardino de Mendoza writes from England that Don Antonio is in that island, in a town not far from London, with a suite of 14 persons; who were all so like one another that it was difficult to distinguish Don Antonio among them. It is said that he has been twice to London to speak to the Queen, but this is not certain.

Prague, 8th August 1581.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

42. Lorenzo Priuli, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The day before yesterday the Queen-Mother returned from her visit to Monsieur, and the same day all the Court came to Paris. The King has been occupied in receiving the new English Ambassador.

The Queen-Mother in audience told me that the King had this morning sent Mons. de Bellièvre to the Prince of Parma to assure him of his Majesty's good intentions, and to promise that even if Monsieur should succour Cambray, he would not fail to interfere in favour of the status quo ante. (*Non si mancherà d'intromettersi col negotio con lui, et con la detta città perche le cose tornino nel stato de prima.*)

Paris, 11th August 1581.

[*Italian.*]

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Aug. 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

43. LORENZO PRIULI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Don Francesco of Portugal will leave one of these days for England, whence he will pass to the Azores as Governor-General of those islands and those seas in the name of Don Antonio who is in England. Two days ago the Queen of England's Ambassador Extraordinary arrived. He is lodged and provided for most honourably at the King's expense. Yesterday he was received in audience. As yet I have had no report on it. Here they are preparing most sumptuous festivals, which are to begin on the 18th September, the King's birthday. Not only the royal family, but princes and private gentlemen are spending large sums on dresses and liveries, so that the effect will surpass all expectation.

Paris, 11th August 1581.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

44. LORENZO PRIULI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Secretary of Spain informed me that he had letters from that country. A captain with 600 infantry had reached the Azores. This was followed up by two thousand Spanish and one thousand German troops. If help does not come soon from England it will go ill with the islanders.

Paris, 12th August 1581.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

45. LORENZO PRIULI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

News has come by way of England that Don Pietro de Velasco, sent by the King of Spain to keep the Azores in allegiance, landed his six hundred men, and built a fort; but on the 25th of last month was cut to pieces with all his men by the islanders. When this news reached England Don Antonio hastened the despatch of his supports.

Paris, 26th August 1581.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

46. LEONARDO DONATO, Venetian Ambasssdor in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

News from Flanders that the Duke of Anjou has thirty thousand crowns a month from England, and sixty thousand a month from the States, to continue the war.

Rome, 9th September 1581.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

47. The VENETIAN AMBASSADORS in Spain to the DOGE and SENATE.

Letters from London, dated the 4th of August, state that Don Antonio has bought two ships, and intended to equip twenty more; but those who found money for the expedition wished to be sure of their interest; accordingly the jewels Don Antonio had with him were

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valued, but did not pass thirty-six thousand crowns. Without sufficient security the vessels will not sail. Don Antonio has applied for help to the Queen of England. As yet no resolution has been taken.

Madrid, 15th September 1581.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

48. Lorenzo Priuli, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Ambassador Extraordinary of the Queen of England, has departed without concluding anything, but he has left his negotiations alive, by saying that he hopes that what has been left undone this time will be done the next. Monsieur is near Amiens on the confines of Flanders. Apparently he desires to go to Calais, and thence to Dunkerque and Antwerp. He has with him only two hundred horse and his suite. Aldegonde, the chief person of the Prince of Orange and of the States is with him. The English Ambassador has gone to meet him. Many think that Monsieur will not reach Antwerp, but will find some obstacle placed in his way by the Prince of Orange, who is suspected of playing a double game with his Highness.

Don Antonio has left England, and is in France at Rohan, where Strozzi has gone to meet him. He has begun badly in England, where the Queen has recalled many of the provisions made on his behalf. They doubt if he will fare better here.

Paris, 20th September 1581.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

49. Matheo Zane, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

Advices from Portugal state that the King has been in person to visit the works on the fort of St. John at the mouth of Lisbon harbour. Don Pietro de Valdes has returned from the Azores after his defeat. He was put under arrest as soon as he landed. Figueroa has abandoned his enterprise against the Azores. The truth is that he had little more than one thousand men; he found the island strongly garrisoned by French and English, and thought it as well not to try his fortune. Some Bretons and English, notably Captain Drake, have recently damaged and plundered his Majesty's subjects on the high seas. They say Drake will join the rebels in the Azores.

Madrid, 1st October 1581.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 5. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

50. Lorenzo Priuli, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Don Antonio is at Dieppe. He has with him five ships which he bought in England. Strozzi has joined him. Few have any hopes for him.

Paris, 5th October 1581.

[*Italian.*]

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Oct. 29. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

51. Matheo Zane, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

You will have heard that Don Antonio has arrived at a port of Normandy with some English ships which he raised in that island by pawning his jewels to the Queen. He no sooner landed in France than he tried to raise money there. He has been joined by Strozzi, Vimioso, and others. If he appears off the coast of Portugal he will certainly cause a rising; or he may establish himself in the Azores. The works on fort St. John are to be carried out at once.

Madrid, 29th October 1581.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 30. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

52. Matheo Zane, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

Some weeks ago his Majesty learned that in England and Britany they were manning ships to sail to the Straits of Maggelan, and were supplying them with wood and iron, and other materials, for building a fort in a position very well adapted to harass his fleets and to disturb his quiet dominion in those parts. His Majesty resolved to forestall them, and despatched three thousand men, under Colonel Diego de Sottomayor. They were supplied with all that was required to build a fort, and were embarked on thirteen or fourteen ships. All the vagabonds in Seville were forced on board to serve as irregulars. The fleet was overtaken by a great storm, which lasted several days. Four ships sank, more than a thousand persons were drowned, and the munitions were ruined. They say his Majesty has lost a large sum; and what is worse he will not be able to fit out another fleet very rapidly, and so the enemy can forestall him and occupy the site.

Madrid, 30th October 1581.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 3. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

53. Lorenzo Priuli, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Last week, the unexpected news arrived that Monsieur had gone to Calais, on his way to England. He has taken with him the Prince Dufin, Mons. della Valle, and four other gentlemen. Secretary Pinard whom their Majesties sent to Monsieur to disuade him from going into Flanders, found the Prince with his spurs on. Monsieur begged the Secretary to say to their Majesties that his resolves about Flanders depended upon the issue of his negotiations with the Queen of England.

News from England announce great preparations which the Queen is making to receive Monsieur, and that before his departure he received here in France one hundred thousand crowns from the Queen (*et innanci al suo partire quella maestà li ha fatto contare in questo Regno* 100^{m} s^{di}). The Queen-Mother assured me that neither she nor the King had any inkling of this journey, which caused them great surprise. That they know nothing about what will result from it.

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Last week Don Antonio arrived here and lodged for four days in the Queen-Mother's palace, where he was treated with royal honours. On the evening of his arrival he was visited by the King and the Queens, who went there without an escort of any kind; the Queen-Mother visits him daily. He has asked leave to raise troops and munitions in France, a request which was easily granted. Many French gentlemen have entered his service as Colonels, and he has raised eight thousand French infantry, and they say two thousand Germans from Flanders. He has been visited by all these princes and princesses and by the English Ambassador. The principal gentlemen who have entered his service are Mons. de Lansac the younger, the Conte de Brisac, son of the late Marshal, Mons. de la Rochepot, Mons. de la Rochfocauld, and his Lieutenant-General is Strozzi.

Paris, 3rd November 1581.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 13. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

54. Matheo Zane, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

There is great joy at the news from Flanders that, on September 30th, the Frisian rebels with their Scotch and English allies under a nephew of the Prince of Orange, were defeated.

The fleet for the Straits of Magellan is refitted and ready to sail, under the command of Don Diego Flor de Valdes and Don Alonso de Sottomayor, who is going as Governor of Chili.

Madrid, 13th November 1581.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

55. Lorenzo Priuli, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Monsieur, who, as I wrote in my last despatch, went over to England, was met at the shore by the Queen and received with all sorts of rejoicings. He sent Mons. de Sciaubon to give an account to the King; and Mons. de Sciaubon was immediately sent back again in company with the Secretary Pinard.

Court gossip says that the marriage is concluded, but more serious heads do not believe it. It is more likely that Monsieur sent this gentleman out of compliment to the King as they had parted in anger, Monsieur refusing twenty-five thousand crowns which the King had offered him, saying it was not enough.

Paris, 26th November 1581.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

56. Lorenzo Priuli, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Monsieur's journey to England was unexpected, but four days ago the still more unexpected news arrived that the marriage of His Highness and the Queen was agreed on, that they had given

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their hand one to the other, or, as they say here, were affianced (*o come dicono qui fianzato*). Although this news comes only on the authority of a servant of the Queen-Mother, without confirmation from the English Ambassador, yet it is so implicitly credited that their Majesties talk openly of it as a certainty, and outwardly show content. The King on being congratulated the other day, replied that he was sure the Catholic King would not feel such pleasure. In short, the point on which all seem to be in accord is this, that on the 22nd of last month, in the presence of many nobles the Queen and Monsieur exchanged rings and kisses; but no one knows what they said. The Ministers, however, express doubts, and the Ambassador of England says he has no news from his Queen.

The representatives of the various Flemish provinces are in England in order to conclude their negotiations, and to take his Highness into Flanders.

Paris, 1st December 1581.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 5. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

57. Alberto Badoer, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the Doge and Senate.

Don Bernardino de Mendoza writes from England that Alençon has arrived, and has sent one of his suite back to France, to announce that his marriage is concluded. But the English deny it.

Prague, 5th December 1581.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

58. Matheo Zane, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The news that Alençon has gone to England causes anxiety here. They are afraid that the marriage of his Highness to the Queen will be announced at last, or that at least an open alliance between France and England against Spain will be concluded, especially as two Ambassadors from the Queen have gone to France.

Madrid, 11th December 1581.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 12. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

59. Alberto Badoer, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the Doge and Senate.

Mendoza writes that the Queen of England has promised a million in gold to Alençon if he would give Boulogne-sur-Mere and Calais as securities. But this offer is expected to come to nothing.

Prague, 12th December 1581.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

60. Lorenzo Priuli, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The information that the Queen and Monsieur had exchanged rings is confirmed; but in spite of this doubts still remain.

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A person of quality told me that the Queen-Mother had declared that the Queen of England had been very depressed for two days, and that she was afraid that something had happened between her and Monsieur, though matters were made straight subsequently and the decision of Parliament, which had already met for this purpose, was awaited. The same person also reported the following conversation between the Queen and Monsieur, to whom the Queen said, "Monsieur, I confess that my obligation towards you is great, as I have learned how great is the affection you bear me, which you have made all the more manifest by visiting my kingdom, not once but twice, in so intimate and confiding a way. This has laid me under such obligations towards you that I have resolved to promise myself in marriage to you, as I have done and would do again, but I ought to say what is in my mind, and causes me much trouble, and that is my doubt that this resolve, which I took in order to give you the greatest sign of affection that I could, may end in your great damage by making the world at large hostile to you, for you are brother to the King of France, who is childless, and I am so advanced in years that you can hardly hope to have a child by me, and my doctors warn me that if I have a child I shall die in child bed, and that is out of the question. This apart I may live yet so many years that if after my death you married again you might not be able to beget children. I am therefore afraid of bringing an injury upon you, your family, and the Crown of France. I have thought it right to say all this, and I beg you to consider it well, whether you would not do better to marry someone by whom you could have children, being however, absolutely sure of two things, one is that if you wish it I am always ready to keep my promise to you; the second is that if you should have any doubt lest, if the marriage did not take place, I should not support your designs with all my might, I assure you, and will convince you by all means in my power, that you may count on me and my kingdom as if you had been my husband."

My informant reported this conversation to the Queen-Mother. It is said that the English Queen's suspicions were roused by the arrival of Secretary Pinard; who is said to have brought with him a treaty of marriage between Monsieur and the Princess of Lorain, and if that were so it is easy to imagine that this gave rise to her remarks. But it is very difficult to know the truth as neither their Majesties nor their Ministers are able to make up their minds; nor do they understand the conduct of Monsieur, who is acting very secretly and perhaps falsely. Monsieur is arranging for his journey into Flanders, and one of his gentlemen writes to say that he finds in England so ready a support for his designs, that he has no need to go a begging in France. He sent some days ago more than two thousand soldiers into Flanders, openly embarked at Dover and landed at Dunkerque.

Paris, 14th December 1581.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

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Dec. 18.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

61. Matheo Zane, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

While they were still in doubt here as to the upshot of Alençon's journey to England, whether the marriage would take effect or whether an alliance hostile to his Catholic Majesty would be concluded, letters arrived from France with the news that the Duke had found occasion to say that the marriage was already agreed on. This caused anxiety here. Despatches have arrived from Don Bernardino de Mendoza, who represents Spain in England, relating the whole affair. He says that at first the Queen did her best to prevent Alençon from coming to see her. She sent to offer him a large sum in Angles for his needs. But his Highness would not give up his journey, as he was as anxious for the marriage as the Queen was for an alliance with the Crown of France. While the Queen and Alençon were walking in the royal palace the French Ambassador was introduced, and they began to discuss the question of completing the marriage. The Queen took occasion to say that she never intended any other than his Highness to be her husband, in token whereof she embraced him and gave him a ring, and he another to her. Hence the universal rumour that the marriage will be concluded. But the completion of this matter rests with the Parliament which is convoked for the 5th of this month; and nothing will be decided there unless it be for the good of the kingdom. This will serve to free the Queen, who, they say, is engaged to others. At the same time they will raise the question of an alliance with France; but neither will this succeed, for Alençon will be disgusted by the rupture of the treaty of marriage. Meantime, on behalf of his Majesty, active steps are being taken to disturb these negotiations, and also that Don Antonio should not find facilities for raising ships, nor for disposing of his booty. Similar requests have been made in France, but, as yet, without effect. The King is afraid lest Don Antonio should go to the Azores, and is preparing an armament for the reduction of those islands.

Madrid, 18th December 1581.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Dec. 28.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

62. Lorenzo Priuli, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Queen of England, not finding in her Parliament that disposition for the match which she pretended to desire, has adjourned the whole question to next month. Meantime the clergy of that religion have spoken to her Majesty, clearly showing her that by the marriage she will create a dangerous division in her kingdom, as his Highness would make public profession of his religion, and perform its services with exactitude. Her Ministers have also informed her that even if the question of religion could be arranged, they did not see that her Majesty in marrying Monsieur should also marry his quarrel with the King of Spain, (*non vedono come sua Maestà debba sposar insiene con Monsignore la querella sua che ha con Re Cattolico*) because it was quite certain that

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the King of France would only look on, and that the whole burthen would fall on England, which, it must be owned, is not strong enough to engage single-handed with such a powerful sovereign as the King of Spain, for whom all the other sovereigns have so great respect.

Monsieur has informed the King of the state of the negotiations, and the English Ambassador has done the same.

The King told one of his Court that he had answered that he would take the same line towards his brother as the Queen did; if she helped him he would too, even though the match should not come off. The Queen of England demands that the King's promise should be put in writing, but his Majesty has never consented to go beyond a verbal promise, perhaps because he does not trust her, or because he wishes to fulfil his word at his own convenience.

They say that the States of Flanders and the Prince of Orange are to meet at Dunkerque to welcome Monsieur, who is said to have already crossed over. He will return to England for the meeting of Parliament.

Don Antonio is at Tours; he has sent ten companies to the Azores. But he will not be able to get together sufficient forces to attack Portugal. They say his object is to raise a fleet, and to harry the Indiamen from some stronghold in the Azores. He will be very lucky if his affairs go well, as he has to deal with a Prince so much greater than himself.

Paris, 28th December 1581.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

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1582.
Jan. 11.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

63. Lorenzo Priuli, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

If I have written and still continue to write dubiously on the subject of the marriage of Monsieur and the Queen of England I am justified in doing so, for on the one hand one sees no positive results of the decision, while on the other the Queen and Monsieur are in perpetual festivity, and conversing with the greatest possible intimacy and freedom. *In the last audience I had of their Majesties I thought it advisable to broach the subject, and I said that, as I had been invited to speak frankly to them, I begged them to deign to tell me whether this match were really settled or not, that I might be able to give your Serenity some certain news on so important a point. The King smiled a little at first and then said, "I will tell you what my brother writes to me, namely, that he still has hopes that his marriage will be effected, and in the meantime he is engaged in amusements (lui ha tuttavia speranza che*

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il suo matrimonio habbia effetto, et che in tanto attende a darsi piacere) *but as yet there is nothing done or undone* (*ma non v'è ancora niente di fatto ne manco di disfatto*) *otherwise my brother would not have exchanged his ring.*" *The Queen-Mother said to me,* "*I will tell you in confidence what I would not tell others. The Queen of England is most astute and looks after her own interests; she has launched my son, who is a mere lad, and would not listen to our advice* (*la Regina d'Inghilterra è molte astuta, et procura di far il fatto suo, ha imbarcato mio figlio, che è un giovane, et che non ha voluto ascoltare li nostri consigli*); *and then he writes that he still hopes to conclude the match. They pass their time in feasts and revelry; and it seems to us that those tales about that island which are represented as fables are not fables but the truth.*" *I answered,* "*Madame, your Majesty doubtless means the tales of Amadis and his companions.*" *The Queen laughed loud and heartily at this and said* "*Just so.*" *She added that God often guided great events by ways unknown to us; and that perhaps as Monsieur had refused to listen to her, God would now lead him through the strange path of this marriage; for if the Queen broke her word his Highness would perhaps turn to other things. The Queen of England may possibly excuse herself by saying that the ring meant nothing, for the engagement ring is given by the man to the woman, not by the woman to the man. Your Serenity sees in what a state of ambiguity their Majesties are.*

Monsieur is said to be raising troops in France. The Governor of Cambray, a Fleming, has been shot in a skirmish. The Queen-Mother has sent seventy thousand crowns to Bordeaux to assist the affairs of Portugal; but the preparations are inadequate to an assault on that kingdom.

Paris, 11th January 1581 [m.v.].

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Jan. 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

64. Matheo Zane, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The King is afraid lest Alençon, who is in England, should make a descent on Flanders. Four ships belonging to Don Antonio have been in a storm. One sank. The French and English in the Azores are not so numerous as was supposed. The islanders are not in accord among themselves; it is chiefly the populace that is hostile to his Majesty. The loss of Don Antonio's ships and the rumours of the King's great strength will probably induce the islanders to surrender.

Madrid, 22nd January 1581 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

65. Lorenzo Priuli, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

I have no fresh information about England except that Parliament was summoned for the 24th inst., but there is a prophecy which will very likely be fulfilled, that Parliament will be adjourned and

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nothing done, after the manner of the English. (*Che il Parlamento si rimmetterà ad altro tempo senza concluder cosa alcuna, secondo il costume de inglesi.*) Some English ships have been got ready for the passage of his Highness into Flanders.

Don Antonio of Portugal has been here two days and has treated secretly with the Queen-Mother.

Paris, 26th January 1581 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

66. Lorenzo Priuli, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The real reason why Don Antonio came here was to show the Queen-Mother his news from Portugal, which give him hopes in that enterprise, and to beg her Majesty to determine on raising a larger force for that purpose. I do not hear that he has succeeded, and the last detachment of troops has not left yet for the Azores.

Paris, 9 February 1581 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

67. Matheo Zane, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The courier from Sicily has brought news that the Viceroy of Naples has appointed various captains to levy troops for his Majesty. These troops are all lads who have never been from home, and ill-fitted to make good soldiers *especially after the bad treatment the Italians have recently received in Portugal. Apart from the question of the Azores, these warlike preparations are supposed to be a demonstration on his Majesty's part against those who are jealous of his grandeur and eager to thwart his designs, especially in the matter of Flanders, of Don Antonio's rebellion, for so they call it, in Portugal, and, of the reduction of the Azores. The King spoke very freely to the French Ambassador, giving him to understand that he neither could nor would any longer dissimulate his feelings, and that all Don Antonio's hopes rested on the favour of France. The present movement of troops is supposed to be intended to back up words by deeds, in order to facilitate a happy conclusion to the business of the Azores which is important. And should the French openly undertake the defence of the islands, his Majesty can come the more readily to a breach with them, as indeed many urge him to do without waiting any longer. But his Majesty is certainly no promoter of war; indeed he desires peace that he may settle his affairs in Portugal and Flanders. Don Antonio's preparations continue to diminish. His Majesty has sent information here that the Bishop of Guarda of the house of Portugal, who persuaded Don Antonio to set himself up as King, is in Castille in incognito (si trova desconosciuto) and has ordered diligent search for him; others say, and this is more likely that the Bishop has placed himself in safety out of Spain.*

Madrid, 10th February 1581 [m.v.].

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

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Feb. 12.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

68. Lorenzo Priuli, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

There is positive news that Monsieur has left England. The Queen accompanied him to the seashore; and to show grief at his departure she wore black (*la quale, volendo mostrare dolore di questa sua partita, si vesti di nero*). She gave him an escort of forty English gentlemen, among whom are four Peers, the chief of whom is my Lord Robert; and she charged them to serve his Highness, never to leave him, and to bring him back to England when he had concluded his business in Flanders. This evening we hear that he has reached Flushing, where the Prince of Orange awaited him. The Queen caused to be placed on board the ships which conveyed his Highness, several cases of money which are doubtless for his service. From Flushing they say, but it is not certain, that his Highness went to Antwerp to take actual possession of the States, over which he will place the Prince of Orange as Lieutenant.

The King of Spain's representative told me that the King of France had recently sent to promise the Queen of England to assist Monsieur in Flanders; but she raised new difficulties, and asked for Calais as a guarantee that the King would keep his word; promising to deposit the city in Monsieur's hands.

The English Parliament is dissolved without concluding anything about the match.

Paris, 12th February 1581 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 19.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

69. Matheo Zane, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The King has ordered the reduction of interest on loans to the Crown from something over seven per cent. to something under six per cent.

An Italian engineer has offered to make the Tagus navigable.

Madrid, 19th February 1581 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 20.
Enclosed in Despatch from Rome, March 17.

70. Monsieur, the brother of the King of France, arrived at Flushing on the 10th of this month. He was received with all honour and applause by the Princes of Orange and Pinoi, accompanied by the Deputies from the cities and provinces of Brabant, Flanders, Holland, Zealand, Friesland, and Gueldres.

On the morning of the following day his Highness caused mass to be said in his own house. No mass had been said in Zealand for the last eight years. After dinner his Highness moved to Middleburg, where the citizens welcomed him with the greatest affection and honour, and there he stayed till Saturday last, the 17th. On that day he left by water for Antwerp, which he reached yesterday. He landed outside the city about eleven in the morning, and was met by the nobles and captains of the city, dressed in black velvet, and followed by forty companies of infantry. He was conducted to a theatre which had been erected outside the

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walls, close to the door of the citadel. Here he was joined by the Princes of Delfino, Orange, and Pinoi, the Earls of Leicester and Lavas (?), my Lords Usdo (? Hunsdon) and Haymart, and other French and English noblemen, all richly dressed. The Barons of Brabant and Antwerp surrounded his Highness, and led him to the theatre, where they caused him to sit on a chair of crimson velvet, under a canopy. Then followed a long oration, setting forth the reasons which had induced the States to summon his Highness, and to invite him to enter on the possession of all that his ancestors had enjoyed. After this the articles of the agreement between his Highness and the States concluded last year, were read aloud by the Secretary of the States. Then his Highness raised his hand and pronounced these words, "I, Francis, son and only brother of the King of France, Duke of Anjou and Brabant, do swear and promise to observe all and each of the clauses and articles here read; to cause sound justice to be administered; to maintain these States in the privileges and rights which they have always enjoyed." Then the Barons and Lords of Brabant, and the citizens of Antwerp, having raised their hands, swore obedience and fidelity, and embraced His Highness by the knees (*et abbraciorno la coscia*). Then the Secretary of the States took the cloak, the hat, and the sword worn by his Highness, and robed him instead in the mantle and cap of the Duke of Brabant, which was of crimson velvet lined with ermine; then, taking another sword, he placed himself before the Duke and presented him to the people as their Duke, whom they must obey, and to whom they must swear fealty, as all did by raising their hands. Then, after three blasts of the trumpet, the heralds scattered coin, bearing the arms and device of his Highness, which are quarterly France and Brabant. His Highness was then conducted to the Abbey of San Michel, where his lodging was prepared. He entered the city under a canopy; and there were as many as twenty-five thousand armed men in the street.

The worship of God has been restored in the church of that Abbey; and it is to be hoped that his Highness may be the means of restoring worship throughout all the other cities where it has been suspended. The Count d'Estre (Leicester) presented to the Lords of the States and to the Prince of Orange, letters from the Queen of England, his mistress, in which she begged them to receive and honour his Highness as long as he observed the terms he had agreed to, as her affection for him and his own rank required; and saying that she would do all that in her lay to maintain the authority of his Highness. The streets are strewn with lilies, and fireworks are everywhere. It is impossible to describe the enthusiasm of the people for the arrival of his Highness.

Antwerp, 20th February.

[*Italian*; *translated from the French.*]

Feb. 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

71. Lorenzo Priuli, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Monsieur is said to have reached Antwerp on the 20th. Secretary Pinard has returned from England, but his report is not known.

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Other gentlemen of Monsieur's suite declare that there is the greatest love and union between his Highness and the Queen, that on many points of discussion between them they are perfectly in accord, and that the Queen will certainly assist him as far as she can. *The representative of Spain is assured that the son of Secretary Pinard took to England articles signed by the King with a view to satisfy the Queen and Monsieur on the matter of Flanders, and that the King has taken this step in the certainty that he will not be called on to fulfill his promise, because the Queen will never carry out the match. I learned also from the conversation of this Spanish gentleman that the Catholic King will not embark on open war against France, but will overlook the injuries done him, and will endeavour to maintain matters in their present position.*

The levies for Portugal go on apace. They will soon be ready. An embargo was laid on all shipping along the Atlantic coast, in order to select the best ships and men. The fleet is destined for the Azores.

Paris, 23rd February 1581 [m.v.]

[*Italian; part in italics deciphered.*]

March 5. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

72. Matheo Zane, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The preparations for the war which are being made in Spain, appear to be far greater than would be required for an expedition to the Azores, and so people say that his Majesty intends to attack England, and adduce various reasons for his doing so. But the undertaking is more difficult than is generally supposed, and therefore many people believe that his Majesty's intentions are directed to the defence of Flanders, and the suppression of the French if they attempt to support Don Antonio.

Madrid, 5th March 1582.

[*Italian; deciphered*].

March 7. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

73. Alberto Badoer, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the Doge and Senate.

News from Constantinople that the French are urging the Sultan to attack Spain; pointing out how weak his Majesty is in Flanders, that England is an open foe, Portugal disturbed, the Azores sure to hold for Don Antonio. The Pasha is said to have promised to make the Turkish fleet take the sea in force this year.

Vienna, 7th March 1582.

[*Italian.*]

March 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

74. Lorenzo Priuli, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The news of Monsieur's arrival in Antwerp on the 20th are true. He has been sworn Duke of Brabant and Marquis of the Holy Empire. The Catholics are allowed three churches in Antwerp. Before Monsieur took the oath the Queen of England publicly

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declared that he had gone to Flanders on her word that the conditions offered to him would be faithfully observed, and therefore they must consider well before making any promises which they might afterwards wish to retract, for Monsieur was so closely united to her that she would consider an offence to him as an offence to herself (*perche Monsignore era tanto unito seco, che riputeria l'offesa fatta a se medesima*). But if they acted loyally by his Highness they might count on disposing of the forces of her kingdom for their services.

Paris, 8th March 1582.

[*Italian.*]

March 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

75. Lorenzo Priuli, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Abbé del Bene tells me that both Monsieur alone, and, later, in conjunction with the Queen of England, had urged the States of Flanders to come to terms with the King of Spain; but they had replied that they would sooner give themselves to the Turk. That Monsieur seeing them so firm, felt obliged to accept their offer of themselves to him.

Paris, 16th March 1582.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

March 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

76. Matheo Zane, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

Some well armed English and Breton galleys are infesting the coast of Portugal. Quite recently a galley which put out from Lisbon to help a vessel beating up against a head wind, and seeming to wish to make the port, came close up to her and was roughly handled for she was heavily armed, another got into port with her deck loaded with grain, but in her hold many weapons of offence. This gave rise to the imprisonment of an Englishman and a Frenchman who were in Lisbon as merchants; they are held to be spies in the service of Don Antonio. His Majesty has ordered some galleys of the home fleet into Lisbon to check these evils.

Madrid, 19th March 1582.

[*Italian.*]

March 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

77. Matheo Zane, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

They are afraid that Don Antonio's forces, supposed to be destined for the defence of the Azores, may be diverted to a landing in Portugal. The King has sent the Prior Don Hermando, natural son of Alva, to the district between the Douro and the Miño, where lies Oporto, the port most exposed to a landing.

Madrid, 26th March 1582.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

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April 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

78. MATHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Five great ships of the West Indian fleet sailed from the Port of Lisbon, very well armed and better found, for his Majesty offered special bounties to those who embarked. He himself accompanied the fleet out of harbour, following in this the custom of the Kings of Portugal. He breakfasted on board his royal galley, and passed the whole day at the fort of St. John at the mouth of the port. He examined it diligently, and gave orders that the work should be finished as soon as possible. Guns for this and other forts have been sent from Lisbon. Much ammunition has been sent to Oporto.

Madrid, 16th April 1582.

[*Italian.*]

April 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

79. MATHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The news that the Turkish fleet is about to take the sea, is believed in Lisbon. But the number of the vessels will exceed by very little the number of last year. For while the Persian war lasts the Turks will not care to break the truce with the King of Spain; they merely desire to keep him in anxiety, in order to impede his designs and to favour those of his opponents.

Madrid, 16th April 1582.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

April 17. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

80. ALBERTO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I need not write to your Serenity of what has befallen the Prince of Orange, as I know that news from Flanders reaches Italy sooner than it reaches us. I will only say that the ball fired by that Biscayan, has done the Prince no other injury than passing through his throat and carrying away two teeth only. The mischance meant for him has fallen on the Duke of Alençon, against whom the whole population has risen, declaring that he was the author of the plot, in order to rid himself of a Prince whom his people called their Saviour. All this brings into prominence the weight of Orange and the weakness of Alençon.

Vienna, 17th April 1582.

[*Italian.*]

April 30. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

81. MATHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Some days ago an English ship entered the Port of Lisbon. She was laden with merchandize for certain rich Portuguese merchants. On sailing again some of these with their families and all their property embarked secretly, and went to join Don Antonio. This displeased the Spaniards, who have issued an order forbidding any

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foreign ship to sail till it has been searched, and that it shall be escorted out of harbour.

Madrid, last day of April 1582.

[*Italian.*]

May 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

82. Giovanni Moro, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Duke of Alençon has taken Alost, a small but important position between Brussels and Ghent. The Prince of Parma is pressing the siege of Oudenard. Don Antonio is in Tours.

Paris, 4th May 1582.

[*Italian.*]

May 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

83. Matheo Zane, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

As regards my conversation with the Cardinal (de Granvelle) about the provisions taken for Flanders, I have nothing to say to your Serenity, because in part I have told you already, and in part you will be informed from a better source. This only I will not omit, that the Queen of England intends to oppose the Duke of Alençon vigorously, and will prevent his landing in the islands, as she does not desire French influence to increase there. In this she is acting with his Catholic Majesty, whose interests and hers coincide.

Madrid, 14th May 1582.

[*Italian ; deciphered.*]

May 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

84. Giovanni Moro, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Queen of England has renewed her negotiations with the King of France on the subject of her marriage with Monsieur. She is supposed to have done so with a view to divert Monsieur from his operations in Flanders, which she does not like; she has helped him so far not in order that he might become powerful there, but solely to annoy the Catholic King. And seeing that the Prince of Orange, who is ill-pleased with the Queen because he has not been able to obtain the succours he desired and expected, has persuaded the population not merely to accept Monsieur but to allow him to place French garrisons in five or six fortresses, and fearing that this will be prejudicial the Queen has again raised the question of her marriage in order to tempt Monsieur once more to England, and to cause him to waste the summer in idleness.

They say the Queen is ever in treaty with the Spanish Ambassador on this subject, and has published an edict condemning in property and life those who assist or encourage the Catholics. There is greater suspicion now than at first. Eugenio Pennachi, a Cypriote, requested a passport from the English Ambassador here, and was openly told that he must provide a guarantee from some well known person that he did not harbour evil designs against the Queen.

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The Prince of Orange does not recover. He is very weak. The doctors forbid anyone to visit him for fear of causing the wound to open again.

The troops of Monsieur de Brisac, who is in service of Don Antonio, have embarked for Belleisle, where the fleet is to gather.

Paris, 18th May 1582.

[*Italian.*]

May 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

85. Giovanni Moro, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

I send your Serenity the proclamation of the Queen of England, translated into Italian.

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

86. A Proclamation to denounce the Jesuit Traitors.*

The Queen's most Excellent Majesty,

We have been informed that certain societies and congregations known as Seminarists and Jesuits, have been created by the Bishop of Rome, not only in the city of Rome but also in the dominions of other Princes, and more especially in the countries subject to this Crown, with a view to nursing them and bringing them up in false and corrupt doctrines, until, by their persuasions, many of our subjects have actually been perverted and corrupted in their religion, and induced to withdraw from their allegiance to her Majesty, their natural Sovereign. By special decree of the Pope the Jesuits have been made the instruments of many a treason tending not merely to raise rebellions, which by the grace of God and the prudence and good government of her Majesty have been forestalled, but also to the peril of her royal person.

Her Majesty, perceiving the dangers which may be brought about by such treasonable actions, has made proclamation to her subjects, dated from Westminster, January 10, as follows:—

Whoever, after the publication of this proclamation, shall harbour, maintain, succour, or support any Jesuit or Seminarist, priest, or other person, shall be held to be of that way of thinking, and of that perverse condition.

Likewise all who at the time of this proclamation shall have in their houses such persons, and shall not lead them before the nearest justice, shall themselves be had before justice, and shall suffer such punishment as shall seem fit for their demerits, and shall be esteemed and held to be the accomplices of rebels and seditious persons, and shall be punished for their disobedience. And although exemplary punishment overtook those who despised and neglected this proclamation of her Majesty's pleasure, still certain of these traitors, to wit, Edmund Campion, Jesuit, Rudolf Sernum (? Ralph Sherwin), and John Bryant, seminary priests, disguised, and in secret having passed through this country, and being discovered, have been, with others like them, tried and condemned. Therefore her Majesty, perceiving that through the obstinate malignity of some, and the ignorant opinion of

* *See* Strype's *Annals of the Reformation*, vol. iii., part i., p. 120.

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others, neither the proclamation nor the exemplary punishment has produced that reform which she desires; and considering that certain perverse minds have lately tried to prove, in letters and in books, that these traitors have suffered unjustly, it is deemed expedient to declare to all her Majesty's subjects that the Queen and her Council had absolute proof from their own letters and their confessions that the rising in Ireland was due to such as they, Jesuits and Seminarists, sent by the Pope; and that the real object of these people is not only to prepare the way for a foreign invasion, but to deprive of her Crown, dignity, and life, the Queen under whom, thanks to divine assistance, this realm has been so long and so happily governed and preserved in abundance of all kinds of goods, and in peace and tranquillity. And considering the great evils which would follow were such attempts not rigorously punished, and that none may plead ignorance in excuse, her Majesty now declares that all Jesuits, Seminarists, and such like who come secretly to her kingdom, are to be held for traitors by all her subjects; and all those who wittingly harbour, lodge, assist, comfort, and maintain a Jesuit or Seminarists, are to be held as traitors. And all those who have in their houses now such persons, and delay to convey them to the nearest justice that they may be put in prison to answer for their doings, shall be arrested and tried as an accomplice of traitors.

Further, her Majesty commands that none of her subjects shall allow children or wards to leave the country without special license from her Majesty. All subjects who are in seminaries abroad are to return within three months.

Dated Greenwich, 1st April, 24th year of our reign.

Long live the Queen.

[*Italian.*]

June 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

87. Giovanni Moro, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Monsieur continues to raise levies for Flanders. A few days ago one thousand five hundred horsemen (Raitri) arrived at Cambray; and they say as many more are expected. The Prince of Parma has begun to bombard Oudenard.

It appears that the Grand Almoner of the Queen of England, a man of great weight and of the highest authority with her, has recently had a conference with the Resident of Spain at that Court, in which he suggested a renewal of the English and Spanish alliance with the house of Burgundy (*che ben saria per la conservatione de negotii dell' una et dell' altra parte, che rinovassero i loro Principi la confederatione che altra volta era tra quel Regno et la Casa di Borgogna*). When the Duke of Alençon heard of this he was much disturbed, and instantly sent one of his gentlemen to England to complain, whereupon the Queen, to show that she had no share in the matter nor knew ought about it, summoned the High Almoner and asked him to state what had passed between him and the Resident of Spain on the matter. He at once replied that it was true; that the Spanish Resident had suggested that

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it would benefit both Sovereigns if they were to renew the old Burgundy league, and that he had replied that he thought his mistress, for the sake of her subjects, would not refuse. Thus the Queen desired to right herself with Monsieur, and believed that she had shown that the suggestion came from Spain, not from her, and that the answer was dictated by mere courtesy. And to prove her goodwill towards the Duke she declared that she was as ready as ever to carry out the match; always on condition that the King of France would assist Monsieur, secretly if he chose, to the same extent as she did, so that his designs on Flanders might procede. And this was the subject of the English Ambassador's recent audience with the King.

I hear that the Prince of Orange is convalescent, and begins to show himself in public.

The troops of Brisac in Normandy, and of Strozzi at Bordeaux, are embarked.

Paris, 1st June 1582.

[*Italian.*]

June 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

88. Matheo Zane, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

A short time ago, from some headlands on the coast of Biscay a fleet was sighted, which was recognised as the English corsairs under Drake, already well known for the damage he has done to the ships and the subjects of his Majesty. They say he is sailing for Peru and New Spain, to plunder. He has discovered that the land hitherto supposed to be mainland is divided therefrom by a navigable channel, like the Straits of Magellan, where the King has recently sent to build a fort. But as the Governors have not yet been informed of this new channel dividing New Spain from Peru, a ship has been sent to those parts to warn them of it, and that the enemy is on the sea, so as to avoid a surprise, and to secure the safety of the fleet.

The King gets his best information from England. His agent there, who claims to be the promoter of the assassination of the Prince of Orange, affirms that the Prince is dead. But as the news is not confirmed from other quarters it is still doubted.

Madrid, 11th June 1582.

[*Italian.*]

June 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

89. Giovanni Moro, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The fleet of Don Antonio is all assembled at the appointed place, and he has been to inspect it. It is universally believed that the destination of the fleet is to cut off the Indiamen. Don Antonio will not return to Tours, where he has left many jewels in pledge; but will go to a castle of the Queen-Mother, in the neighbourhood of Nantes.

Paris, 15th June 1582.

[*Italian.*]

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June 29. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

90. Giovanni Moro, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Don Antonio, after visiting his fleet, set sail on the 16th aboard Strozzi's galley, the weather was fine at first, but presently came on to rain and blow. One of the ships took fire and was burned with all on board. The armament is better than was expected; there are upwards of five thousand good troops on board.

The Prince of Parma is bombarding Oudenard which he has assaulted, but was repulsed.

Paris, 29th June 1582.

[*Italian.*]

July 13. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

91. Giovanni Moro, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Prince of Parma has compelled Oudenard to come to terms with him, and it will probably be obliged to surrender. The Duke of Alençon is trying to relieve the place.

The fleet of Don Antonio has been sighted off Finisterre. Its route is unknown; but it is expected to go to the Azores to encourage his supporters, and in the hope of seizing St. Michel's and Madeira.

Paris, 13th July 1582.

[*Italian.*]

July 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

92. Matheo Zane, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

Seven daughters of Don Antonio have been taken from Portugal to Castille and kept there imprisoned in a nunnery, where they live in desparation. They are often made to write letters to their father begging him to return to his obedience to the King, and to throw himself on the King's clemency. The mother of the Count of Vimiosa, who is in a similar plight, when asked to perform a like office to her son replied that his Majesty did her too much honour in supposing that she had any weight with the Count, her son, for his Majesty knew quite well that nowadays not even a father's authority was sufficient to keep sons in order when they had become men, far less then could mothers do, and least of all herself, a woman of no strong character, now in prison and ill-treated. With that they ceased to urge her.

Madrid, 14th July 1582.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

July 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

93. Matheo Zane, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The Armada is well found in all but sailors, of whom there is a great lack, and chiefly of those Portuguese who know the waters, for rather than serve against Don Antonio the larger number take to flight, and hide themselves, while the few that are on board perforce have to be kept almost in chains.

Madrid, 14th July 1582.

[*Italian.*]

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July 23.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

94. MATHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Cardinal Archduke on the 10th inst. accompanied out of the port (of Lisbon) the fleet which, on the 11th, set sail to join the other fleet from Cadiz, and to go in search of Don Antonio. After the Marquis of Santa Cruz went on board his flag-ship some sixty Portuguese mariners deserted, and so did a large number from the other ships. They adopted all sorts of devices, even going the length of dressing like the women, and going ashore with those who had come on board to visit their husbands and relations, so that for two or three days all attention was directed to pressing as many as were able-bodied sailors; but the full compliment could not be made out. The fleet was not well found in sailors. The Marquis protested, and they say that the Duke of Alva voted against the departure of this fleet on the ground that it could not be in fit order, and that if his Majesty continued in Lisbon it was dangerous to denude him of troops and fleet. The Marquis's orders are to secure the fleet first of all, and then to recover the Azores if occasion offers. I enclose a printed sheet, setting forth the strength of the fleet; it is printed in Lisbon on the order of the Ministers.

Madrid, 23rd July 1582.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

95. A list of the forces which sailed from the port of Lisbon for the Azores, on Tuesday of July 1582. Captain-General the Marquis of Santa Cruz.

	TOTALS.
Troops - - - -	8,442
Sailors - - - -	3,431
	11,873
Ships - - - -	54
Galleys - - - -	12
Azabras - - - -	7
Carvels - - - -	4
Boats - - - -	50

[*Spanish.*]

July 28.
Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

96. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

News from Antwerp that a short distance off the coast of England the flag-ship of Don Antonio took fire. The burning wood was scattered among the other ships, some of it fell on the vessel where Don Antonio was, and wounded him in the face. They say he is dead.

Augsburg, 28th July 1582.

[*Italian.*]

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Aug. 4. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

97. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the Doge and Senate.

On the 14th July the Duke of Alençon was received with great pomp in Bruges. They solemnly conferred on him the titles of Duke of Brabant, Count of Flanders. The Duke will go to England to visit the Queen before he returns to France, perhaps in the hope of receiving some considerable help.

Augsburg, 4th August 1582.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

98. Matheo Zane, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

On the 24th (of July) came the longed for news that one of the four ships of the East Indian fleet had arrived off Cape St. Vincent. It had been forced to alter its route to avoid English and French corsairs. This raises hopes that the others will soon arrive safely.

Madrid, 6th August 1582.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

99. Matheo Zane, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

After sending the news that Don Antonio's fleet was in sight of the island of St. Michel we learned that the enemy had approached the land and disembarked perhaps 1,500 infantry without any opposition, either from that island or any of its neighbours. The castle of St. Michel still held for the King, and was supplied with ammunition and provisions for one month. The Bishop, Captain Lorenzo Noguera, a Spaniard, and six hundred men were in the castle, and with the sailors of the ships which had been run ashore to save them from the enemy, the castle will have a garrison of one thousand in all; although it is old, it has been repaired and put in a state of defence.

Madrid, 11th August 1582.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in Despatch of August 17.

100. At midnight letters from the Prior Don Hernando arrived from Oporto, with news that a spy of Don Antonio had been seized on board a vessel sailing to France. The Prior also says that on the 24th July the French fleet sighted that of his Majesty. They engaged from the 24th to the 27th. The ship of Strozzi and the Count of Vimioso pressed the flag-ship of the Marquis of Santa Cruz very hard; the S. Martin and the S. Mathew, flying the Spanish flag went to his rescue, and Strozzi, Vimioso, and Lansac were taken, Don Antonio's fleet broken up, and he himself fled to the Azores.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 24. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

101. Giovanni Moro, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Monsieur de Brisac, who sailed with Don Antonio, returned to Normandy a few days ago. He brings news that Don Antonio's

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fleet encountered the Spaniards, and was worsted. Don Antonio himself escaped, but it is not known where he is. This news has troubled the Queen-Mother, even to tears. Certain information is wanting.

Paris, 24th August 1582.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

102. Matheo Zane, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

Yesterday, very late, other letters from Portugal of the 16th arrived in confirmation of the victory. The battle began on the 24th, and was renewed many times till the 28th. The Marquis's flag-ship being hard pressed was helped by the galleons. They won the victory, and hoisted the Royal ensign on the enemy's ships. Strozzi and Vimioso were captured. They say that Don Antonio left the fleet three days before the fight, and went to the Azores. His Majesty is all the more content at this victory, as he dreaded the reverse.

Madrid, 20th August 1582.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in Despatch of August 25.

103. Summary of the operations of his Majesty's fleet commanded by the Marquis of Santa Cruz.

The Marquis sailed from the Port of Lisbon on the 10th of July, with 28 ships and five transports, without waiting for the fleet of 18 ships, two galleons, 12 galleys, and two transports, which was expected from Andalusia. He sailed till the 22nd, when he arrived off St. Michel's on the side of Villa Franca, a town of perhaps five hundred houses. He sent to reconoitre, but the party was prevented from landing by harquebus fire. At that moment the enemies fleet hove in sight. After carefully counting the sail it was estimated at about sixty. A council of war was held and the question of giving battle was raised. The Marquis had not more than 23 ships, two galleons, and four transports. Three of his ships were wanting; one had made so much water on leaving harbour that she had to put back, and other two sailed a day late and missed the main squadron. In spite of this they prepared to give battle, but firing a gun as an invitation, to which the enemy replied. But the calm destroyed their scheme.

The same night the Marquis had information that on the 15th of the month Don Antonio had arrived in the island, and had landed some three thousand men. Don Lorenzo Noguera skirmished with them, but was forced to retire to the fortress, along with the son of the Governor, the Bishop, the Corregidor and other knights.

On Monday the 23rd, both fleets offered battle. The enemy was divided into three squadrons, and thrice it sailed up to ours, but without effect. On Tuesday the calm prevented operations.

On Wednesday the 25th the enemy attacked, with great advantage of the wind; both fleets kept up a good cannonade.

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On Thursday the enemy again attacked. The battle was opened between the two flag-ships. The struggle lasted an hour, ending in the victory of the Marquis, who sank two vessels. After five hours of fighting, the enemy took to flight.

Filippo Strozzi, commander of the fleet, was wounded and taken, and soon after died. So did the Count de Brisac, and the Count of Vimioso. Mons. de Bearimont died the next day. Mons. de Rus, captain in the King's guard, fled in a boat. Mons. de Santa Solena fled with a whole regiment, without striking a blow. Mons. de Fornier did not fight. The Baron de Lansac escaped in a transport. Of the Count de Rochfoucauld and his regiment there is no news. The Count de Montgomery fled. Giovanni di Vius, captain of the irregulars, was taken. Of nobles of the island, 28 were taken prisoners, and 52 knights. The sailors and soldiers taken amounted to 313. The nobles and knights were decapitated in the Piazza of Villa Franca on August 1st. And the soldiers and sailors over eighteen years were hung.

Our losses were 220 killed and 553 wounded.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

104. Matheo Zane, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

Don Pedro Pons, nephew of the Marquis of Santa Cruz, has brought to Lisbon news confirming the naval victory. He brings a full report. His Majesty at once went to church, and ordered processions, fireworks, and festivals. The Portuguese are ill content and show it. The ships taken or sunk do not amount to more than eight or ten.

Madrid, 1st September 1582.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 1. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

105. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the Doge and Senate.

Many days ago an Englishman appeared here, without declaring himself as agent for the Queen. Recently he has declared himself, and has presented in the Diet a paper complaining of certain dues imposed on English goods by Lubeck and other free cities. But his real mission is to spy out the Imperial policy, above all as regards Flanders.

Augsburg, 1st September 1582.

[*Italian.*]

In the Despatch of September 3.

106. Confession of Count of Vimioso, made two hours before he died.

* * * * * *

That the Queen of England favours Don Antonio; and has already named the commander of the ships she is about to send.

That forty ships will be raised by private individuals in England.

* * * * * *

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In the Azores there are eight thousand Portuguese, and about one thousand two hundred French and English.

July 27, 1582.

Sept. 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

107. MATHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

It is not known what orders the King will give after this victory. *But the Cardinal of Granvelle told me that, in his opinion, the Marquis would return to Spain, leaving some ships at St. Michel. The King of Spain is of opinion that the Queen-Mother of France will not fit out another Armada. The Queen of England is more likely to support St. Michel.*

Madrid, 7th September 1582.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Sept. 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

108. GIOVANNI MORO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

After many contradictory rumours comes the confirmation of Brisac's report that Don Antonio's fleet was defeated by the Spaniards, and Strozzi either dead or a prisoner. Don Antonio himself is at the Azores.

The Duke of Alençon has entered Ghent. Yesterday came the news that the King of Scotland, being at the chase, and returning to the house of a nobleman, was there seized and made prisoner by certain great nobles of the realm. This is believed to be the Queen of England's handiwork, who is not pleased that the Duke of Lennox, a Catholic, a Frenchman known first as D'Aubigny, should enjoy such authority with the King, for she fears that he may persuade the young Prince to introduce the Catholic religion and this she dreads above everything. Those who seized the King sought to arrest Lennox at the same time; he was in the Royal city and withdrew into the castle, which is very strong and well provisioned, where he is quite safe. It seems that the Scotch were displeased at the readiness with which their King had accepted presents from the Duke of Guise and returned them. A minister of their religion preached against the King, declaring that he held commerce with Catholics. For this the minister was expelled from the city and forbidden to preach. This caused great discontent to all of that religion, who attribute the King's conduct to Lennox.

Paris, 7th September 1582.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 8. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

109. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Queen of England considering her position and the quarrel which Lubeck* and other maritime cities wished to raise against her on the score of the imposts on goods brought into England, sent her agent to present a complaint on her side.

The question was dealt with in the Diet under the title of Hanseatic League.

* See Calendar, Domestic, 1581–1590, p. 27.

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The capital represented is forty millions of gold a year, which is derived from the trade with England. Of this the Queen draws three millions.

The Queen has raised the duty from 5 p.c. to 20 p.c.

The matter has been referred to a commission.

Augsburg, 8th September 1582.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 15. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

110. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the Doge and Senate.

As regards the commercial treaty with England, the free cities have agreed to appoint the Duke of Cleves and the Bishop of Liege as commissioners.

Arach is dealing with the other points and says that a decision will be reached in eight days.

Augsburg, 15th September 1582.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 21. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

111. Giovanni Moro, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Letters from England announce that the King of Scotland has issued a proclamation against the Duke of Lennox; but everyone believes that this step was the result of force rather than of free will.

Paris, 21st September 1582.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

112. Leonardo Donato, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

On the day of my audience full notice of the battle at the Azores had not arrived. His Holiness asked me what news I had. I replied that information from Spain represented the King as completely victorious; but the Lyons courier brings very different particulars. His Holiness said that Foix had told him last Sunday that the Queen of England had sent to congratulate the Queen-Mother on a victory.

Rome, 22nd September 1582.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 22. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

113. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the Doge and Senate.

As regards the question of the Hanseatic League, the Queen of England has been invited to remove the heavy dues under the threat of a suspension of all commercial relations with England. The Duke of Cleves and the Bishop of Liege are charged to carry on all negotiations.

Augsburg, 22nd September 1582.

[*Italian.*]

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Oct. 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

114. MATHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The acceptance of the new calendar, as reformed by his Holiness, has been ordered throughout Spain. His Holiness has given permission to print calendars here, the Bull notwithstanding.

Madrid, 1st October 1582.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

115. GIOVANNI MORO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The affair of the King of Scotland has greatly disturbed his Majesty, who has appointed a gentleman to go to that kingdom to endeavour to come to some terms with the nobles there, in favour of the King. He can hardly be called a prisoner, but he is not altogether free.

The Prince of Parma made a display before Cambresis; and the place surrendered without waiting for a shot. Although the place is not strong, yet in the hands of the Prince of Parma it will be of great use as a check to the French, owing to its proximity to Cambray.

Calvi and Capelli, two of the most important firms in Paris (*che sono due delle prime ditte in questa città*), have been ordered to leave the city and the kingdom, on the charge of furnishing large sums to the Prince of Parma.

Paris, 18th October 1582.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

116. MATHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Don Antonio has left the Azores with 29 ships, well found. He is going to attack Madeira. Before he sailed, he executed Duarte de Castro and four other Portuguese, whom he suspected of plotting against his life. The warning came from England.

Lisbon, 15th November 1582.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

117. GIOVANNI MORO, Venetian Ambassador to France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Two days ago the gentlemen appointed by his Majesty left for Scotland. His commission is to induce the Scotch to restore their King to his original authority, *and also to persuade the King to put no faith in the words or the promises of the Queen of England; for if she once had him in her hands she would take his life and that of his mother* (*quanto per persuadere quello* (=*il Rè*) *a non prestar alcuna fede alle parole o promesse che le potesse esser fatte dalla Regina d'Inghilterra la quale si tiene in questa corte, che se lo potesse havere nelle mani levarebbe la vita a lui et alla Regina sua madre*). The English Ambassador, however, told me that the King of Scotland had written to his Queen to thank her for her interference on his behalf with his subjects; as your Serenity will see

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from the enclosed, furnished by the English Ambassador himself. But very likely these letters and all else that issues from Scotland under the King's name, are acts of those at present in power.

Paris, 16th November 1582.

[*Italian; part in italics deciphered.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

118. Letter of the KING OF SCOTLAND to the QUEEN OF ENGLAND.

Most Serene Queen,

From your letters of August 30th, and from the testimony of Sir George Carey, Knight and Marshall of your Majesty's household, now returned to you, and of Robert Boosey, Treasurer of Berwick, at present your Ambassador at our Court, we have learned your very friendly and most loving offer, and your ready goodwill, for the safety of our person and for the quiet and repose of our State; all of which has been amply set forth in the special report of the above-named gentlemen, who have fully discharged their duty in this respect to our complete satisfaction, and we recognise your affection and friendliness in this visit at so opportune a moment. For this we tender you our most cordial thanks; and we assure you as our dearest sister, that, all reports to the contrary notwithstanding, the inner attitude of our mind has always been one of gratitude towards you (*la intrinsica volontà dell' animo nostro è sempre stato grato verso di Lei*) nor has it ever suffered any change. We should have been well pleased had it been possible for us to employ an emissary of such repute and standing as Sir George Carey, who might have explained, as Sir George will explain, our views on those special subjects which he has touched upon by your orders; on all of which we doubt not he will make faithfully report. We are firmly resolved to give you all satisfaction that we in honour can, as we have hitherto done; and we trust to find not less favour and goodwill from you, both on the strength of our blood relationship, and on the ground of mutual advantage and common safety of ourselves and our kingdoms.

And so I kiss your Majesty's hand,

Di Striucling (Stirling), 1582.

Nov. 30. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

119. GIOVANNI MORO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Letters from the Prince of Parma to the Catholic King were intercepted; they set forth the sufferings of the army from want of provisions, want of money, and disease.

Paris, 30th November 1582.

[*Italian.*]

A.D. 1583.

1583.
Jan. 7.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

120. Giovanni Moro, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The King has frequently summoned his Privy Council. There are not wanting those who urge him to come to an open rupture with Spain; assuring him that money will be forthcoming when once people are convinced of its destination. But on the whole the King shows that he thinks the season not ripe for making any such attempt. And he expressed this opinion to the English Ambassador who was conversing with him on the subject.

The Queen-Mother has once more taken Don Antonio under her protection; and by next year it is possible that he may have a new fleet ready. At an interview with the King, while describing the defeat, he said that though this defeat should have hurt him, most of all as dashing every hope, yet he felt still more hurt to see that Spanish gold had such weight with some of the French who were with him. Whereupon the King, in appearance at least, was angered, and it seems that he sent to order the arrest of Santa Solena, and of de Brisac.

Monsieur de la Motte, who was passing through England on his way to Scotland was cleverly delayed by the Queen, who said she wished to enjoy some days of his company before he passed on, as he had formerly been Ambassador at the English Court. This move on her part was suspected here; and soon after de la Motte's departure another gentleman was sent to Scotland by sea in order that the delay of de la Motte might not hinder the King of Scotland from receiving that counsel which the King of France designed for him. To-day we hear that when the Queen was informed of this she allowed de la Motte to proceed freely.

Paris, 7th January 1582 [m.v.].

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Jan. 9.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

121. Giovanni Moro, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

There has been a rising in Antwerp. The news was brought by two sergeants of the Duke of Alençon, who are unable to give any account of either his Highness or of the Prince of Orange. The news is confirmed by letters from the French Ambassador in England, with this much more, that on receipt thereof the Queen of England instantly despatched a well-armed galleon, with a message to Monsieur that, should his fortune so dictate, he might make use of the vessel to come to England where she would gladly receive him.

Paris, 29th January 1582 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

1583. March 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

122. GIOVANNI MORO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Monsieur D'Aubigny, otherwise called Duke of Lennox, he who was of such authority with the King of Scotland, before he was arrested, left Scotland with a passport for England, and reached Paris a few days ago. I do not learn, however, that his departure has helped the King at all; he is always surrounded by those who keep him in a kind of custody, although he is allowed to move freely from place to place in their company. The affairs of the kingdom are conducted in his name, but in obedience to the wishes of those in power.

Paris, 4th March, 1583.

[*Italian.*]

March 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

123. GIOVANNI MORO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Don Antonio is at Dieppe, where his affairs move very slowly, although some artillery has been furnished from the arsenal here, for the Azores; and they are founding more.

Paris, 18th March 1583.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 4. Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

124. Letter from the PRINCE OF ORANGE to the QUEEN OF ENGLAND.

Madam,

The sincere affection which it has pleased your Majesty to show the Low Countries during these miserable wars, and the great benefits received from you encourage me to set forth the designs against this city of Antwerp, and other cities of Brabant and Flanders on the 17th of last month. You have recently been well-informed of the just and legitimate reasons which these States had to sustain the war against the King of Spain. You also know that the States, after in vain endeavouring, by all possible means, through the intercession of your Majesty, and of other Christian Princes, to come to terms with his Majesty, on the basis of a tolerable sound and enduring peace, have been obliged to change their allegiance and transfer it to the Duke of Alençon, sole brother of the King of France. To him the States have already taken the oath, and the people of Brabant and of Antwerp have solemnly received him as their sovereign Lord and Prince; and he too, as well as they, has taken the customary oath in the presence of many Princes and nobles of England, France, and the Low Countries. But after Brabant, Flanders, and all the provinces in general had received the Prince with joy, and promised themselves that by God's grace they were now about to be victorious over the Spanish, and to enjoy tranquillity, peace, and concord, so long desired, after offering loyal obedience to their liege Lord, not merely in the observance of the treaty of Bordeaux, but above and beyond that, in contributing larger sums than were stipulated, out of regard for the virtue,

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prudence, magnanimity, and clemency of this Prince, which led them to look for that kindly treatment to be expected from a father, defender, and saviour of the country. In spite of all this Monsieur summoned from France a very large detachment of cavalry and infantry, and a regiment of about four thousand Swiss, which he massed in the suburbs of Antwerp, and on the 17th of January, about one o'clock in the afternoon, he seized the Kipdorp Gate, intending to introduce his troops into the town; and, as a matter of fact, three or four hundred lancers, and about twenty companies of infantry, did enter with a view to making themselves masters of the town by a sudden blow, while the citizens were at dinner. The gate was seized, its guards cut to pieces, the flanking walls occupied, and the main streets, almost as far as the market place, to the cry of "Long live the mass; slay, slay, slay; city taken, city taken." But our God, who is ever mindful of his own, put heart into the Burghers, and some of them, right few at first, helped by the chains that were straightway run across the streets, bore the brunt of the attack; meantime the cry to arms was raised throughout the town, and some companies put hastily together; and God in his mercy gave the victory to the Burghers, who drove the French from the ramparts and out of all the main streets, compelling them to fly for the gate by which they had come in. Some of them threw themselves from the ramparts into the fosse, and there was no small slaughter; of the Burghers some eighty were slain, and of the French about one thousand five hundred. The regiment of Swiss and the rest of the army that was marching on the town, seeing that the victory was lost, withdrew; and, although the French had acted with barbarity, sacking and firing in two places that part of the city which they had seized, the Burghers behaved themselves so generously that they spared the fourteen or fifteen hundred men who were made prisoners.

The same day Monsieur, who was at Berchem, wrote to the States and to us. He endeavoured to lay the blame on others, but, as he has attempted a similar stroke at Bruges, Ostend, Nieuport, Dendermonde, Dixmuyd, and Vilvorde, it is quite clear that the whole is a long matured scheme, and in no way provoked. Indeed, for us it is as a matter of extreme grief to see our hopes that God had sent him as the instrument of our safety and liberty dashed to the ground. The States General have resolved to inquire into the origin of these events, but, above all, to soften and smooth matters.

All this we have thought it expedient to place before your Majesty, entreating you not to have any other opinion of the good citizens of Antwerp than that they are most obedient and loyal to the Prince who will treat them rightly and reasonably, and in accordance with the oath he took; that there is not a people in the world that loves its sovereigns more. And we hope that, notwithstanding all that has happened, your Majesty will not abate the liberal and large affection which you bear towards this country, and with this, madame, we pray God to preserve your Majesty in long and happy life, and to fulfil your high and noble desires.

Antwerp, 4th February 1583.

[*Italian.*]

1583.
April 1.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

125. Giovanni Moro, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The garrison for the Azores has not yet begun to embark although it is at Dieppe. Don Antonio, who is at Rouen, has obtained leave to coin money, but his affairs move slowly through want of funds. It seems that, after the affair of Antwerp, the Queen of England shows great goodwill towards the Spanish Ambassador and that she is treating for some renewal of friendly relations. She has two Ambassadors at the Court of Scotland, and, in appearance, is most cordial to that king, who, in fact, is under guard as before.

Paris, 1st April 1583.

[*Italian.*]

April 5.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

126. Giovanni Francesco Moresini, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

A little before I was received by the Pasha, the French Ambassador had an audience. The reason for this audience was the arrival of an English ship with a gentleman on board, sent to reside at this Porte with the title of Bailo (da residèr a questa porta con nome di Baylo). He came in virtue of an agreement made with the Turk two years ago. I enclose a copy of the document. The French Ambassador complains that this is a breach of the treaty with his master, which provides that all ships, except those of Venice, must sail under the French flag. (In virtù di una capitulatione che fu data da questo Signor dui anni sono a quella Regina . . . di che ne fa il sodetto Ambasciatore di Francia grandissimo risentimento, mostrando che questo saria contrafare alla capitulatione che ha il suo Re conquesto Serenissimo Signor, nella quale è chiaramente expresso che da Venetiani in fuori, tutti gli altri debbino caminare sotto la bandiera di Frantia). Your Serenity will see how the matter stands, from certain articles of the treaty, and from the passages out of some despatches addressed to the King of France by the Porte, all of which I enclose. The French Ambassador has presented these papers to the Pasha, adding that he has orders from his Sovereign to oppose the reception of an English Ambassador. The Pasha deeply resented this attitude though he replied very calmly that the Porte was open to all who desired peace, and therefore it was impossible to exclude the English; but since the King of France declared himself concerned, nothing would be concluded without informing his Ambassador. The English ship has not entered the harbour yet. It is lying at the Seven Towers, waiting the decision of the Porte. The envoy claims to be received as the representatives of other Christian Powers are received. No one knows yet what will happen, for the French Ambassador's opposition is most vigorous. He has endeavoured to persuade me to act with him in this matter, and said that his master told him that your Serenity had given me instructions to oppose the English. But as I have received no instructions on the subject, I thought it better not to interfere without express orders. For myself I cannot see that your Serenity's interests are such as to induce you to openly oppose the Queen of England. For even without this new treaty,

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the English could always trade in Constantinople, provided that they sailed under the French flag.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 5th April 1583.

[*Italian ; deciphered.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

127. TERMS granted to the QUEEN OF ENGLAND.

By this high and mighty sign which, through God's grace, implies the sovereignty of the world, we command as follows :—

The most glorious of all the glorious women in the creed of the Messiah, the Queen of England, France, and Ireland, named Elizabeth—may her end be good—has sent letters to my supreme Porte by the hands of one of her subjects, called Velhech Mussi Harburis (William Harborn), a gentleman of experience and intelligence, who explained that many of her subjects being accustomed to come to my dominions, she begged that they might be allowed to come and go about their business. Orders were given that neither by sea nor land, neither in their lodging nor on their journeys should they be disturbed nor hindered by anyone. For this the said Queen sends to thank me, showing a sincere friendship towards my Porte, and desiring my amity, on the same basis as France and Venice, that her subjects may have liberty to trade in my dominions at their pleasure. She also asks for the release of one of her subjects named————————, who is at present a slave in————————. On my part, I grant the request, and issue this Imperial decree. The objects of the Queen are to have full liberty to trade. If any Englishman be made a slave he must be set at liberty. My vessels shall assist all English ships in distress. My officers are to protect them, if they are driven on shore. English debtors are to be personally responsible for their debts, they are not to be allowed to find substitutes, unless the substitute has gone surety (*et se uno Inglese fusse debitore, sia dimandato il debito a lui, et non sia preso un altro in suo luogo, non essendo però egli piezo*). Englishmen shall have the right of bequest. If an Englishman dies intestate his effects shall go to his partner, with the consent of the Consul. Englishmen trading in Turkey who require a legal document shall go before the Cadi, who shall apply his seal to the deed, or they shall ask for a decree (*cogetto*) otherwise their causes cannot be heard before the courts. If anyone attempts to seize English goods on the charge of swearing, he shall be prevented. Any English slave, on proof of nationality, shall be set free. Should any Englishman desire to settle in Turkey to trade, married or unmarried, he shall not be charged the poll tax (*carazza*). The English shall enjoy the right to appoint, change or create Consuls in Alexandria, Tripoli in Syria, Algiers, Tripoli in Barbary, Tunis, Cairo, and elsewhere. If they send their Dragomans on any important business, the Cadis must wait their arrival. Suits between Englishmen are to be heard by their Ambassador or Consul. Should an Englishman be carried into slavery in Anatolia or Greece he is to be diligently sought out and handed over to the English.

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Turkish ships meeting Englishmen are to treat them as they have orders to treat the French and the Venetians.

Given in Constantinople the middle of the moon Sciaval in the year 988.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in Despatch of April 5.

128. ARTICLES of the TREATY conferred at the beginning of the moon Guimaziel Achir 989, which is July 1581, and sent to the Emperor (*sic*) of France by the hands of Ali Muteferica.

Except the Venetians, all other nations, Genoese, English, Portuguese, Spaniards, Catalans, Sicilians, Anconitans, Ragusans, who have sailed under the French name and flag from ancient times down to to-day, shall continue to do so.

Passage from a letter written by his Highness to the Emperor of France at the beginning of the moon Guimaziel Achir, 988, which is July 1580. Presented to his Majesty by the Secretary to the French Ambassador at the sublime Porte.

The Queen of England desires to enter into friendly relations with my Porte. We are anxious that you should be the intermediary, and should the Queen send an Ambassador to treat of this matter, and should he come with your recommendation, we will make every possible concession. We have written to the Queen on the subject.

Passage from another letter to the King of France, dated July 1581, conveyed by Ali Muteferica, confirms the order that all but Venetians shall sail under the French flag.

[*Italian.*]

April 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

129. MATHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Don Lopez de Figueroa has excused himself for being unable to raise his contingent as ordered. Everyone tries to avoid service by sea, and above all the expedition to the Azores which is greatly dreaded. This is the fourth time that a fleet has been collected for this service. Santa Cruz will have not more than ten thousand fighting men, if he has as many.

Madrid, 11th April 1583.

[*Italian.*]

April 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

130. GIOVANNI FRANCESCO MORESINI, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

In my preceding despatch, I announced the arrival of an English ship at the Seven Towers, on board of which was an Ambassador from the Queen of England, sent to reside at this Porte. He was detained some days at the Seven Towers, owing to the hostile representations of the French Ambassador. But finally the Magnificent Pasha gave orders to the Captain of the Sea to send two galleys to tow the vessel into harbour, and to the Chiaus and

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Capigi Pashas to go and meet the Ambassador at his landing, and to conduct him to the house which had been hired for him, as is the custom on the entry of your Serenity's Bailo. Accordingly, on Good Friday, the said ship entered the port, towed by the two galleys, at the hour when the Christians were celebrating the Divine office in their churches, by singing melodies suitable to the Passion of the Cross. Suddenly when the vessel was off Serraglio Point, a great noise of artillery was heard, accompanied by a continual music of trumpets and drums and other signs of rejoicing, to the great grief and pain of these poor Christians who are here, when they saw that on such a day, and at such an hour, people who called themselves Christians acted in a way so contrary to the usage of the Church, and to the dishonour of such a solemn function. People were so greatly shocked that when the Ambassador went from his ship to his house, he was escorted by no Christians, only by the Turks above mentioned; and as he passed through the streets of Pera not a Christian raised his hat; and even the Turks in contempt call him a Lutheran, and show that they are far from pleased to see him; all the more so as, according to custom, the Ambassador provided on that very day a sumptuous feast of meats, to which hardly the Turks would come, as even they abhorred in a Christian such an insult to his religion. That evening, on board ship, they had fireworks, salvoes of artillery and music, with great uproar. But they nearly paid the penalty of their sin, for one of the rockets fell back into the ship, close to the powder magazine, and set the ship on fire, and it was only with great difficulty that the fire was mastered. I thought it advisable to send my Secretary to call on the said Ambassador, to offer him my services, begging him to make use of all I have in my house, in sign of the good friendship which your Serenity has for the Queen. I begged to be pardoned if I did not visit him in person, as the custom of the Porte was that no Ambassador should receive visits till he had kissed hands with the Sultan; and I assured him that, as soon as etiquette would permit me, I would not fail to visit him. The Ambassador showed great satisfaction at this message; and two days later he sent one of his suite to thank me, assuring me he would report my friendliness to the Queen.

The day after my visit to the Pasha, the French Ambassador had an audience of him also, on the subject of this English Ambassador; he raised a vigorous opposition, and left a protest in writing, the substance of which was that if the Englishman is received here as Ambassador, and if English ships are allowed to sail these waters under any other flag than that of France, his sovereign will consider himself absolved from the alliance, as this is a point expressly mentioned in his treaty with the Sultan. If, in addition to this representation, some presents were added, it would be certain that the English would be dismissed. But the French Ambassador has no authority to spend money for this purpose; and on the other hand the English make very large promises, so it is unlikely that the Pasha will care to risk the prospect of presents. It is true that some think that he will accept the English presents, and then raise some

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pretext for dismissing them, in order to oblige the French Ambassador (con il precedente dispaccio mio diedi riverente conto alla Serenità Vostra dell' arrivo di un navilio inglese alle sette torre, con il quale venne un Ambasciator della Regina d'Inghilterra, per ressieder a questa porta; dove si è trattenuto alcuni giorni, per li officii fatti contra di lui dall' Ambasciator di Francia. Ma finalmente commandò il Magnifico Bassá al Capitano del mare, che mandasse due gallee a remurchiar il navilio in questo porto, et al Chiaus Bassi et Capigi Bassi, che con qualche numero di Chiausi et altre genti, andassero a ricever l'Ambassador dalla nave, et accompagnarlo alla casa presa per la sua habitatione, si come si accostuma di fare nella entrata delli baili della Serenità Vostra. Però il Venerdi Santo entrò il sudetto navilio nel porto, remurchiato dalle sudette gallee, in tempo che nelle Chiese de' Christiani, che sono in questa città, si celebravano li divini officii che rappresentano la memoria della passione del Nostro Signore Giesù Christo, adorandosi in quel tempo appunto la santissima Croce, con quella melodia che ricerca un tal miserio, et allhora si senti che essendo arrivato il sudetto vassello dinanci il Serraglio del Signor, fece un grandissimo strepito con salva di arteglierie, compagnata da una perpetua musica di trombete et di tamburi, et molti segni di allegrezza, con tanto dolore et afflicione di questi poveri Christiani che si retrovano qui, vedendo, che in cosi fatto giorno, et in hora tale fosse dalli medesimi Christiani fatto cosa tanto contraria all' uso della Chiesa in disonore di cosi gran solemnità, et che sono rimasti tutti grandamente offesi; in tanto che quando egli andava dal mare alla sua casa, non fu accompagnato da alcun Christiano ma solamente da soli diese o 12 *chiausi con li capi che ho detto di sopra; et passando per le strade di Pera non fu alcuno Christiano che le cavasse la beretta anzi li Turchi medesimi in dispreggio lo dicevano Luterano, et mostrano di vederlo mal volentieri; tanto più che quel medesimo giorno, havendo preparato, secondo il costume gia introdotto, un lautissimio banchetto di carne, al quale però appena li Turchi vi volessero restare, abhorendo ancor loro in un Christiano cosi fatto scherno della sua religione; la sera poi della medesima giornata li fecero nel navilio fuochi di allegrezza, con tiri di arteglierie, et musiche di instromenti; con tanto strepito; ma poco mancò che non patissero la pena del loro peccato, poiche essendo caduto uno delli raggi, che tiravanno nel medesimo vassello, vicino al luogo della munitione, si accese il fuoco in modo che con grandissima difficultà si puote estinguere. . . . . Il giorno seguente che io fui dal Magnifico Bassà l'Ambasciator di Francia andò all' audientia della sua magnificentia per causa del sudetto Ambasciator di Inghilterra, contra il quale si oppone gagliardiamente et ha fatto un efficacissimo officio, lasciando in fine un protesto in scritto, la sostanza del quale è, che se egli sarà admesso qui per Ambasciator residente, o se voranno permetter che Inglesi possino navigare ne i mari di questo Signore sotto altra bandiera che quella di Francia, chè il suo Re si sentirà disobbligato da questa amicitia essendo questo patto espresso nelli suoi capitoli. Con questo officio se fosse*

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congionto alcun donativo, si potria rescir per certo che l'Inglese saria licenziato, ma non havendo l'Ambasciator di Francia auttorità di spendere per questo effeto, et dall' altra parte promettendo assai l'Inglese difficilmente si può credere, che voglia il Bassà perdere quelli presenti. E' vero che alcuni pensano, che ricevuti che li haveranno, debbino poi far suscitare qualche varia per licenziarli, et dar sodisfacione al prefatto Ambasciator di Francia; il qual mostrando meco molta confidenzia, mi ha datto conto di tutto questo negocio, et insieme, che il Bassà nel fine della sua audientia li haveva detto, che Venetiani, erano stati sempre amici della corona di Francia, et che erano quelli, che havevano fatto grande il Re Catholico, a che mi dice haverle risposto, che non erano stati li Venetiani, mi li turchi che l'havevano fatto grande; le qual parole non mi è parso di lasciar di riferire alla Serenità Vostra, poichè havendo qualche incontro con quelle, che disse a me Ferat Bassà, come le scrivo con le alligate mie può fare sospettare, che di ciò le sia stato ragionato alcuna cosa fra li Bassà, ben posso affermarle per quel poco, che io intendo le pratiche di questa Porta, che non è cosa piu salutifera per la quiete della Serenità Vostra che far con destrezza credere a questi, che fra il Re Catholico, et quella Serenissima Repubblica, vi sia una buona et perfetta amicitia come anco con tutti gli altri principi di Christianità. Il medesimo Ambasciator di Franza mi ha mostrato due lettere del suo Re ricevute con questo ultimo dispaccio, nelle quali gli commette di adoperarsi in tutti li negotij della Serenità Vostra di quella maniera, che sarà da me ricercato, et che faria nelle proprie cose della sua corona, con parole efficacissime, che dimostrano sua ottima voluntà. Et l'Ambasciatore mi ha detto, che essequirà sempre con grandissima prontezza questo ordine del suo Rè, mostrando desiderio, che io ne dia aviso alla Serenità Vostra perchè ella possa con l'Ambasciator di Sua Maestà Christianissima residente appresso di lei, et con il suo residente in Francia far intendere a Sua Maestà Christianissima, che egli habbia fatto meco il sudetto officio, et veramente che io voglio sperare, che sarà sempre pronto, a far servitio alla Serenità Vostra essendo buonissimo Christiano, et conoscendo, che il suo re haverà sempre grato, ch' egli si dimostri affettionato a quella Serenissima Repubblica. Grazie.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 19 Aprile 1583.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

May 3. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

131. Giovanni Francesco Moresini, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

The Ambassador of the Queen of England, in spite of all the opposition offered to him by the French Ambassador, has this morning kissed the Sultan's hands. His suite consisted of over eight Chiaus. He has had the usual banquet and the same provision as the French Ambassador. He has presented his Majesty with a most beautiful watch set with jewels and pearls, ten pairs of shoes (stivieri) two pretty lap dogs, twelve lengths of Royal cloth, two lengths of white linen (tela di Renso), and thirteen pieces of

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silver gilt. He has been well received by his Majesty, who is flattered that such a powerful Queen should have sent from four thousand miles away to tell him that she is all for him (che una Regina potentissima habbia mandato lontano quattro mille miglia a dire che è tutta sua) and desires his friendship. He considers also that she is a very fit instrument to damage the Christians, towards whom in her letters she shows an open ill-will. That you may understand her tone and her method, I enclose a copy of a letter she wrote to Mehemet Pasha, third vizir, which came into my possession through the man to whom the Pasha gave it to be translated into Turkish. At the moment of closing this, the letter which the English Ambassador has presented to the Sultan has just been brought to my house. I have had a copy made, and enclose it.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 3rd May 1583.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Enclosed in Despatch of May 3.

132. Letter from ELIZABETH to the Sultan MURAD.

Recalls the treaty of 1580 and the privileges of free traffic then acquired.

On her side confirms the treaty, and promises, on her royal word, to maintain the same in such a way that his Majesty shall never have cause to regret his liberality. That these privileges may become actual, Elizabeth sends William Harebroune (Harborn), one of her body guard, a man adorned with many virtues, to render thanks to his Majesty and to establish the working of the privileges.

Begs his Majesty to order his officials to assist Harborn in every legitimate way.

Begs his Majesty to admit Mustaffa, who has contributed to the treaty, into the order of Court Sergeants (*in Mustafaracarum ordinem recipere*).

Given at our Castle of Windsor, 15th of November, in the year of our Saviour 1582, the 24th year of our reign.

[*Latin.*]

Enclosed in Despatch of May 3.

133. Letter from ELIZABETH to MEHEMET PASHA.

Alludes to the privileges of free traffic recently conceded to the English, which put them on a level with the French, the Poles, the Venetians, Germans, and all other allies of the Turks.

Commends her agent, William Harbrozone (Harborn), and begs for him support and favour.

Given at our Castle of Windsor, 15th November 1582, the 24th year of our reign.

[*Latin.*]

May 13. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

134. GIOVANNI MORO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Queen of England is said to have helped the Archbishop of Cologne with money; and the levies made by Casimir are supposed to be paid by her.

Paris, 13th May 1583.

[*Italian.*]

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May 14. Original Minute, Venetian Archives. Deliberations of the Senate, Constantinople, Reg. VI.

135. To the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR in Constantinople.

As regards the arrival of that English ship, and the operation of the French Ambassador to disturb the negotiations; in view of the damage to us which English trade in those parts would produce, we charge you, as we charged your predecessor, to co-operate with the French Ambassador in upsetting the negotiations. The English ships on their return journey usually commit acts of piracy.

[*Italian.*]

May 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

136. GIOVANNI MORO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Don Antonio after embarking his troops came here incognito, last week to procure fresh aid; but his efforts are not likely to be fruitful for money is so scarce at Court.

Paris, 27th May 1583.

[*Italian.*]

May 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

137. GIOVANNI FRANCESCO MORESINI, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I enclose a copy of the letter which the Sultan has written to the Queen of England in reply to hers.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 28th May 1583.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Enclosed in Despatch of May 28.

138. Copy of a translation of the letter from the GRAND SIGNIOR to the QUEEN of ENGLAND.

Mentions the arrival of the English Ambassador.

Orders given to all Turkish officers that English merchants are to be protected.

The English Ambassador will be treated as the French Ambassador is treated.

The Queen of England must see that her subjects in Turkey make no disturbances.

[*Italian.*]

June 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

139. MATHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The troops for the fleet have began to arrive in Lisbon. They are embarked at once to prevent their escaping, though it would have been better to keep them on shore till the time for sailing. The plague on the sea-board continues and even increases, inland it is decreasing.

Madrid, 6th June 1583.

[*Italian.*]

June 7. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

140. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and Senate.

A gentleman sent by the Queen of England has arrived here by post. He expressed a great eagerness to see the Emperor.

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They asked him to wait till the Emperor returned. In the meantime he is lodged and boarded at an inn. They suppose his commission is to complain of the treatment that Queen received at the Diet of Augsburg from the maritime cities, and to endeavour to find some means of reducing these excessive tariffs.

Vienna, 7th June 1583.

[*Italian.*]

June 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

141. Giovanni Moro, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Duke of Lennox died lately, perhaps from grief at having fallen from his high estate in Scotland.

Paris, 10th June 1583.

[*Italian.*]

June 14. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

142. The Venetian Representatives at the Imperial Court to the Doge and Senate.

All the Ministers are awaiting his Majesty's return. The English gentleman has resolved in the meantime to speak to the Archduke Ernst and to present the letters from his Queen offering the Garter to his Imperial Majesty. Some suppose that besides the question of the maritime cities the English representative is charged to speak in favour of the elector of Cologne.

Vienna, 14th June 1583.

[*Italian.*]

June 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

143. Giovanni Francesco Moresini, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

On board the Cireneo a Portuguese gentleman has arrived here from Don Antonio of Portugal. He brought letters from Don Antonio to the Sultan. He hoped to be here before the fleet sailed, and to obtain from his Majesty a large armament to attack the King of Spain. The fleet had not sailed, but the truce with Spain had been renewed. The Portuguese gentleman accordingly consulted the French Ambassador, in whose house he was lodged, as to the advisability of presenting his letters. He is afraid that to do so would only hasten the arrival of Marigliani, whom the Pasha would be sure to keep informed on every point concerning Spain. He will try to disturb the good understanding between Spain and Turkey.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 14th June 1583.

[*Italian ; deciphered.*]

June 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

144. Giovanni Francesco Moresini, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

I am sorry I was not aware earlier of your desire to thwart English negotiations with the Porte. I have neither originals nor abstracts of your despatches to my predecessor, dated 14 *June* 1580, *and as I was then on your service in Spain, I could not have had any inkling of your orders in this matter. It is quite possible*

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that an occasion may still arrive for carrying your wishes into effect, although negotiations are far forward, as my letters to you will have shown.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 28th June 1583.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

July 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

145. Matheo Zane, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

On the vigil of St. John, the 23rd of June, the fleet under the Marquis of Santa Cruz, set sail. It numbered 40 ships, 12 galleys, 2 galleons and about 46 smaller ships, a large number of which are rowed. It had ten thousand troops and two thousand more to be taken up at Saint Michel's. It is hoped that the Azores will come to terms. If not they rely on force. The weather has not been good of late, and there is some fear for the lighter ships. The loss of these would upset the expedition, for they are required for the purpose of landing troops.

The arrival of the King and the Queen of France at Mezieres has aroused the alarm of this Court, and makes them believe that if the expedition to the Azores fails the French will declare open war; and that their Majesties have consulted with the Duke of Alençon on this subject. In view of this the King has ordered Tassis, his agent in France, to say to the Queen-Mother that it would be advisable to re-open negotiations for the marriage of Alençon and the second Infanta, because the first time the subject was broached in Lisbon the King had not had time to answer; nor was it even possible to answer, as the Duke's marriage to the Queen of England was at that time made public, and held as concluded. But now circumstances were altered, and it would be possible to unite the Kings of France and Spain for a joint enterprise against the enemies of the true Faith.

The want of money at this Court is greater than it has been for many years. The cause is the delay in the arrival of the India fleet. Until that occurs this difficulty will continue. The result is that it is impossible to assist the Prince of Parma and the army in Flanders.

Madrid, 4th July 1583.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

July 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

146. Giovanni Moro, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The people of Gravelingen seized Sciaretier (Charetierre ?), Secretary to Monsieur, on his way from England, and put him to cruel torture in order to find out what negotiations he had conducted with the Queen, and other matters regarding Navarre, with whom he has frequently treated on behalf of his Highness. Sciaretier is hated by the King, and is out of favour with his Highness who does not trouble himself about his sufferings.

The Palatine Laschi arrived in England not long ago. I remember to have seen him in the College with a very long beard, which he afterwards wore under his jacket, and appeared to have

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very little (*mi riccordo haver veduto comparire nell' Eccmo Collegio con una lunghissima barba, et poi raccoltala tutta dentro l'guibbone, mostrava di haverne pocchissima*).

He was received with honours by the Queen, who ordered salutes of artillery. She gave him a house and some of her own body servants.

Paris, 8th July 1583.

[*Italian.*]

July 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

147. MATHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

His Majesty has letters from the Marquis of Santa Cruz, dated the 27th of last month. He is with the large ships, seventy leagues from Saint Michel's. He had continuous good weather. The lighter squadron had gone on ahead, as the winds were more favourable to them than to the heavy ships. Advices say that there are not more than one thousand five hundred fighting men in the islands.

Madrid, 10th July 1583.

[*Italian*; *deciphered.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

148. A STATEMENT of the SHIPS and SEAMEN who formed his Majesty's fleet to attack the Azores. Captain-General, the Marquis of Santa Cruz, who sailed from Lisbon on June 23, 1583. The fleet was composed of 98 sail, as below:—

—	Ships.	Sailors.	Soldiers.
Two galleons, with 496 men at the oars, besides sailors and troops - -	2	188	315
12 galleys of Spain, with 2,012 men at the oars - - - - -	12	706	600
3 galleons Royal - - - -	3	290	524
2 galleons, belonging to the Marquis of Santa Cruz, 1,546 tons - - -	2	180	486
13 Biscayans and Giupuscans of 5,450 tons; to carry supplies - - - -	13	671	2,555
7 Ragusans of 5,082 tons - - -	7	474	2,454
4 Venetians of 2,346 tons, the *Lippomano*, the *Pozo*, the *Fontana*, and the *Santa Maria* - - - - -	4	229	1,158
1 Neapolitan of 499 tons - - -	1	47	274
2 Genoese of 898 tons - - -	2	87	374
3 Catalans of 2,199 tons - - -	3	203	910
1 ship and 8 transports of Castro de Viduales - - - - -	9	227	—
4 transports of Giupusca - - -	4	110	—
15 Shaloops of Castro - - -	15	311	—
14 Caravels of Portugal - - -	14	148	—
7 small boats - - - -	7	42	—
	98	3,913	9,650

On leaving port the Neapolitan broke her rudder, which injured the keel. She had to stay behind, and her men and munitions were put on another ship.

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PROVISIONS OF SAID FLEET.

Biscuits, quintals - - -	35,500
Flour, quintals - - -	250
Rice, quintals - - -	1,550
Wine, barrels - - -	4,900
Beer, barrels - - -	450
Lard, quintals - - -	3,320
Water, tons - - -	4,060
Junk, lbs. - - -	85,500
Beans, *faneghe** (1 fanega = 55 litres) - - - -	1,500
Chicory - - - -	1,050
Oil, *arrobbe** (1 arrobba = 25 lbs. Spanish, or 10 kilos) - -	3,350
Vinegar, barrels - - -	280
Cheese, quintals - - -	2,530
Barrels of water - - -	7,000
Tunny, barrels - - -	2,600
Sardines and other fish - -	58,000

These provisions are for four months.

The fleet has a hospital with its majordomo, doctors, barbers, and all that they require.

A Royal Court with its Ministers of Justice.

[*Italian.*]

July 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

149. GIOVANNI FRANCESCO MORESINI, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Portuguese gentleman who came here with letters from Don Antonio, left four days ago on board a frigate, for Schios, where he will exchange on to a French ship and be taken to Marseilles. He bears answers from the Pasha only, not from the Sultan. The substance is that if Don Antonio will send an Ambassador with suitable presents they will furnish him with one hundred ships.

After his departure work in the Arsenal was carried on actively, and if the truce with Spain is not renewed, the fleet will probably take the sea in vigour, all the more so as they say that peace with Persia is imminent.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 12th July 1583.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

July 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

150. MATHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

There is no more news of the Marquis of Santa Cruz, but it is considered certain that the expedition has reached the Azores in safety, and will be successful. Before the Marquis reaches the islands he will publish an edict of pardon.

Madrid, 15th July 1583.

[*Italian.*]

* *See* Martini, *Manuale di Metrologia.* Torino, 1883, pp. 320, 322.

1583. July 31. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

151. Matheo Zane, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

Last week his Majesty received letters of the 10th from the Marquis of Santa Cruz, announcing his arrival at Saint Michel's on the 7th. The light squadron had preceded him by three days. They are taking in provisions and embarking the two thousand troops that are there, and intend to sail for the Azores, which are thirty leagues off. The Marquis was informed that the general pardon had produced no effect, the garrison which consisted of twelve companies of French, two Scotch, one English and twenty-four Portuguese, was determined to resist, perhaps with a view to concealing the fact that an arrangement not to fight was their real object, but it is hoped that the sight of this armament will make them change their ideas. But for the disembarkation of troops, which is the real difficulty of the enterprise, a calm is necessary. The garrison is not large, nor is it on good terms with the islanders. The Marquis is empowered to offer any terms to the foreign troops, even money, on condition that they should withdraw, the Marquis will attempt this when he has landed his troops. We shall know the result in six or eight days, the affair does not admit of a longer delay.

Madrid, 31st July 1583.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

152. Matheo Zane, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

On the 19th of last month the Marquis of Santa Cruz had not yet left Saint Michel's owing to bad weather. Two or three French ships are cruising round and damaging the fleet if they meet any ship isolated. The issue must be doubtful, as all depends on the weather.

Madrid, 6th August 1583.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

153. Matheo Zane, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

There is no news from the Azores. People are divided between hopes and fears.

Madrid, 15th August 1583.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 17. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

154. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the Doge and Senate.

The Queen of England, ill satisfied with the Emperor's answer to the question of the Maritime States deferring the resolution of the matter, has written a very haughty letter, in which she claims that if any German have a complaint against her customs he must submit the case to the English Courts, which is quite against the terms of her treaty in which these questions are referred to the Imperial Chamber.

Vienna, 17th August 1583.

[*Italian.*]

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Aug. 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

155. Giovanni Moro, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The King having conceived a suspicion *that the Queen of Navarre was leading a life more licentious than became an honest woman,* caused a long report of her proceedings to be presented. He desired her to return to her husband. This she always professed herself ready to do, but always found some excuse such as health, or want of money, for putting off her departure. *Meantime she gave birth to a son; now supposed to be dead.* The King informed her husband; and ordered the Queen to retire. She hoped to delay, but the King gave positive orders that she was to start the next morning and sent the Archbishop of Anjou and Charles Birago to accompany her. She endeavoured to secure an audience, but the King refused to see her, *they say because he feared that he would act towards her in a way unworthy of the King of France, however much she might deserve it.* So she was obliged to depart on the 9th of this month. Two days later, while on her journey, her litter was surrounded by armed men, who proceeded to make a close examination of everything and searched the ladies in waiting in the hope of finding certain prisoners; they wished to secure her doctor as well; but they found neither one nor the other, for the ladies, suspecting a search of this kind had gone on ahead, and the doctor hid himself in the box of a carriage, they arrested a groom only. *The Queen, believing that they had been sent by the King to kill her, uncovered her face, and all disturbed cried out to them, "Slay me, slay me,"* but presently plucking up her courage, she with haughty words chid them for their insolence to her, a daughter of France and sole sister of the King. The day following they continued in pursuit of her ladies; they were two in number, one married called Madame de Durrs (Duras), the other maid of the chamber called Madelle Bethune, both of them her intimates, who led not merely free but dissolute lives. *The birth of the child is true. It was sent to nurse at a castle three leagues from here. The real reasons why she did not leave sooner were first that she was with child, and secondly, that she was violently in love with a young and handsome gentleman,** at one time a favourite of Monsieur the King's brother, and perhaps seen and known by her at that time. The King sent to arrest him, but he is supposed to have fled. *The King, they say, was informed of the whole story by the Duke of Epernon, who was ill-pleased with the Queen,* because she had frequently spoken slightingly of him. They believe that if the Queen can resist the first attack of her husband she will succeed in clearing herself, and in attributing all to the malignity of the King's favourites.

Paris, 19th August 1583.

[*Italian; the part it italics deciphered.*]

Aug. 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

156. Giovanni Moro, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The King of Scotland to free himself from the hands of those that keep him almost in bondage, took to flight one day when out

* Harlay de Chanvallon. See *Memoirs of Marguerite de Valois, edit. Violet Fane, London,* 1892, p.p. 27–29.

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hunting, and being mounted on a good horse he reached a castle that held for him. The Queen of England is known to support the party hostile to the King, with a view to disposing of the kingdom as she desires.

Paris, 19th August 1583.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 21. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

157. Matheo Zane, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

Three days ago, by way of Rochelle, comes news that Santa Cruz has disembarked in force and is making himself master of the island. But the news was not believed as it came from such a suspicious source. Yesterday evening came a Secretary of the Marquis with the desired news that he held the port and chief town, and almost the island. The enterprise was truly in the hand of God, who sent a calm. The French garrison withdrew to the mountains, where they cannot maintain themselves for long. The victory was won on the 26th July, Saint Anne's day; the same day as the great naval victory of last year. This will oblige the King to build a church to that Saint.

Madrid, 21st August 1583.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

158. Report made by the Secretary of the Marquis of Santa Cruz, who arrived in Madrid on August 20, 1583.

The fleet left Saint Michel's on the 20th July. On the 21st and 22nd the wind was contrary; and so it did not sight the Azores before the 23rd. The weather then was most favourable, there being a great calm. The 25th and 28th were spent in reconnoitring, and on that latter day the resolution was formed of entering the island between the forts. The galleys did their work, by putting the landing stages (*sproni*) on shore. The troops disembarked and attacked the enemy with great valour. They took the trenches with a loss of twenty killed and many wounded. The next day, in order to secure a water supply, they gave battle. The enemy was routed with a loss of 300 French and 20 of ours, and the fleet remained in the port, and the army in the city of Angra, where the Marquis was lodged in the house of Donna Violante de Silva, who, along with Emanuel de Silva and Chiartres, the commander of the French, fled to the mountains, with some people who followed them, as they did not accept the pardon which had been offered to them on his Majesty's behalf. All this is confirmed by letters from the Marquis. The Secretary said that he was detained by bad weather from starting at once; and saw the French give battle by driving towards the Spaniards herds of bulls and cows tied together, and thoroughly maddened. But the Spaniards were aware of the stratagem, which the natives had employed against Valdes two years ago successfully; they opened their ranks and let the cattle pass through, then closing up again they attacked the French, of whom eight hundred were killed and the rest put to

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flight. These withdrew to the mountains leaving the country in the hands of the Spanish. This report was only verbal and therefore to be accepted with reserve.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

159. Giovanni Moro, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Ottavian Cornaro, son of Sig Carlo, who left Venice with me, desiring to see the world, has gone into England. His amiable qualities open the road for him, and the Queen of England has been especially gracious to him, and during his three months' visit frequently talking intimately with him. The Queen complained to Cornaro that the Republic was not as cordial to her as formerly, and her last words to him were, "I have always heard that Venice was a city founded in the sea, but now I rather think it to be foundered in the river of oblivion." (*Che haveva ella sempre inteso che la città di Vinetia era fondata nell'acque, ma che hora lo pareva di poter dire che si fosse affondata nel fiume lethe.*) He has also brought with him a concession granted by the Queen to certain merchants. He thought it of interest commercially; and I agree with him. I remember to have seen a similar concession granted to Accerbo Velutelli a Luccan, some years ago, which was considered so important that the Senate took action thereon, in the year eighty.

Paris, 26th August 1583.

[*Italian.*]

April 5. Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

160. Proclamation by Queen Elizabeth.*

Elizabeth by the Grace of God, &c. To the Treasurer and Lords of our Exchequer, to all high sheriffs, bailiffs, constables, customs officers, collectors, controllers, searchers, and guards of the ports shores and channels of this our kingdom of England; to all our officers, ministers, and subjects, and to all into whose hands this may come, greeting:

We have been clearly informed how some few years ago, our well-beloved and natural subjects, Thomas Cordell, Edward Helmeden, Paul Ronning, Richard Glascock, Robert Sadler, William Garraway, Henry Anderson, Andrew Raning, Edward Lecland, Henry Farington, Edward Sadler, Thomas Darobins, Richard Dusell, and Thomas Trorote, all London merchants, at great cost fitted out several good ships, and have trafficked and still traffic in merchandise of our kingdom with Venice, Zante, Candia, and Cephalonia, and other territory of the Venetians; and maintain and have maintained the said ships, and import many excellent goods into the kingdom to the general profit. Which commerce until taken up by these men was entirely in the hands of strangers, and less useful to our state:

Wherefore having regard to the support of our subjects, the increase of our ships and sea, the better service, fortification, and defence of this our kingdom, we, of our special grace have granted and conceded to our well-beloved subjects, Thomas Cordell, &c

* See *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, 1581–1590, p. 105.

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these special privileges, liberties, benefits, and advantages as follows:—

They and they only shall for the next six years enjoy the trade by sea with Venice and Venetian dominions.

They and they only shall have and enjoy during these six years the freedom of that traffic, not only in currants, oils of Greece, and wines of Crete, but in every other kind of merchandise. For the better ordering of their affairs, Thomas Cordell, &c. shall, during this period of six years, enjoy full right to meet anywhere within the city of London, for the establishment, alteration, or cancelling of byelaws in such way as to them or the majority of them may seem fitting, provided they be not contrary to the law of England. All our other subjects, except Thomas Cordell, &c. are strictly forbidden to trade with Venice during these six years.

We hear that the Venetian Government has raised the duties on goods from England, which threaten to ruin the trade of this Company and to deter others from similar enterprises. To remedy this we forbid any other than Thomas Cordell, &c. to import into England during the next six years, currants (*picciole frutte comunemente chiamate Corinti*), sweet oil of Greece, and wine of Crete, except on permission from Thomas Cordell, &c. on pain of confiscation of the goods, half of which shall go to the Crown and half to the Company.

But should our subjects be recompensed for the extra duties which they have already paid and for the future be relieved from such duties, by the Government of Venice, then, on the payment of such recompense and on the guarantee of discharge for the future, the preceding clause shall be abolished as far as Venice is concerned, but shall come into force again should Venice reimpose the duties. Custom House officers are to refuse to pass currants, oil of Greece, and wine of Crete, except in the name of the Company.

The Company may call on the Exchequer to issue orders as above to any port of the kingdom that they choose.

These letters can be recalled upon a requisition signed by six Privy Councillors declaring them to be injurious to the commonweal. But the Company is entitled to two years grace.

Richmond, 5th April 1583.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

161. Matheo Zane, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The fleet at the Azores has captured twelve of the enemies ships which were in the harbour. The French and many peasants fled to the mountains, where they had small hope of defending themselves; and, as a fact, on the 28th they surrendered. The Marquis granted a free pardon to the French, and embarked 1,500 of them, without firearms, for Biscaglia, whence they can go home. Four officers including the Colonel remained as hostages.

The Marquis also pardoned the islanders. But Emanuel de Silva and perhaps 14 Portuguese were executed; and Donna Violante, who we may say kept up the rebellion, is a prisoner and will be

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sent to Spain. Some of the neighbouring isles wished to resist; but, on learning the capture of Azores, they surrendered. The Marquis is settling the Government of the islands, and intends to leave on the 17th of this month.

The Peruvian fleet is on its way, they say with more than eleven millions in gold and silver and three millions in other goods.

Madrid, 29th August 1583.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 2. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

162. Giovanni Moro, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

There is a rumour that the King of Spain became master of the Azores on July 26th.

The King of Scotland is in safety. The Queen of England has sent her Principal Secretary to treat with him.

The waiting lady of the Queen of Navarre has been arrested and threatened with torture unless she spoke the truth. *They say that the King himself took down her depositions, which revealed not what he had looked for, but this, that the Queen of Navarre and Monsieur were in conspiracy to slay him.* But she is thought to have spoken out of dread of torture and desire to please the King, who was seeking some sufficient pretext for the scandal of expelling the Queen. The King regrets having pushed matters so far; and has caused the liberation of all concerned. The King has ordered the Queen of Navarre to remain in Anjou, and her husband has forbidden her to move towards him, and is considering a repudiation of her.

Paris, 2nd September 1583.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Sept. 13. Original Minute, Venetian Archives. Deliberations of the Senate, Constantinople, Reg. VI.

163. To the Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople.

We gave orders to you, as well as to your predecessor at the Porte, to oppose the negotiations of the English, which might prove of great damage to us. And although as you advise us English operations are now far on, all the same the question is so important that you must not omit any step which will conduce to the desired end. All the more so as the Queen has put a check upon our commerce with England by imposing heavy duties, and has conferred the monopoly of trade on a few of her own English merchants to the express exclusion of the Venetians. For your guidance we will order you to use all your ability to thwart the Queen in her desire to establish an Ambassador at the Porte and to open commercial relations with the Turk. If you see that you cannot effect anything except by the method usual with the Turk, and you think it opportune to use it, then we give you authority to spend up to 15 thousand sequins in bribes to the Magnificent Pasha; to be paid him, however, only after favours received. You may also employ two thousand sequins in securing other persons.

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You will co-operate with and support the French Ambassador, and will communicate our orders to him.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. Memorie Publiche, MS. at the Marcian, Library, Cl. vii. Cod. DCCCXI.

164. In the past months the Queen of England has sent a representative, with gifts to the Sultan, to act as Ambassador to the Porte. He was well received. His mission was to establish commercial relations which would seriously damage us. The French Ambassador had done all he could to prevent the Englishman from being received, but without success. Our Government wrote to the Bailo that he was to act in concert with France. The Bailo replied that he did not see how the end was to be gained.

On September 7 motion was made to vote 15,000 sequins to the Bailo, to secure the removal of the English Ambassador.

There was an opposition to the proposal, led by Francesco di Priuli, Savio Grande, Alvise Soranzo, Savio di Terraferma, and Alvise Salamon; Morosini Savio agli ordeni replied. To the great disgust of the Senate the votes fell—

For the motion - -	25	
For Priuli's opposition -	56	No decision.
Neutrals - - -	54	

The Papalisti were excluded to the surprise of all. But the Savii said that the league would be discussed. After a long discussion in the Senate it was resolved to write to England only, and not to attempt anything at Constantinople just now.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

165. Giovanni Moro, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The King of France has explained to the King of Navarre that the expulsion of the Queen was dictated solely by a regard for her honour and his own. The King of Navarre instantly sent a gentleman to demand explanations. But the King, who already repented his harsh orders to his sister and the consequent scandal, replied that the departure of the Queen was rendered necessary because she refused to dismiss certain ladies in waiting whose conduct was scandalous.

The Queen, seeing her honour so smirched, speaks of the King with all the freedom imaginable, pouring out, under an impetuous disdain, all the details of the King's past life, which was more licentious than his high position permitted. And now they say that in order to soften her, the King will recall her to Court.

Paris, 16th September 1583.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Sept. 24. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

166. Matheo Zane, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The Nuncio had an audience. I understand that the Pope, at the instance of France it is thought, is endeavouring to arrange a

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league between the Crown of France or Alençon, and his Catholic Majesty, and proposes an attack on England, under certain conditions, which however seem calculated rather to raise discussion than to produce effect. The King is not at all disinclined to entertain the proposal, partly with a view to avoid irritating the Pope in face of his own endeavours to renew the Turkish truce, partly also from his desire to remove Alençon and the French altogether from Flanders. The Pope is acting at the request of France, and in the interests of the Church.

The Marquis of Santa Cruz is in Cadiz with almost all his fleet. He is in need of victuals and medicines for the sick, and of all other necessaries. He allows no one to go on shore.

The preparations all point to some other expedition, but no one knows what it may be, for the King has declared that he does not intend to attempt Arachia (el Arisch); some say these forces are destined to serve the Pope.

Madrid, 24th September 1583.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Sept. 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

167. Matheo Zane, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

His Holiness is urging that these forces of the King, which are now collected, should not be disbanded without undertaking some enterprise for the benefit of Christianity, but it only ends in talk. The Armada will either attack Racchia (el Arisch), if the consent of the Sceriff is obtained, or the King will send the troops to Flanders It would then remain for discussion whether they take the way of Italy or the short sea route, using Dunquerque and Nieuport for landing-places. The present season is the most favourable for this object as the rivers are in flood, and render the shoals along the shore less dangerous. But the King is advised that in case of storm he ought to secure a harbour of refuge either in France or in England. All these difficulties make people think that the old route by Italy will be chosen.

A general embargo on all ships for the service of the King has been declared in the Spanish ports.

Madrid, 26th September 1583.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 30. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

168. Giovanni Moro, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The King of Scotland by his escape not merely freed himself from his gaolers, who were all creatures of the Queen of England, but has regained his original liberty in full. For the party which has always been faithful to him is in the majority, but did not dare to speak while the King was a prisoner, fearing that his gaolers might put him to death, or send him in custody into England. The King has taken no steps against the guilty except to exhort them to be better vassals for the future. He has ordered some of the more suspect to go to their castles, and to wait there till summoned; and

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should they be obliged to come to Court for the future a Duke may bring twelve attendants only, an Earl eight, and a gentleman four.

Paris, 30th September 1583.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

169. Giovanni Moro, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Monsieur is still at Cambrai. His usual ill-fortune pursues him. He sent Marshal Biron to attack Câteau Cambresis (*Sciatheo Cambresy*). The Marshal was routed with the loss of three hundred Frenchmen. The Prince of Parma has made himself master of Zutphen.

The King of Navarre, after having written to his wife that he would come to meet her, being still dissatisfied with what the King of France had told him about the dismissal of the ladies in waiting, sent orders to his wife not to move, and despatched another messenger to the King of France for further information. The King of France delayed his answer until he met the Queen-Mother at S. Germains. This delay increased the suspicions of the King of Navarre, and furnished an opportunity to all who were desirous of creating a disturbance, and principally *to the Prince of Condé,* to suggest to the King that all this was done to insult him and to humiliate him before the world. Meanwhile the Queen of Navarre remained disconsolate at Herach, and thence she sent Lodovico Birago, brother of Carlo, to beg the advice and help of the Queen-Mother. Her reply was that the Queen should retire to Cognac and wait there.

Paris, 14th October 1583.

[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Oct. 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

170. Matheo Zane, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

Monsignore Sega, Bishop of Piacenza, has been sent here by his Holiness. He has asked for audience, but has not yet had one. I have heard that his mission is the formation of a league against infidels.

Madrid, 15th October 1583.

[*Italian ; deciphered.*]

Oct. 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

171. Matheo Zane, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

His Holiness' second proposal is a secret confederation to attack England, to drive out the Queen, and to substitute the King of Scotland, in whose name the enterprise is planned. The Duke of Guise is named for the command, under the pretext that neither his Majesty nor the King of France should openly declare themselves against the Queen. The Nuncio has made the most urgent representations to the King that he should arrive at some resolution demonstrating that he ought not to lose the opportunity which now offers itself through understandings which exist with people in England, through the

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revolts in that island, and through the rebellion in Ireland; added to these there are the troops already collected and the abundance of money, thanks to the very rich fleet just arrived from the Indies; so that it would appear that God himself had arranged all these things so that some great good might accrue to Christianity, such as the restoration of the English people to the true religion (l'altra proposta di sua Santità è la secreta confederatione per la impresa de Inghilterra, di cacciarve la Regina, et metter in stato il Re di Scotia in nome del quale si dissegna l'impresa; et per Generale di essa vien nominato il Duca di Ghisa, sotto pretesto che nè sua Maesta nè il Re di Franza si mostrino alla scoperta contro la Regina; et il Noncio, a nome del Papa, ha fatto instantissimo officio con sua Maestà perchè se ne risolvi adesso, mostrandole che non si doveva perdere la congiontura che hora si offerisce delle intelligenze che sono in Inghilterra, et dalli moti di quell' Isola con la sollevatione di Irlanda . . . . aggiontevi le forze che sua Maestà Catholica si trova haver insieme, et la commodità ancora del denaro rispetto alla flotta richissima gionta de India, onde pareva a punto che Dio benedetto havesse accordato tante cose insieme perchè ne succedesse un cosi gran bene alla Cristianità, come sarebbe riddare quei populi alla vera religione). His Holiness proposed to contribute to the expenses in the proportion which was assigned to him in other treaties, or else that his Majesty should accept a subsidy of four hundred thousand crowns, and bear all the expenses, which should not amount to more than the above-mentioned sum; for the troops could all be ready in four months, and would consist of ten thousand English mercenaries, two thousand Scotch, and four thousand Spanish. His Majesty, being earnestly solicited by the Nuncio, resolved to answer to Rome by express courier, who left on the 24th of last month as I informed your Serenity. His Majesty informed the Pope that he, too, as a Christian, and on account of the question of Flanders and the navigation of the Ocean, desired to see a successful issue to the English affair, but he pointed out that to place the King of Scotland on the throne would not restore those people to the Catholic Church; for the King had been educated by those who were hostile to the Church, he had always adhered to them and lived with them, and to expect a change was too much, so that on the score of religion he did not see how the desired benefits would be secured. Nor could he find sufficient grounds of confidence, for the relations which his Holiness claimed to have in England were weak, and the designs of the exiles also; he approved the appointment of the Duke of Guise, but he was bound to consider the danger of sending his troops upon an expedition ill planned owing to the lack of arms, munitions, and other necessaries. (La proposta di sua Santità era che essa concorrebbe nelle spese per la portione che le potesse toccare giusta la forma delle altre leghe, se la Sua Maestà voleva far la parte sua, overo che essa accettasse un susidio extraordinario sopra questo clero in Spagna di $\frac{m}{400}$ scudi, et facesse tutta la spesa la quale si contava non dovesse esser maggior della detta summa, perche l' impresa si fornirebbe in 4 mesi, et si

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haverebbe ad assoldare $\frac{m}{x}$ *Inglesi et doi mille scocesi, li quali con* $\frac{m}{4}$ *spagnuoli, che sua Maestà mandasse, dava l' animo al Duca di Ghisa di fornire la impresa. Sua Maestà essendo instantamente sollecitata dal Noncio, convene risolversi rispondere a Roma con un corriero expresso . . . . et disse Sua Maestà che essa desiderava non manco di Sua Santità la ruiscita di Inghliterra come Principe Christiano, et particolarmente interessato rispetto li Stati di Fiandra, alla navigatione dell' Oceano et a molti altri proprii interessi, però che ella avvertiva che mettere in Stato il Re di Scotia non era ridure quelli isolani alla Religione Cattolica perche egli è stato allevato da persone che sentono male della fede.)*

Madrid, 26th October 1583.

[*Italian ; deciphered.*]

Oct. 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

172. Giovanni Moro, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Last week the new Ambassador of England reached Paris. He is a person of great importance in that kingdom, and lord of many Castles (*Signore de Castelli*). On Sunday he had audience. In conversation with him he expressed the Queen's goodwill towards Venice, and insisted that a right understanding would be useful to both, as the power of the Spaniards was a subject of suspicion to Venice more than to any other Prince. I replied that Venice stood in such friendly relations with the King of Spain as to have no cause for alarm at his greatness.

Yesterday the retiring Ambassador repeated the same to me, and added that it would be well if the Republic were to remove all cause of displeasure which had arisen on account of the merchants. He concluded by saying that all this was said on his own personal initiative. I made a suitable reply; but on the question of the merchants I said that I did not know what your Serenity could do further in the matter. He replied that although the Republic would not honour her Majesty with an Ambassador still it might charge one of our gentlemen who was trading in England to deal with the matter. I answered that as far as I knew our gentlemen had ceased to sail their ships (*dissi che a questo pare che i nostri gentil huomini habbiano desmesso affatto il navicare*). He at once said that I might be charged with this office as long as I remained here, and on my return I might endeavour to preserve good relations between the Queen and the Republic. I replied that I certainly would do so.

I have heard that the Ambassador complained that the Republic has never answered a letter from the Queen.

Paris, 28th October 1583.

[*Italian.*]

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Nov. 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

173. Giovanni Moro, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Queen of Navarre is still in the same place (Herach), awaiting the result of the negotiations; about the issue of these there is doubt, as it is well known that the King of Navarre has sent an emissary to the Queen of England with orders to proceed subsequently to Casimir; and has also forwarded money to Germany to raise troops. He has been informed of the object of Mons. de Bellievre's mission to him, and has prepared his answer, which is that, since the King declares that the ladies in waiting were the sole cause of his conduct towards his sister, and that all beyond this is pure calumny, he should publish the names of these calumniators, and inflict due punishment on them. To save the *Duke of Epernon*, whom public opinion indicates as the origin of all this, they may fasten on some one else, guilty of some other fault, and attribute all to him, punish him, and so give satisfaction to the King of Navarre.

Paris, 11th November 1583.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Nov. 25. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

174. Giovanni Moro, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The King of Scotland after securing himself against his rebels took an opportunity upon another pretext to arrest one of the two Earls who were the chief cause of his imprisonment. The Queen of England sent her Principal Secretary at once to plead for him. The King showed himself willing to set him at liberty, the more so as he had been unable to arrest the other Earl, and did not desire to punish one without the other. The King wished to satisfy the Queen on this point; and also gave his promise that he would not change his religion. The Queen made this request because she suspected constant solicitations from France, the more so as the son of the late Mons. d'Aubigny had gone to Scotland.

Paris, 25th November 1583.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

175. Matheo Zane and Vicenzo Gradenigo, Venetian Ambassadors in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

Cardinal Granvelle sent for the Nuncio, and in his Majesty's name replied to the representations of Sega, telling him that as regards the attack on England there was no need to add anything to what had been written to his Holiness, especially as the particular conditions which recommended the enterprise no longer existed.

Madrid, 27th November 1583.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Nov. 29. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

176. Giovanni Francesco Moresini, Venetian Ambassador at Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

I have already told your Serenity that the French Ambassador here had orders from his sovereign to procure the expulsion of the English Ambassador, and of the action I took, in obedience to your

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orders, with a view to assisting the French Ambassador. That Ambassador went to the Pasha and made vigorous representations; but the Pasha was ill-disposed; he asked if the Ambassador had letters from the King of France for the Grand Signior on this subject; on the Ambassador replying that he had no letters, but what he said vivâ voce was enough, and ought to be more potent than a thousand letters, the Pasha answered that he did not know what to do, for the alliance and treaty with the Queen of England were not made in his day; that the French Ambassador should get letters from his master to the Grand Signior on this subject, and that they would then be presented. But the Pasha said he could not see how the English Ambassador was to be expelled, and that the French Ambassador should have spoken at the time that the negotiation was pending. The Ambassador replied that he had never failed to protest, and that after agreeing to the treaty with England the Sultan had twice written to his master promising that the English should not be received here, except under the protection of the French flag. As the Sultan had broken his word and his faith to the King of France the King would feel himself freed from his friendly obligations unless the Sultan took the steps necessary to satisfy French honour. He could not write any more on this subject for his orders were to present himself to the Sultan and to make him understand the insult to the King. If no steps were taken he should be obliged to follow out his further instructions. It was impossible for an Ambassador of England and an Ambassador of France both to remain here; and if they wished to help the English Ambassador he would leave at once. The Pasha replied that he thought there was no occasion for such a row (che a lui non pareva che devesse far tanto strepito); that any way the Ambassador had better put into writing all his demands and the grounds for them. Without troubling the Sultan these claims could be considered, and an answer given. On the retirement of the Ambassador, Benveniste made such excellent representations to the Pasha that he has persuaded him to embrace this French point of view. When the Ambassador returned with a petition (arz) he found the Pasha very well disposed, and he thanks your Serenity for the good offices done him through the agency of Benveniste. But to further this affair the Pasha has persuaded the Ambassador to present himself to the Sultan the first day he goes a hunting, and to complain of the Pasha, so that the Sultan may not think that the Pasha has received some douceur to help forward this object; after that the Pasha will do all he can with the Sultan to secure the expulsion of the English Ambassador. The French Ambassador has not yet presented the petition (arz) to the Sultan, as he has not been out lately owing to wind and rain; but the first day he goes a hunting the Ambassador will follow the Pasha's advice. The petition is all ready. Benveniste tells me he has seen what the Pasha has written when reporting on the French petition to the Sultan, and that nothing could be more favourable, as he points out the immense difference between the King of France and the Queen of England as an ally; that the English are of little use to the Turk; that the expulsion of their Ambassador would do no hurt to Turkish commerce for goods which now come

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under the English name would come all the same under the name of France; and adding that the French Ambassador would himself present a petition in person to his Majesty. The Sultan replied to the Pasha that he did not see how he could expel anyone who came to seek his alliance, but that he would wait till he saw what the Ambassador said.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 29th November 1583.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Enclosed in Despatch of November 29.

177. COPY of a PETITION presented to the MAGNIFICENT PASHA.

When I informed my Sovereign the Emperor (*sic*) of France of what had taken place at the Porte in the matter of the English alliance, his Majesty showed great indignation against me. He said that he could not believe that, if I had used all means in my power to point out to the Grand Signior his breach of faith, his Highness would ever have concluded this new treaty with that Queen, to the damage of his own honour and of the dignity of my master. His Majesty says that when a friendly Prince breaks faith with an ally he cannot expect that ally to be bound to the prejudice of honour and dignity, and consequently his ally is free and absolved from his engagement. His Majesty has ordered me to present myself with all due reverence before your Royal and Sublime Person, in order to inform you of the most righteous reasons which he has to complain of this conduct, unless it be remedied as is fitting.

I have thought it right to present myself first to your Excellency, and to beg you to petition his Highness in the most suitable manner for the continuance and preservation of this ancient alliance, by pointing out how much the Emperors of France have always valued their honour, so that his Highness may see how just a cause for complaint my master has; and that he may decide which alliance is the more honourable and useful for him; the alliance he has inherited from his fathers, or that of the Queen of England, and to favour me with a reply, that I may, as soon as possible, obey my master's orders.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in Despatch of November 29.

178. COPY of PETITION presented to the GRAND SIGNIOR.

Repeats the preceding note, and adds that his master can only suppose that his Highness has been misinformed on subject, and has therefore ordered his Ambassador to explain the matter personally to his Highness. The Ambassador had twice had an audience of the Vizir Asem (Hassan), but only received in reply the statement that the negotiations with England did not take place when the Vizir was in power. He therefore made representations direct to his Highness, pointing out the violation of the French flag, of the terms of the treaty, and of the Imperial letters; and adding that when one Prince violates his treaties with an ally he cannot expect the other to remain faithful to the prejudice of his honour and his dignity, and that he therefore is absolved from his obligations. The Am-

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bassador waited his Highness' reply, which of the two alliances he preferred, that which his ancestors had left him as a legacy, or that with the Queen of England.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

179. Giovanni Moro, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

In obedience to your letters of the 19th November I will assure the English Ambassador of the goodwill the Republic bears towards that Crown. But unless he speaks about the merchants I shall not. There is no more talk of Don Antonio. He asked for a loan of ten thousand, and had for answer from their Majesties that they had none to oblige him with.

9th December 1583.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

180. Giovanni Moro, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The King of Scotland, on the request of the Duke of Guise, has set a Jesuit at liberty. The Queen of England, through her secretary Walsingham, complained of this, and had for answer that the Jesuit had escaped through carelessness of his jalors. This gives hope that the King is well disposed towards the religion, and will, at an opportune moment, make some declaration. To foster this favourable mood they wished to send with the son of D'Aubigny, as his secretary, some one suited to manage the affair. But the mother and the relations of young D'Aubigny, fearing for his safety, would not let anyone go who was not quite well known, as they said his father was so hated in that kingdom, and that the Queen of England was sure to be informed of every move of the youth and of his household, especially just now that suspicion is rife. For it happened that an English gentleman of noble blood who had been arrested, was heard to pray in Latin, and his jalors noticed that he was reading a Roman office. He said his was the true religion; that the Queen was no Queen, as she had lost her rights when she was alienated from the Apostolic Faith; that those who obeyed her committed a deadly sin. The result of these remarks was that his wife, his mother-in-law, and some of his relations were arrested. Because a harquebuss was found on him at the moment of his arrest it was rumoured that he intended to kill the Queen.

Some hot words passed between Mons. de Scianualier and the Duke of Epernon, in the park of S. Germains where they were playing pall mall (*dove si giocava a Palla maglia*).

Paris, 9th December 1583.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 13. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

181. Giovanni Francesco Moresini, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

On account of the death of the Sultana Mother, the French Ambassador has not yet received any answer to his note on the subject

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of the English, which he presented in person to the Sultan. He went to wait for the Sultan in the public street one of the days when he was returning from visiting his mother in her serraglio; and although the Sultan received the note with a favourable countenance and said that he would reply the following day, yet up to this moment no answer has come. But I understand that the answer is not likely to be favourable, for the Sultan replied to the Pasha's report on the matter that he did not see how he could expel any who came to the Porte to seek alliance, and that if the French Ambassador chooses to go, then he would not prevent him. Nor has the Sultan, as usual, sent back the note to the Pasha, nor has he given any orders to make any answer to the Ambassador, who is much disturbed at this conduct, though he pretends that he does not mind. He says, however, that this will cause a rupture of the alliance between Turkey and France, and will create an alliance of Christian Princes against the Turk. This opinion is based on letters from the King of France and from the French Ambassador in Venice, which he showed me. The substance of this letter was that the Ambassador in Venice excused himself for not writing sooner on the score that your Serenity had not sent any courtiers in this direction, and added that he was afraid that in a few days it would be even more difficult to communicate. The French Ambassador here interprets this to mean that the King of France intends to make a league with the King of Spain against the Turk.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 13th December 1583.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Dec. 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

182. Giovanni Moro, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The King of Navarre still refuses to receive his Queen. The King of France has sent to tell him that he ought to do so, *and, as I hear, the message was couched in angry terms.*

The King of France suspects that *the King of Spain* is in relations with the rebels, especially with Montmorency.

Paris, 23rd December 1583.

[*Italian; the parts in italics deciphered.*]

Dec. 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

183. Giovanni Moro, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The English prisoner whom I mentioned in my preceding despatch is either mad, or feigns madness with a view to saving his life. He continues to declare that he wishes to kill the Queen, and that he will do so if set free. He will probably be executed as a warning to others.

I discharged my commission to the English Ambassador as far as expressing the goodwill of the Republic is concerned.

Paris, 23rd December 1583.

[*Italian.*]

1583. Dec. 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

184. GIOVANNI FRANCESCO MORESINI, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The French Ambassador has told me in strict confidence that by the last two posts he has had no despatches from the King, but only one from Secretary Villeroi, informing him that despatches will no longer arrive viâ Venice, because the King is about to enter into a league with Spain and the Pope against the Turk. He also told me that the Bishop of Piacenza was going to Spain to urge his Catholic Majesty to take arms against the Queen of England.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 27th December 1583.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Dec. 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

185. GIOVANNI FRANCESCO MORESINI, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

There is nothing new about the affair of the French against the English Ambassador. The Sultan has made no reply to the note presented to him. The Ambassador has handed another note to the Aga of the Janissaries to present to the Sultan, and he hopes in this way to get an answer. The answer, he fears, will be unfavourable, all the more so as to-day or to-morrow an English ship will arrive here laden with goods, and this will persuade the Sultan that the English alliance is of value.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 27th December 1583.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

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1584. Jan. 5. Original Minute, Venetian Archives. Deliberations of the Senate. Constantinople, Filza 5.

186. The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR in Constantinople.

The reasons which induced us to instruct your predecessor and yourself to use every effort to disturb the commercial relations which the English are trying to establish in those parts by means of an Ambassador sent by the Queen, were the grave and serious dangers which our country would receive therefrom.

Although we are satisfied with the condition in which the question is at present, owing to the representations of the French Ambassador and the operations of Benveniste, yet if on the receipt of this the negotiation is not concluded, as we trust it will be, you are to continue your present course of action, and to take all steps you may think necessary; and you are to support with all energy the Ambassador of France in his efforts to expel the English Ambassador. You are empowered to promise to the Pasha any sum up to five thousand sequins, and to anyone else who assists you may promise up to five hundred sequins, only to be paid however on the removal of the English Ambassador (*vi damo libertà di poter far promettere*

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al M^co Bassà fin cecchini cinque mille di Donativo, et cinque cento a quelle persone che potessero coadiuvar la detta trattatione, ogni volta però che col mezo del favor della M^cia sua et di quelle persone, sia effettualmente licenziato il Bailo over Ambasciatore della predetta Regina). You are forbidden to spend any money until the deed is accomplished; should you require the money draw it on bills of exchange. We have come to this decision the more readily as we know that it will be acceptable to the King of France.

You will tell the French Ambassador in Constantinople that you have received orders to help him; but you will say nothing about the bribes.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

187. Giovanni Moro, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Queen of England so vigorously pursued the last leader of the rising in Ireland, that she had him in her hands, but dead; for he, believing that he was going to be tortured, fought to the last. His head has been exposed to public view as a great trophy, on a higher stake than usual, upon London Bridge; and Ireland is now obedient to the Queen. She has condemned to death the noble who was in prison and mad, along with other three, including a priest and a woman.

Paris, 6th January 1583 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 7. Original Minute, Venetian Archives. Royal Communications, College. Filza 6.

188. The Ambassador of France in the College.

The Ambassador was summoned to the Chamber of the Doge, who was attended by the Councillors, and the Secretary read to him the deliberation of the Senate as regards English commerce in Constantinople. The Ambassador replied, that he had frequently raised the question without obtaining an answer; but he had always informed his master that he was sure the Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople would receive instructions in this sense, because the reception of an English Ambassador at Constantinople is a matter of serious consequence to the Republic.

That his master had recently sent through him to the Ambassador in Constantinople, despatches with orders to take vigorous steps for the expulsion of the English Ambassador, as he was sure that not commerce but some far deeper design was at the root of the Queen's action. He then went on to say that he supposed the Doge knew about the disturbances in England; and on his Serenity replying that the particulars were unknown to him, the Ambassador said that the brother of the Duke of Norfolk, who about ten years ago was put to death for desiring, with the help of the Catholics, to free the Queen of Scotland and to take her to wife, had again roused the Catholics, but had been taken prisoner by the Queen of England.

[*Italian.*]

1584.
Jan.
Memmorie Publiche MS. at the Marcian Library. Cl. vi. Cod. DCCCXI.

189. News from Constantinople that the French Ambassador cannot support the presence of the English agent, and will leave if he is not dismissed.

Motion made to allow the Bailo to spend 5,000 sequins on the Pasha, and 500 on the intermediary.

Zuan Dolfin, Savio agli ordini opposed. Alvise Foscarini, Savio agli ordini, replied.

Ayes	-	146	Motion passed.
Noes	-	25	
Neutrals	-	32	

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 7.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

190. Lorenzo Priuli, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

News from England that the Queen has imprisoned several Catholic gentlemen of position on suspicion of rebellion, and is practising great cruelties. All of which causes great displeasure; and they complain that his Catholic Majesty does not embrace the occasion to support the King of Scotland, which would cause a diversion in the Flanders campaign.

Rome, 7th January 1583 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 10.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

191. Giovanni Francesco Moresini, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

Yesterday the English ship of which I wrote sailed into this port, as it entered it saluted the Serraglio with many guns. A little later, as the Sultan was in his caique on his way to his gardens, it saluted again, first with guns and then with trumpets. But it seems that his Majesty was not much pleased with the artillery. He does not like this kind of honour as he is afraid of some fatal salute. (Poco dipoi essendo il Serenissimo Signor nel suo Caichio per andare al sudetto giardino, tornò di nuovo la sudetta nave a salutare S. Maestà prima con le artelarie et poi con una musica di trombette, ma non par che si contentasse molto S. Maestà delle artellarie, non le piacendo questa sorte di honore, per tema che non le fusse fatto qualche saluto mortale.)

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 10th January 1584 [m.v.].

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Jan. 24.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

192. Giovanni Francesco Moresini, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

Nothing more has been done in the matter of the French against the English Ambassador. The Sultan has not given an answer to the note presented to him. The Aga, who had undertaken to manage the affair, told the Ambassador that he had presented the note, that the Sultan had taken it and all the papers, but gave no answer. The Ambassador tried to persuade the Aga to open the question once more with the Sultan, but the Aga excused himself saying he did not know how it could be done, as the first time he had

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used every argument that he could on the subject, and as the Sultan had given no reply it was a sign that he did not intend to do so.

From another quarter I have heard that the English Ambassador, having surmised the action of the French representative against him, went to the Pasha to counteract the movement. He showed that nothing could be more advantageous to the Turkish empire than the friendship of his Queen, for it was she alone who held in check both the King of France and the King of Spain, and he begged that, should the Sultan make a fresh truce with Spain, the Queen of England might be named on his side. To which request, Marigliani's man, Giovanni Steffano, tells me that the Pasha would not listen. (Perchè lei sola era quella che teneva in freno cosi il Re di Francia, come quella di Spagna, et che li Principi Christiani per altro non le vogliono male, se non perchè ella non è idolatra, come loro, ricercando anco il M^co^ Bassà, che facendosi nuova sospensione di arme con il Re di Spagna, voglia questo signor nominar della parte sua essa regina.)

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 24th January 1583 [m.v.].

[*Italian ; deciphered.*]

Feb. 3. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

193. GIOVANNI MORO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I have just heard that the Queen of England has dismissed *the Spanish Ambassador;* allowing him fourteen days in which to leave the kingdom. Although the news comes from a good quarter, I do not venture to affirm it.

Paris, 3rd February 1583 [m.v.].

[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Feb. 3. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

194. GIOVANNI MORO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Ambassador of England has recently secured the arrest of an Englishman and of a French bookseller, the one for writing and the other for publishing a work setting forth in figures with a latin explanation underneath in prose and verse, the cruelties practised by the Queen of England on Christians. The Nuncio applied for their release. The King referred the matter to his council, where the two new Cardinals* exerted themselves so much that the prisoners were set free.

Paris, 3rd February 1583 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 3. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

195. GIOVANNI MORO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

This evening, quite late, after closing my despatch, the English Ambassador came to see me. He was accompanied by a gentleman sent by the Queen of England, to explain to the King of Spain the

* Bourbon and Vendome.

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reasons for the dismissal of his representative, alleging that he had meddled in the affairs of the kingdom, and had assisted the rebels. He had been warned several times, but always in vain. The Queen accordingly resolved to dismiss him. She gave him fifteen days in which to leave the island, and placed a well found ship at his disposal to conduct him whithersoever he pleased. At the same time she informed his Catholic Majesty of her desire to remain on good terms with him.

From another quarter I hear the Queen will not receive another representative of Spain so as to be less under observation.

Paris, 3rd February 1583 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 6. Original Minute, Venetian Archives. Deliberations of the Senate, Constantinople. Filza 5.

196. The Doge and Senate to the Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople.

The Ambassador of the most Christian King resident here came into the College, and informed us of the strict orders which the French Ambassador in Constantinople has received to cause the removal of the English Ambassador or Bailo at that Porte. Further he now has fresh letters for the Ambassador, ordering him to renew with greater urgency than ever his representations for this purpose, and instructing him to address the Sultan in person, and not through an intermediary. To assist the Ambassador in forwarding these letters which may prove important in a matter which deeply concerns us, we have sent you this despatch. You are to keep an eye on events, to assist the French Ambassador, and to carry out the instructions of the despatch of the 5th January (*debbiate, coadiuvando li officii di esso Ambasciatore di Francia, esseguir voi ancora quello che in tal proposito vi commettessemo colle nostre de V del passato*).

Feb. 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

197. Vincenzo Gradenigo, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

It is known here that negotiations with the Queen of England are going on in France. I cannot say precisely what they are; I can only say that as that Queen is so proud and persevering in her intention, it is believed that she will gain her own way in everything (*che per esser appunto quella Regina, come dicono, molto altiera et perseverante nelli suoi pensieri ottenerà ella che sia fatto tutto conforme alla volontà sua*).

Madrid, 9th February 1583 [m.v.].

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Feb. 17. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

198. Giovanni Moro, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Spanish Ambassador, dismissed from England, left within the stated time, and is in France on his way to Spain

Paris, 16th February 1583 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

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March 1.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

199. Vincenzo Gradenigo, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The gentleman sent by the Queen of England arrived here four days ago. He has not yet been presented to his Majesty. He has, however, had an interview with Don Juan d'Idiaquez. His mission is to justify the Queen for her vigorous dismissal of Don Bernardino de Mendoza, his Majesty's Ambassador in England. Mendoza for some time past has represented in his despatches that the attack upon England was an easy matter. On the faith of this a certain Hercules, an engineer, was sent to spy the forts, and a proper place for landing troops. They intended to act in concert with the King of Scotland, so that he should make a contemporaneous attack on that side. With a view to further this object negotiations for the marriage of the King of Scotland to the Infanta Margaret, daughter of the Empress, were opened. But everything went wrong, for the Empress said she would rather make a nun of her daughter than marry her to a King of Scotland. This angered the King of Spain very much; who even thought of naming the dowry without consulting the Empress. Hercules, the engineer, reported that the forts on the English coast were numerous, and therefore a landing could not easily be effected; all the more so as the Queen has taken care to garrison them with sufficient troops. Then all Mendoza's designs were found out, with the result that he was ordered to leave England within a given time. This has seriously disturbed the Ministers here, and made them doubt that Mendoza's life was in danger. I shall endeavour to find out what the English representative says to his Catholic Majesty, and will inform your Serenity.

Madrid, 1st March 1584.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

March 2.
Original Despatch, Venetian, Archives.

200. Giovanni Moro, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Don Bernardino di Mendoza, the Spanish representative dismissed from England, arrived at the house of the Spanish agent here the day before yesterday. He told me that Monsieur, at the request of the Queen of England, had sent forty horse and two hundred men close up to Calais, where he disembarked, in order to arrest him. He says he was dismissed on various false suspicions. He kept the Spanish Ambassador in Rome and the Spanish resident in Venice informed of all that took place in England about the ships for Constantinople, with a view to assisting your Serenity to counteract the damage to your interests.

Last week the Ambassador of Scotland arrived in Paris. He is a great noble and a good Catholic; therefore greatly hated by the Queen of England, who refused him a passport, and, as he says, sent five ships to capture him. He fell in with one of these, but escaped by declaring that he was a merchant, and that the Ambassador had taken another route.

Paris, 2nd March 1584.

[*Italian.*]

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March 6.
Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

201. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Emperor has been informed that the apostate Archbishop of Cologne, finding himself in great straits and deserted by everyone, has appealed to Denmark, England, and the Prince of Orange, for help in his distress, but it is held for certain that he will get nothing.

He is in disgrace with men and out of favour with God, for all his affairs go from bad to worse, even his brothers who supported him are in misfortune; Carlo in prison, and Ferdinando, worried by a pet bear which he kept in his house, is in danger of his life.

Prague, 6th March 1584.

[*Italian.*]

March 6.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

202. GIOVANNI FRANCESCO MORESINI, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

As regards English affairs your Serenity will have learned from my despatches all that the French Ambassador has done. As yet he has not succeeded in getting an answer to his note. I have been informed in confidence by one who is in the Grand Chancellery, that the Pasha has had orders to attempt to pacify the Ambassador by saying that his Majesty neither kept nor expelled any who came to his Porte, as he desired it to be open to all, both to friends and foes alike. All the same the Pasha has never given any reply to the Ambassador, who lives in retreat, and will not attend his Majesty's audiences until further orders from his King, though he makes frequent complaints to the Pasha. From this your Serenity can judge of the position of affairs, and the small prospect there is of a favourable end. Add to this the loss of Benveniste, and the weakness of the Pasha, and it is clear that the situation is all but desperate. If I had had the orders I now hold, and the power to bribe, I am certain the desired object would have been gained. At the audience of condolence for the death of the Sultana Mother, I asked the Pasha whether I could talk freely with him. He replied that I might rest assured that any remarks of mine would be kept profoundly secret. I proceeded to say that I saw how displeased the French Ambassador was because, in violation of repeated promises not to receive an Ambassador or Bailo of the Queen of England, one was not only received but treated as an equal of himself, the Ambassador of so great a King and an hereditary ally of the Sultan; that as a good friend to the Pasha, I urged him not to lose this French alliance and replace it by one less beneficial during his period of authority; for his Excellency could see how little good the English brought to Constantinople. In a whole year only one English ship has reached the city, and that such a small one that it did not bring a sixth of the cargo a Venetian ship would carry. Moreover the Englishman had more guns than goods, which proved that her real object was to go pirating on her way home. The English did not need Turkish goods, for they were abundantly supplied with wool and leather, the two most important articles of Turkish export. The goods the English brought were neither abundant in quantity nor excellent in quality;

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the maintenance of an English Ambassador here was therefore a useless expense for his Majesty, besides jeopardising the French alliance.

The Pasha replied, thanking me for what I had said, and told me that on the presentation of the note he had made urgent insistence with the Sultan; but his Majesty did not see how he could now expel the English Ambassador. At first it would have been easy enough, but now the insult to the Queen would be too great. The Sultan desired his Porte to be open to all; he gave instructions to try an accommodation by which France should not demand the expulsion of the English, while the English should fly the French flag; the Pasha had treated with the English Ambassador on this point, exhorting him to give this satisfaction to France, so as to settle the difficulty; but the English Ambassador replied that they would rather lose their lives than yield to France, whose religion and objects were different from theirs; besides, the Queen would not submit to any one, as she was an absolute sovereign, and least of all to the King of France. In short, the Pasha did not know what to do; for it was not advisable that the Sultan should send and forcably seize the English flags on the ships that bore them, in order to substitute the flag of France. He was anxious to find a remedy for these difficulties, and was obliged by my advice, but could not see his way to taking it. I replied that his Magnificence was so ready in expedients that he would surely find a way if he desired to do so; but he declared on his oath that he knew of none, as the Sultan desired to insult no one. I saw he was resolute, and thought it advisable not to press him further, and introduced another topic. As I was taking my leave the Pasha himself returned to the subject of the French Ambassador, saying that he was truly sorry that the Ambassador should be dissatisfied; but that he was a terrible man, and when things did not go as he wished, he too easily flew into a passion. The Sultan was ill pleased with him and his King, for on the occasion of the festival for the Sultan's son, while all other princes had made suitable presents, the King of France who claimed to be so great a sovereign, had sent a watch only; at which the Sultan was very indignant, and took it rather as a mark of contempt than of friendship; and yet the Ambassador asks for many favours. To which I only answered that his Magnificence was very prudent, and would consider how undesirable it was that this ancient alliance should come to an end in his time. Then the Grand Chancellor was announced, and that put an end to the conversation. I took my leave and returned home. I told the French Ambassador what had passed, but with caution so as not to anger him. From this your Serenity will see that although the Pasha is anxious about the dissatisfaction of France he does not wish to lose the friendship of England; and as he receives many presents from England and none from France, it is unlikely that the matter will have the issue you desire. I have not offered the Pasha any money in this affair, as I am empowered to do, because since Benveniste left the Pasha has discussed the subject with no one through whom I could make a proposal, and also because the decision rests with the Sultan and the Pasha has

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not authority sufficient. I therefore thought it best to make no move of that sort, for the nature of the Turk is such that if I had made any offer he would never rest till he had received the money, and if it did not satisfy him he would be hostile. I shall continue to do all I can to satisfy your Serenity. The Aga of the Janissaries is very powerful, and might be of use to the Republic, for he is in high favour, and gets from the Sultan all he asks for; but nothing can be done unless the road be opened by presents; and it is not the habit of the Republic to make presents to the Aga except on the arrival of a new Bailo. All the same I should recommend it in this case.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 6th March 1584.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

March 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

203. Vincenzo Gradenigo, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The English gentleman has not yet succeeded in obtaining an audience. He is very anxious about it. He has spoken twice to Idiaquez; but he has declined to discuss the object of his mission, as he affirms that his mistress ordered him to explain it to no one but the King himself. They say that the reason for refusing this audience is that they wish to see Don Bernardino here first. He is expected.

Madrid, 8th March 1584.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

March 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

204. Giovanni Moro, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The new Ambassador of Scotland has had an audience of his Majesty; it was, apparently, merely complimentary.

Don Bernardino has been to see the Queen-Mother, on her invitation.

Don Antonio of Portugal has been some days in Paris; urging the Queen-Mother to assist him.

Paris, 16th March 1584.

[*Italian.*]

March 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

205. Giovanni Francesco Moresini, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

On the 12th instant, letters from your Serenity arrived here under date of the 6th February. From them I learn that the courier was sent chiefly to convey letters from the King of France to his Ambassador residing here, with orders to cause the expulsion of the English Ambassador. I would humbly point out that the French Ambassador in Venice probably had some other reason for desiring to forward the royal despatches at once, as I easily discovered in talking with the French Ambassador here that the alleged cause was not the real cause of the despatch of this courier; for when I urged him to make new representations to the Sultan on this matter he replied very coldly that he would not fail; and when I insisted and

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repeated what your Serenity told me, that the French Ambassador in Venice had said in College that the despatch contained orders to speak to the Sultan in person, he answered quite frankly that the French Ambassador had told a big lie, for the King said never a word about that, but only that he was waiting to hear the result of the note; and about England, that he was to follow previous instructions; if the Sultan did not come to a resolution on the matter, the Ambassador was to act in concert with your Serenity's Bailo, who had positive orders from you to co-operate with him. The present despatch merely stated that a successor had been named, Monsignore de l'Ancona. However, I suspect some other secret negotiation; for two days after receiving the despatch the Ambassador had an interview with the Aga of the Janizzaries, to whom he took letters from his King. On his return he came straight to me and said he had spoken at length with the Aga, who had promised to make strong representations to the Sultan for the removal of the English Ambassador. He also said that, in spite of his resolve not to go again to the Pasha till he had received an answer from his King, the Aga had advised him to go, and he would do so. I will take care to keep your Serenity informed; and when the Ambassador has visited the Pasha, I will do the same a few days later, as it is possible the Pasha may enlarge on the subject to me. I will also endeavour to discover the reply of the Aga about England; and if I see any ground for hoping for a useful result, I will apply a present of money to the Pasha in the most cautious way I can.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 20th March 1584.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

March 30. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

206. Giovanni Moro, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

I have it on good authority that pressure is being brought to bear on the King to induce him to form an alliance with England against Spain, but that he pays little heed as yet. The Queen is all the more anxious for this alliance because the visit of the Scotch Ambassador makes her suspect a renewal of the ancient treaties between Scotland and France. She is the more suspicious because the Ambassador is a Catholic, and hears mass in public every day, keeps company with Papists as they say (*conversando sempre con Papisti come essi dicono*), and is intimate with the Nuncio, who gave him a banquet. It is thought not impossible that the Queen, whose information is excellent, may use twelve ships she has fitted out, to annoy the King of Scotland, by supporting his rebels.

Paris, 30th March 1584.

[*Italian.*]

April 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

207. Vicenzo Gradenigo, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to Doge and Senate.

After his Majesty's departure for the Escurial, where he will make his devotions in retreat as usual, the English gentleman

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suddenly left for France. He was very ill pleased that he never succeeded in obtaining an audience, though he repeatedly requested it. The reasons alleged are various. Among others they say that the Englishman was not an Ambassador from the Queen, but a creature of the Treasurer. Others affirm that it was resolved to treat him as the Queen had treated Mendoza, whom she refused to receive even on taking his leave. On the first arrival of the Englishman he declined to leave his letters of credit with Don Juan d'Idiaquez, nor would he name the object of his mission, though frequently asked to do so on his Majesty's behalf. He pleaded the express order of the Queen which forbade him to treat with any one but his Majesty. Thereupon, Idiaquez, by the King's orders, said that his Majesty knew quite well what were his instructions, but he also knew that his own Ambassador spoke the truth and therefore he gave absolute credence to all that he had written, accordingly it was unnecessary for him to receive any other account of the matter.

This answer, in spite of its severity, did not prevent the Englishman, to the great wonder of all, from insisting in his request, so that finally Idiaquez said to him that it was generally believed that he had no credentials at all and that his Majesty was not in the habit of granting audience unless letters had been shown to the person appointed to receive them, and on no other terms would his Majesty grant an audience. This Englishman is held here for a great heretic. He belongs to the sect of the Puritans, who are worse than the Calvinists, nor were there wanting those who secretly urged that he should be handed over to the Inquisition. *He lived here very meanly, with only three attendants, nor was he visited by any Ambassador or Minister except the French Ambassador, a fact of general comment. The Imperial Ambassador asked my opinion as to visiting him. I replied that that was a question for the Ambassador to decide; if he began all would follow. As a matter of fact the Englishman was no Ambassador in the accepted sense. Immediately on his arrival he sent a servant to me. I replied in like manner each time he did so, which was thrice. His movements have been the subject of constant observation, but not more so than those of us other Ambassadors in order to note our conduct. He has gone towards France, and will report in his own sense. I can say nothing more till the arrival of Don Bernardino. Any decision to be taken here must depend upon the result of the negotiations at Constantinople. For the King will not embark on an enterprise of importance until he is assured of the attitude of Turkey.*

Madrid, 1st April 1584.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

April 3. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

208. Giovanni Francesco Moresini, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

Two days after I sent my last despatch, the French Ambassador had an audience of the Pasha. On his return he told me he had

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spoken at length on the subject of England. The Grand Chancellor was present and showed himself very favourable; all the same the Ambassador thought I would do well to offer him 400 *ducats as an encouragement to continue this attitude to the cause, as his help would be of great use. The Ambassador said that he had orders to spend no money, but he knew that I was empowered to do so. He also told me that although the Pasha had sought to quiet him exhorting him not to persist in this demand, yet he thought that if I were to offer a good sum the case would not be desperate. I, remembering your orders not to communicate my power to bribe to this Ambassador, said I would do all I could to help the Ambassador, but that as for offering money, I had neither authority nor orders to do so from your Serenity.*

The Ambassador replied laughing "If your Lordship will look in your despatches you will find them." I answered that I had carefully read my despatches, and that he might rest assured that the fact was as I stated. When he saw that I spoke in earnest he showed great surprise, and remained silent for a time. Then he began again, and mentioned the name of the French Ambassador in Venice, then suddenly regretted the word that had escaped him, but kept on muttering to himself. This made me suspect that he might have been informed of your instructions to me, and, in alarm lest he should have said something to the Pasha, I resolved to visit the latter in order to see how to conduct myself. Accordingly on Tuesday I asked for an audience, and having obtained it, I proceeded to say that I was sorry his doctor Benveniste was not present, as I frequently desired to say something to his Magnificence which I had to abandon for want of a confidential person with whom to communicate, as I did not like to importune him with any demands for audience. The Pasha replied that I never importuned him, and that without the intervention of the Doctor I could say to him whatever I pleased, that out of regard for me, he was willing to do anything he could for me. I replied that in those circumstances I would speak to him freely, being sure that what I said would go no further. I then said that on other occasions I had spoken of the discontent of the French at the admission of the English to this Porte, and had exhorted his Magnificence to prefer the old to the new alliance, but now I wish to add, that I knew his object was to increase the Sultan's revenues, as every good Minister was bound to do, and desired to point out to him that with the coming of the English the revenues would suffer, for the English carried little cloth and much linen (carisee) which has a low tariff; this would lower the import of cloth by the Venetians from which the Sultan used to draw large revenues. Further, most of the goods which the English would bring are brought now by the French and Venetians. The price of cloth has gone up not down since the English came. The English, if they get a footing, will aim at a monopoly of linen and would*

* See Cecchetti, *La Vita dei Veneziani nel* 300. *Le Vesti Venezia* 1886, p. 56.

1584. *then fix their own price. Besides all this, on their home journey they take to piracy, which is the reason why Venice did not desire to see them in these waters.*

The Pasha listened with great attention, and made me repeat some of my arguments. He then said, that from the very first he had always endeavoured to upset the arrangement, but that he never could succeed in persuading the Sultan, who was resolved never to expel any who came to seek his friendship. That all the same he had willingly heard what I had to say, and would not fail, at the right time, to repeat it all to the Sultan, though he thought there was little hope. I did not omit to press him, begging him to embrace the cause with vigour, and assuring him that if he would do so, we could not fail, in which case your Serenity would be most grateful; and if the English Ambassador were dismissed, and left Turkey, I would venture to cause your Serenity in sign of affection, to give him a present of five thousand sequins and of this he might rest assured (che quando fosse licentiato, et partito questo Ambasciatore, che mi bastava l'animo di far che la Serenità Vostra, per le sue fatiche le haveria in segno di amore donato $\frac{m}{5}$ *sechini, et che questo io promettevo sicuramente).*

At this offer the Magnificent Pasha's face brightened, and laughing he said that he would use all his authority, and he prayed God that he might be able to give me this satisfaction. (Il Magnifico Bassà a questa offerta fece un' allegrissima faccia, et ridendo disse che egli non mancarà di fare ogni suo potere et che pregava dio di potermi dare questa sodisfattione.)

The Pasha then requested the release of a certain Mahomet, prisoner in Venice, but the Ambassador replied that the Republic had already pledged its word to the relations of those Christians who had been taken at Famagosta (to hold him as a hostage). The Pasha answered that the Republic ought to set Mahomet at liberty, and that his women would not leave the Pasha in peace, but importuned him every day.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 3rd April 1514.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

April 3. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

209. Giovanni Francesco Moresini, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

The secret business which I suspected that the French Ambassador had to conduct with the Aga of the Janizzaries was in support of Don Antonio of Portugal, as I am well informed, and the Ambassador himself did not deny it. Christiano Vento, a provencal gentleman in the service of the Queen-Mother, and now Consul in Alexandria, arrived here and had a long interview with the Ambassador, for whom he brought instructions as to English matters.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 3rd April 1584.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

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April 13. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

210. GIOVANNI MORO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Don Bernardino di Mendoza had audience on Sunday. He merely kissed hands. He is to leave for Flanders unless he obtains permission to return to Spain on private affairs caused by the death of his brother. The Scotch Ambassador was commissioned to treat of the marriage of his King with the Princess of Lorraine. But little attention has been paid him as yet, chiefly on account of the religious question. This may be the reason why the Ambassador has shown himself so extremely Catholic, and has asserted that his master is really Catholic in his innermost soul, and will prove it on fit occasion. The Queen of England dislikes this negotiation extremely, and her Ambassador left a few days ago for Chateau Thierry to confer with her Highness (the Queen-Mother) and to see whether this new matrimonial alliance could not be hindered. The gentleman sent by the Queen of England into Spain, to account for the dismissal of Mendoza, came back here on Wednesday. He was refused an audience by the King, who was displeased at the whole proceeding, and was put off with words. He saw this, and told Idiaquez he would leave, which he has done. As soon as he has seen his Majesty he will go to England.

I have just heard that Mendoza left yesterday; his destination is supposed to be Flanders.

Paris, 13th April 1584.

[*Italian.*]

April 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

211. GIOVANNI MORO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Mendoza really left for Spain, though he spread false rumours, probably to avoid any danger on the road, a thing he professes to expect at the hands of the Queen of England.

Paris, 14th April 1584.

[*Italian.*]

April 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

212. GIOVANNI FRANCESCO MORESINI, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

To-day the French Ambassador has had an audience of the Pasha. He presented Vento, the Consul in Alexandria. Vento gave to his Magnificence two beautiful watches and six robes of silk. He has brought letters from his Sovereign.

The French Ambassador made fresh complaints against the English Ambassador; causing the Consul to repeat to the Pasha the words used by the King of France. The Consul assured the Pasha that the King was deeply offended on this score, and made most vigorous representations for the removal of the English Ambassador. The Pasha replied that although he would not fail to report to the Sultan, yet he did not wish to cheat them with false hopes. It was all labour lost to expect that the Sultan would expel that Ambassador (era il travagliar indarno il sperare che S. Mtà. debbia scacciare

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questo Ambassador). *All this the French Ambassador himself told me immediately after his audience.*

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 23rd April 1584.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

April 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

213. Giovanni Moro, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Queen of Navarre met her husband on the 13th instant at Nerac. She was kindly received by him; and they say that to please his wife he has let himself be persuaded to attend mass. (*Ch' egli per compiacer alla Moglie si habbia lasciato indurre d'intervenire alla Messa.*) If this be true, without doubt it is the result of the hope he entertains of succeeding to this Crown. (*Il che quando sia vero, è senza dubbio effetto che opera in lui la speranza di poter succedere a questa Corona.*)

Paris, 27th April 1584.

[*Italian.*]

April 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

214. Giovanni Moro, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Ambassador of Scotland had a second audience of his Majesty yesterday. The King has ordered his Ambassador in England to go to Scotland to return the compliments and perhaps to make the Queen of England jealous, as she is already suspicious that these two Kings are plotting something to her hurt. She recently sent to Claude Hamilton, a man of large following, but in exile on suspicion of rebellion, the sum of twenty thousand pounds sterling, that is, about fifty thousand ducats ($\frac{m}{20}$ *lire di sterlini, che sono* C^a. $\frac{m}{50}$ *ducati*), in order that he may be ready to make a move. But the King of France who desires peace will confine himself to words; and the Queen will not embroil herself in new difficulties without a sufficient cause.

The Palatine Laschi, who was honourably received in England last year, after living in great splendour and contracting many debts, has fled from the island.

Paris, 27th April 1584.

[*Italian.*]

May 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

215. Vincenzo Gradenigo, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

Don Bernardino de Mendoza has lately arrived. He has not yet had an audience of his Majesty, from whom he waits orders to go to Aranjuez. They say his Majesty is well satisfied and will reward him.

Madrid, 1st May 1584.

[*Italian.*]

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May 8.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

216. Giovanni Francesco Moresini, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

The French Ambassador tells me he has been with the Aga of the Janizzaries, with whom he has discussed the question of England. The Aga said that he had frequently spoken to the Sultan, but his Majesty was not disposed to expel the English Ambassador; in fact he thought the case hopeless, as the Sultan had said he would never expel from his Porte the foes of his foes (che egli non voleva scacciar dalla sua Porta li inimici delli sui inimici). That the Queen of England was the foe of the Pope and of the King of Spain, who had tried to poison her, as her own Ambassador had stated. That it suited him to have her Ambassador at his Porte, for the Ambassador would keep him informed of the designs of his foes and had already begun to do so (che la Regina di Inghilterra era inimica del Papa et del Re di Spagna, cha haveva voluto farla avvenenare, come il medesimo Ambasciatore li haveva fatto intendere; che però era bene haverlo alla sua Porta, perche da lui intenderia sempre li dissegni delli sui inimici come ha gia prencipiato di fare).

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 8th May 1584.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

May 22.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

217. Giovanni Francesco Moresini, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

As regards the affair of the English Ambassador my previous letters will have informed you of the answer given by the Aga of the Janizzaries to the French Ambassador. All the same I shall continue to act as instructed by your Serenity. The English Ambassador has been to the Pasha, and has lodged a vigorous complaint, alleging that the other Ambassadors go about saying that he is a merchant and not entitled to the rank of Ambassador; he explained to the Pasha that he was a great noble, greater than any other Ambassador here; and that even if he were not so they had no right to consider his private position but only the greatness of the Queen, his mistress, who was most powerful, nor was she hated by the other Princes of Christendom, except for the reason that she alone deserved the name of Christian (il sudetto Ambasciator d'Inghilterra è stato ultimamente dal Magnifico Bassà, et ha fatto seco una gagliardissima querella, dicendo che li Ambasciatori di Principi che sono a questa Porta, vanno dicendo che egli è un mercante et che non è degno di tener luogo di Ambasciator, et che lui faceva intendere a sua Magnificentia che egli era tanto nobile, et più di qual si voglia altro Ambasciatore che vi sia, et che quando anco non fosse tale, che non dovevano mirare alla sua particolar persona, ma alla grandezza della sua Regina). They tried to assassinate her, and she had been obliged to dismiss the Spanish Ambassador on this account (per la qual causa è stata astretta scacciar da se l'Ambasciator di Spagna) because he had a hand in the plot against her life.

To these representations I am told that the Pasha replied very coldly, saying to the Ambassador that he should let people say what

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they liked; for him it should be enough that he was recognised as an Ambassador by the Sultan. All the same the Ambassador has presented a note to the Sultan, who instructed the Pasha to treat him with all courtesy, because he was the foe of the Pope and the King of Spain, and therefore a good friend to the Sultan.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 22nd May 1584.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

May 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

218. Giovanni Francesco Moresini, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

Orembey tells me that the Grand Duke of Tuscany will certainly make an alliance with the Porte. An Ambassador was expected here to treat of this subject. I said if that were so there would be another quarrel with the French Ambassador, such as he had raised with the English Ambassador. To which Orembey replied, "Let an Ambassador come from the Grand Duke, from any Prince you choose, were he even the devil himself, neither the Ambassador of France nor all the world could prevent the Sultan from receiving him with open arms, for so the circumstances and the inclination of the Sultan both required."

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 22nd May 1584.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

May 22. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

219. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the Doge and Senate.

An English Ambassador is expected here. The object of his mission is not known precisely, but those who pretend to know say that the Queen is very much afraid that, if the affairs of Flanders are settled, King Philip will turn his arms against her, both because of the Pope's solicitations and because of his ancient quarrel about the dismissal of Don Bernardino de Mendoza, for which cause he refused to receive the Ambassador whom the Queen recently sent to him to explain that event.

Prague, 22nd May 1584.

[*Italian.*]

May 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

220. Giovanni Francesco Moresini, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

As regards the request made by the Queen-Mother of France that the Sultan would assist Don Antonio of Portugal, the answer was that the Sultan would supply one hundred and fifty galleys for next year, fifty at his own charges and one hundred to be paid by Don Antonio or by the King of France. The French Ambassador endeavoured to remove this condition, affirming that at the time of Sultan Suliman, when assistance was granted to France, no mention was made of payment, but he did not succeed.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 22nd May 1584.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

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May 25.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

221. Giovanni Moro, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The French Ambassador in England has not gone to Scotland. The Queen managed to hinder his departure, and he was without money both for his journey and for his salary. The Queen has stirred the rebels in Scotland into action. They have seized Stirling. All this the Scotch Ambassador has detailed to the King of France, painting the Queen of England in sinister colours, in the hope of persuading him to undertake the protection of the King of Scotland. But the Scotch Ambassador in ordinary, who knows the temper of this Court, and expects little from the King who will not put his hand in his pockct, is hardly satisfied with his colleague, and has complained to him of his conduct, and urged that these negotiations can do no good, and may do harm, by enraging the Queen of England. The King of France professed himself distressed at the rebellion in Scotland, but confined himself to words. He returned vague answers on two points raised by the Ambassador; one requesting a pension for the King of Scotland, and other begging for a company of troops to be kept in Scotland at the charges of the French, as the Scotch Kings had long been accustomed to have from the Crown of France.

Paris, 25th May 1584.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in Despatch of May 29, 1584.

222. Summary of the Commission of Signor Segurio, Majordomo, Councillor and Ambassador of the King of Navarre, to the Marquis George of Brandenburg, Elector.

That the King had intended to come into Germany in person to treat with the Princes of the Religion, but unforeseen occupations had prevented him; and he resolved to send an Ambassador Extraordinary in his place, with instructions to co-operate with the Saxon Ambassador in bringing about a council of Protestant Princes to arrange the differences between Calvinism and Lutheranism. The King promised that he would not only accept himself the results of the Council, and would answer for the French churches of which he could dispose, but he would also guarantee that the Queen of England and the King of Denmark would support the Council with their arms.

The King deeply regretted the opinion held in Germany that the doctrine of the French churches was defiled with all sorts of heresies, and held to be worse than that of the Roman Pontiff. He desired the Council, in order that the French churches might amend after God's word, if they were in error. All the more so as the question of the Lord's Supper was not so difficult but that a synod might resolve it.

The King also desired that the Council should take into consideration that many in Italy and Spain, being subject to the tyranny and inquisition of the Anti-Christ in Rome, do not dare to declare their reformed faith.

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That owing to the operation of the Jesuits the English have frequently contemplated rebellion, but had always been suppressed by the great prudence of that Queen. They had not failed to subvert the whole of Scotland by machinations carried on from Rome, with a view to putting Scotland and England in a blaze together.

The affairs of Flanders are going from bad to worse; there is danger that the country will fall again under the yoke. Flemish churches are exposed to Pontifical cruelty.

In Switzerland, owing to the bribes of the Roman monster and the preaching of the Jesuits, a serious flame had burst out.

Owing to the Jesuits Sweden was all devoted to Pontifical rites; and the Jesuits had such free access to the chambers of the King that there was danger of some further plot.

The same was going on in Poland and Russia, where the Pope had insinuated himself as mediator.

In Cologne the Papal designs had succeeded. In view of all these events the King desired to make a league between the Queen of England, the King of Denmark, the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, the Princes of the Empire, and himself. He pledged his word that he would accept the decisions of the Council. The league was not intended to attack the Pope, but only to protect the members from insults.

As a pledge the King sent by his Ambassador some money, and jewels and plate, which should be stored away in some safe place, and used for the needs of the churches, principally for that of Cologne.

If the German Princes were willing to enter the league, he begged the Electors of Brandenburg and Saxony to name the time and place of meeting, as all would depend upon those Princes to whom the eyes of all Germans, and of all foreigners as well, were now turned.

[*Italian.*]

June 5. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

223. Giovanni Francesco Moresini, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

Neither the French nor the Imperial Ambassador went to congratulate the Pasha on the news from Caffa. The English Ambassador went.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 5th June 1584.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

June 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

224. Giovanni Moro, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The King of Scotland has recovered Stirling and routed the rebels. He has beheaded one of their leaders and hung another. The Queen of England has sent to congratulate him; and his mother, who is in prison, says she is better treated now than ever before. The Queen of England is now anxious that the French Ambassador there should go to Scotland; hoping that he will do her a service with that King, whom she has begun to esteem and almost to fear (*che hora incommincia a stimare, et quasi a temere*) and to con-

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ciliate the King of France, they say she has offered him the Garter, and he has accepted it, and that a commissioner will shortly come with great pomp to bring it to him. The King has ordered the completion of a carriage which was begun two years ago, and designs it for the Queen of England. Suspicion of Spain draws these two Crowns together.

Paris, 8th June 1584.

[*Italian.*]

June 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

225. LORENZO PRIULI, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Cardinal d'Este has told me that he had received from the King of France, an answer to his question about the league. His Majesty declared that, in spite of persistent rumours, he could not believe that anything prejudicial to him had been done; and that although he had been invited by the Queen of England, the Duke of Saxony, and other German Princes, to enter into a league with them, he would not do so until he was absolutely assured of the existence of the Italian League, and that it would injure him. The Pope replied that he never had, and never would, propose to the King of France any league which had for its purpose any object other than Turkish affairs.

Rome, 9th June 1584.

[*Italian.*]

June 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

226. GIOVANNI MORO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Yesterday evening late, came news of the relapse of the Duke of Anjou; and this morning the news that he died yesterday afternoon. The materials for embalming him were sent off at once.

Paris, 11th June 1584.

[*Italian.*]

June 12. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

227. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Ambassador of Navarre met the Ambassador of England in the town of Verda (Verden), near Bremen. The English Ambassador was coming to Court, but it seems that he will not advance any further, as he hears that the Emperor has spurned the French representative. They are both in treaty with the free cities and the Protestant Princes in favour of Truxes (Archbishop of Cologne).

Prague, 12th June 1584.

[*Italian.*]

June 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

228. GIOVANNI MORO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The death of the Duke of Anjou took place at one o'clock.

Paris, 22nd June 1584.

[*Italian.*]

1584. June 24. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

229. Vincenzo Gradenigo, Venetian Ambassador in Spain to the Doge and Senate.

Public opinion on the question of England is confirmed by the large amount of money which has been sent into Italy. It amounts to six hundred thousand crowns in reals, and a loan of other eight hundred thousand. No one believes that all this is for Flanders alone. Besides this, Italy and Germany are the only places where the bulk of the troops can be raised. It is also supposed that the five hundred thousand ducats deposited with the Fuggers, are to serve for German levies when occasion requires. The pressure put on the Prince of Salerno to obey his obligation, and to furnish two thousand cannon balls at Fontarabia for the guns they are making confirms this view.

At the Escurial I saw several English Captains, apparently people of importance, who were coming out as I went in to audience. I cannot discover their business, but I imagine that they have come to the Escurial to treat in greater secrecy with his Majesty.

Madrid, 24th June 1584.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

230. Letter from Cardinal de Granvelle, to the Prince of Parma.

I told your Excellency of the arrival of the Englishman whom his Majesty would not admit as Ambassador, availing himself of the excuse that the letters of the Queen were not presented to him, and feigning therefore to be unaware whether he was an Ambassador or not. Nor would his Majesty agree to receive the letters in person, for he did not know what they might contain, nor yet what insolence the Ambassador might have uttered to his face. The Ambassador accordingly resolved to leave. He was infuriated because in the passport they would not give him the title of Ambassador, but only of English gentleman, who had come to Spain, and now desired to return to England.

[*Italian.*]

July 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

231. Giovanni Moro, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Ambassador of the King of Scotland took leave of his Majesty last week. He came full of hopes, and goes away discontented, without having achieved anything. He failed to secure the exemption of Scotch merchants from certain dues paid by foreigners, although up to three years ago the Scotch had enjoyed the privilege of being treated like the French, in this respect. The King pleaded that he had farmed the customs, and could not now alter anything. The King's real reason for refusing this request was his fear that if he granted it to Scotland, England would demand the same. The King has given the Ambassador a chain worth one thousand crowns. He will leave in a few days, and return by the open sea to avoid any part of England. The Queen

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hates him as a Catholic, and as likely to convert the King of Scotland to the Catholic religion.

The gentleman who is to bring the Garter, is expected. He will come with much pomp and a large suite.

Paris, 6th July 1584.

[*Italian.*]

July 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

232. Giovanni Moro, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Ambassador of Scotland has not left yet. No one knows what is delaying him, unless it be a desire to depart unexpectedly, the better to avoid any treachery on the part of the Queen of England.

Paris, 20th July 1584.

[*Italian.*]

July 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

233. Giovanni Moro, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

I had just closed my last, when I was informed from a good source, that news had reached the Queen-Mother from England that the Prince of Orange had been shot by a Burgundian, who pretended that he desired to present a letter to the Prince. This man got quite close to the Prince in order to make sure that the shot should not miss its effect, like that of three years ago; in the act of handing the letter he put the pistol to the Prince's breast and shot him dead. This took place on the first, according to the old Calendar. The letters are dated the second, sent by an agent of the Queen of England, and reached England on the fifth, that is fifteenth new style. I cannot say whether the news be true or not.

Paris, 20th July 1584.

[*Italian.*]

July 24. Original Despatch, Copy of Venetian Archives.

234. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the Doge and Senate.

News from Munich that the Archbishop of Cologne, assisted by the Queen of England, by Orange and the Counts of Herburg, enemies of the house of Bavaria, who have claims on Ingoldstadt, have put together a thousand horse and two thousand infantry to enter and ravage Westphalia, now that Aremberg and Don Giovanni Marich have been recalled by the Prince of Parma.

They say that the convention of Rothemberg has split. The Protestants desiring to treat the question of Cologne at the first diet, which will cause great uproar.

Prague, 24th July 1584.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 3. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

235. Giovanni Moro, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Queen of England sent a gentleman expressly to condole with the King on the death of Monsieur; but the King begged that

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his coming might be suspended as he could not receive him properly while travelling. The gentleman turned back, and probably will not come again.

Don Antonio, whose fortunes are waning daily, has received from the Queen-Mother a little castle in Brittany, near Vannes, and five hundred ducats a month. He is full of debts; and lives in hired lodgings in Paris.

Paris, 3rd August 1584.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

236. Giovanni Francesco Moresini, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

The French Ambassador has received orders to withdraw; leaving his secretary behind. This is to show dissatisfaction on the subject of the English Ambassador. The French Ambassador will have an audience to-morrow and will make another attempt, and two days later will take his leave.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 7th August 1584.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Aug. 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

237. Giovanni Francesco Moresini, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

Just before I had audience of the Pasha, the French Ambassador had been with him and had taken him a most beautiful watch, and congratulated him on his new dignity. He made an urgent appeal that the English Ambassador should be expelled from the Porte. The Pasha listened attentively, carefully examined the papers, and then said that this was a most important affair of which he had had no proper information. He begged the Ambassador to suspend action for a few days, and to send him all the papers on the subject; he would then present a note to the Sultan, assuring the Ambassador that he desired not merely to preserve but to augment the friendship between France and Turkey.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 8th August 1584.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Aug. 17. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

238. Giovanni Moro, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Don Antonio has not left yet; and is in doubt whether to do so, as he is afraid that the Catholic King has prepared for him the fate of the Prince of Orange. A Captain, Locatello of Cremona, who came here, and whose services on the frontier were desired by the Marshal de Retz, was suspected of being an emissary of Spain; and the Queen-Mother requested de Retz not to employ him. Locatello has cleared his character.

Paris, 17th August 1584.

[*Italian.*]

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Aug. 21. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

239. Vicenzo Gradenigo, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

Although as a matter of fact there is no one who really knows the reason why Signor Marc' Antonio Colonna came here, still his people point to a letter written by Cardinal de Granvelle, saying that Colonna might come freely, as his Majesty would give him one of three employments, either in some new enterprise, or in Flanders, in place of the Prince of Parma, who wishes to retire, or else in Portugal, instead of the Prince Cardinal. Granvelle does not deny the letter. Of the three posts the command of the enterprise against England is considered most likely; for besides what I have already written, the arrival of Colonna, the defeat of the King of Scotland, the presence of the Dutch ships in Lisbon contrary to the treaty with the Portuguese, all favour this view.

Madrid, 21st August 1584.

[*Italian.*]

240. Letter from Cardinal de Granvelle to Salazar in Venice.

The Flemish offer Holland and Zealand to the King of France, it is thought that nothing will come of it, for the States will not accept French masters. The Queen of England will upset the negotiations, as she did in the case of Alençon.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 3. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

241. Giovanni Francesco Moresini, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

Last Sunday week the French Ambassador went to kiss the Sultan's hand and to take his leave. His Secretary remains here till the arrival of another Ambassador. As is customary for Ambassadors of France, he received thirteen robes of cloth of gold (vesti d'oro), five pieces of silver plate, and thirty thousand aspers for the journey.

In the morning he was met by the Chiaus Pasha and Aga of the spahis, and he was offered the usual banquet, in spite of the fact that the custom now is to offer a banquet only on the arrival, not on the departure of an Ambassador. This Ambassador, however, had resolved to leave without kissing the Sultan's hand if the banquet were refused him. He asked for many favours but could obtain none, as the Sultan is far from pleased with him.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 3rd September 1584.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Sept. 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

242. Giovanni Moro, Venetian Ambassador in France to the Doge and Senate.

The Queen of England and other Protestant Princes have sent agents to the assembly at Montauban. Bellievre is also there, to watch and report on the proceedings.

The marriage of the second daughter of the King of Spain with the Duke of Savoy is heard here with displeasure. The Queen-Mother does not now know to whom she can wed the Princess of Lorrain. They say she may even lean to the King of Scotland, in

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the hope that he may in time become Catholic (*che possa piegare a Re di Scotia*).

Paris, 14th September 1584.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

243. Giovanni Francesco Moresini, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

The French Ambassador left Constantinople on the 10th. Before he left he earnestly begged me to support his application for the expulsion of the English Ambassador and all his merchants. As this request coincided with my instructions, I obeyed. I said to the Magnificent Pasha, that if he wished to send the French Ambassador home well pleased, he should dismiss the English Ambassador, as his presence was the chief reason why the King of France had recalled his representative, as he was not satisfied with what had been done on this point. I endeavoured to make him see that the presence of the English was a breach of the treaty with France, and insisted on the small advantage to be gained from this English alliance.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 18th September 1584.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Sept. 18 Copy of Original Despatch Venetian Archives.

244. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the Doge and Senate.

Yesterday an agent of the Queen of England arrived. It is thought that his business is to treat about the dues which the Queen imposes on imports, and which have caused these ports to raise the dues against English goods.

Prague, 18th September 1584.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

245. Giovanni Francesco Moresini, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

I understand that the Sultan has written to the King of France to send him quickly another Ambassador.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 18th September 1584.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Sept. 25. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

246. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the Doge and Senate.

The English gentleman is a person of very unimportant rank. He has come to treat of the question of the Free Maritime cities, and to secure the removal of the new dues on all sides. It is thought that he will succed.

Prague, 25th September 1584.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

247. Giovanni Moro, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Queen-Mother has sent to inquire whether the Queen of England is content to treat of the marriage of the King of Scotland

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and the Princess of Lorrain, hoping in this way to facilitate the reconciliation of the King and Queen, whereby the Princess's position would be made more favourable, as she would have the prospect of being some day Queen of England.

Don Bernardino di Mendoza has waited here. He comes as Spanish Ambassador. He has arrived with great pomp and is to live here in splendour.

Two representatives from the Netherlands are here. The Ambassador of England has orders to assist them, and to insist on their obtaining an audience.

Paris, 12th October 1584.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

248. Giovanni Moro, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Ambassador of Scotland left this day week, very ill pleased with this Court, because the objects of his present demands had been all offered by the King of France some few years ago, and were not accepted then owing to the King of Scotland's unwillingness to rouse the suspicions of the Queen of England.

Paris, 28th September 1584.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

249. Giovanni Moro, and Giovanni Dolfin, Venetian Ambassadors in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The English Ambassador has not been able to see the King. He fell ill at Blois, and returned here yesterday evening.

Don Bernardino di Mendoza arrived last week, but will not receive visits till his servants liveries are ready.

Paris, 26th October 1584.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 30. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

250. Giovanni Francesco Moresini, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

It is considered a mistake to have allowed the French Ambassador to leave before his successor arrived, for it is certain now that the King of France will not send another as long as the Ambassador of England is here.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 30th October 1584.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Nov. 24. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

251. Giovanni Dolfin, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Archbishop of Glasgow, Ambassador of Scotland, has made strong representations to the King of France, to give some subsidy to the King of Scotland, as in former reigns. But he has little hope of anything but words, which he has always had in answer to his requests.

The English Ambassador, after having dwelt at length on the goodwill of the Queen of England towards the Republic, also

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communicated to me that he was leaving no stone unturned to induce the King of France to declare whether he was willing to join the Queen of England in the protectorate of the Netherlands with a view to checking the power of Spain, which had already become a menace to every other sovereign. He had promised the King that if he would consent, persons should be sent from England within twelve days, to agree on the terms of the league, and the size of the contributions; and if the King, for various reasons, should object to declaring himself openly, the name of the Queen-Mother might appear in the treaty, provided the contributions were sufficient in quantity and held in readiness. The Ambassador then told me that the King had replied to him with the most favourable countenance, saying that the arguments were correct, and that he would come to a resolution after the arrival of the Deputies who had been sent from the Netherlands. The Queen-Mother said that the Ambassador would shortly hear something that would give him satisfaction, and she shook him cordially by the hand and showed every sign of great contentment.

The Ambassador added "I believe in the Queen, because I know she desires this union, but I am afraid that the King, who is master, will put off, and will hardly come to a decision. In a few days I will urge the question again, for I must have an answer." He says his Queen is resolved to defend the Netherlands, and will never permit Holland and Zealand to fall under Spanish yoke, which would injure her reputation and endanger her State.

Paris, 24th November 1584.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

252. Giovanni Dolfin, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Ambassador of England has had another audience, and renewed his request in a most urgent manner. He touched on the progress of Spain, which is a standing prejudice to the greatness of France and the peace of England. The King, while assenting to the argument, would give no other answer than that, before he could come to a resolution, he must wait the arrival of the Deputies from the Netherlands, who, he said, would not be long now in appearing. He puts off giving an answer to the English Ambassador, and delays to receive Mendoza. I shall keep a wakeful eye and endeavour to penetrate the inner meaning of these actions.

Paris, 7th December 1584.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 21. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

253. Giovanni Dolfin, Venetian Ambassador to France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Queen of England summoned a Parliament on the 6th instant to assist her with money in order to succour the needs of Flanders. Certain Lords seized the occasion so beg her to name her successor, urging her not to leave England exposed to the risk of a cruel war and much bloodshed, after her death. On the other hand, it was proposed that the Queen should declare her successor

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at the time she thought fittest, even *in articulo mortis*, and that all should pledge themselves to ratify her Majesty's choice.

It is said that under pretext of sending people to assist Holland, the Queen of England has massed one thousand five hundred infantry, and, in accord with the Scotish enemies of the King of Scotland, has placed at their head Charles Hamilton, who has promised to seize the King and to bring him to London. At this juncture Claude Hamilton, brother of Charles, arrived from France, Charles told his brother of his plans, and Claude persuaded him to defer the blow. He then went straight to the King, and disclosed the plot to him. The arrest of some Knights and Earls followed.

Paris, 21st December 1584.

[*Italian.*]

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Jan. 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

254. GIOVANNI DOLFIN, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I have forwarded your Serenity's letters for the Queen of England, through her Ambassador. He promises that they shall be despatched within four days.

Paris, 4th January 1585.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

255. GIOVANNI DOLFIN, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The English Ambassador has twice had audience of the King, and thrice of the Queen-Mother. He always secures that the Flemish representatives should receive due honours. He is willing that the transaction (for the joint protectorate of the Netherlands) should pass under the Queen-Mother's name, and offers large sums of ready money and large armaments, to induce the King to unite with the Queen of England. Nor are there wanting many who think that this may easily be brought about, in spite of the King's natural temperament, which is inclined to peace, and the pomp in which he is determined to live, which entails great expenditure, and in spite of the great influence of the Dukes of Joyeuse and Epernon, who are both interested in the maintenance of peace, and averse to any changes.

Paris, 18th January 1585.

[*Italian ; deciphered.*]

Feb. 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

256. GIOVANNI DOLFIN, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On the 24th January the representatives of the States arrived at San Lisi (Senlis ? Lisy sur Ourcq ?), ten leagues from Paris.

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There they will stay till his Majesty has fixed the place in which to receive them. On the 26th the King left the Court, dismissed the Council, and most of his suite, and retired with Joyeuse and Epernon to the Bois de Vincennes.

It was said that the King went there in order to receive the representatives, *but those who know his mind declare that neither there nor elsewhere will the representatives have audience until the answer to letters sent by Don Bernardino de Mendoza shall arrive. Don Bernardino himself told me that the King had said to him, that his own natural bent and his affection for the Catholic Majesty, would induce him to decline the protectorate of the States, but if the Queen-Mother, feeling herself neglected and her rights ignored, should wish to mix in the matter, he, as a good son, could not do less than support her, for the preservation of her dignity and her interests. Don Bernardino went on to say that the most extravagant request was then made, namely, that the King of Spain should confirm Cambray and cede Cambresis to the Queen-Mother in compensation for her claims on Portugal, requests that the Catholic King could never grant for they would virtually acknowledge that he held Portugal unjustly. I thanked Don Bernardino for the confidences he had disclosed to me, and hoped that God would fill both sovereigns with a mutual love and benevolence. Don Bernardino who is very violent in his conversation (che è molto vehemente nelle sue trattattioni) replied, "My King likes peace as well as anyone, more than he likes the toils of war, but he will not allow these to terrify him when he is in the right, for thanks be to God, he is better able to terrify others if provoked."*

The English Ambassador, who is deeply interested in this affair, and uses the most refined diligence to discover what is going on, is greatly pained that the King puts off the audience, for he takes it as a sign of the small interest the King has in the matter, and therefore has little hope that he will embrace any decided course. It is, he thinks, better not to propose to place French garrisons in Sluis (Escluse) and Flushing for the Queen would never consent to it as those two places are the key to Flanders, and it is not her policy to expel the Spanish merely to make the French masters, and enable them to threaten England at any time.

On the 26th of January Lord Derby was expected to set out for France, to convey the order of the Garter to the King. Parliament has been prorogued for a month. An emissary from the Prince of Parma arrived in England, and demanded audience of the Queen, he was told to put his communications on paper, but replied that he was ordered to treat *vivâ voce*. He was then requested to put himself in relations with the Treasurer, but again insisted on seeing the Queen. The Queen thought it beneath her dignity to receive an emissary from the Prince of Parma, who was merely Lieutenant-General of that King who had refused to receive her Ambassador, sent to explain the affair of Don Bernardino.

Paris, 1st February 1585.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

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Feb. 21. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

257. Vincenzo Gradenigo, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The day before yesterday a courier from Lisbon arrived express and was at once sent on to the King. Judging from what I have heard from a person who is likely to be well informed, it seems that some of the chief men of Portugal have been in correspondence with the King of France and the Queen of England to induce them to send a force into those parts, and within sight of Lisbon, promising great results. The answer was that nothing could be done till they had Oporto in their hands, but when that was achieved an armament would be sent.

These Portuguese gentlemen, pretending the death of a Knight of the Order of Christ, convoked the whole Order to attend his funeral in the Castle [of Oporto]. When they were once inside they intended to slay the guard, and to introduce four thousand of the people from the neighbouring cities, in the hope that the English fleet would arrive opportunely for their aid, for the Spanish galleys are almost all disarmed.

It seems that the author of this plot is a Franciscan friar, who has been arrested and, under torture, has confessed everything. Thereupon followed the arrest of many Knights, who will all pay the penalty for their rashness. How the plot was discovered is not known.

Madrid, 21st February 1584 [m.v.]

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Feb. 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

258. Giovanni Francesco Moresini, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

Meantime the French agent and the English Ambassador do all they can to cause Morat Rais, the commander of the galleys, to be brought to the Porte to take his trial for the injury inflicted on French and English ships. The Pasha gives it to be understood that he is fully resolved that Morat shall be summoned.

The French resident told me a few days ago that the French Ambassador in Venice was ready to offer his services for the accommodation of the affair of the galleys. For which I thanked him.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 26th February 1584 [m.v.]

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Feb. last day. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

259. Giovanni Dolfin, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

On the 21st of last month the Earl of Derby arrived at Saint Denis. He was sent by the Queen of England to bear the Garter to the most Christian King. Lord Derby stayed two days at Saint Denis, and on the third day he took the road with all his company, which consists of two other lords, fifty gentlemen, and others to the number of two hundred.

A league from Paris he was met by the Duke of Montpensier the Conte della Tramoglia (Tremouille) certain knights of the order (Saint Esprit) many nobles and gentlemen. He made his entry

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accompanied by five hundred horse. He was conducted to the Palais de Longueville one of the most important in Paris, hung with Royal tapestries worked in gold and silk of great value. His Majesty destined five hundred crowns a day to cover the expenses of Lord Derby's Court.

The next day (25th) Lord Derby had audience of the King of a purely complimentary character. The King's answer was in the same vein. Lord Derby the same day, waited on the Queens, and yesterday, in the afternoon, he went to the house of the grand Provost of Paris, close to the Augustins, where he met his most Christian Majesty, who was dressed in crimson velvet with a large violet velvet mantle, and there he bound about his left leg a thin gold band with the motto of the order in diamonds, and presented a collar of gold studded with gems. The King then went to vespers in the Church, where the Queens, the Cardinals, and all the Ambassadors were assembled, and the Nuncio as well, who, in the absence of express orders from Rome, had resolved to follow the example of his predecessor who was present when Charles the Fifth received the Garter in Lyons. The nobles vie with each other in magnificent entertainments to Lord Derby, and the King has ordered a supper and masquerade, which he will lead, for Sunday next and all this will cost forty thousand crowns, so they say.

I have not omitted to visit this Ambassador, as have all the other Ambassadors except the Nuncio and Don Bernardino. I confined my remarks to compliments. He replied that the Queen would always be glad of every occasion on which she can show her good-will, which she would have done all the more readily had the Republic chosen to send an Ambassador to her Court, as it had done to that of her predecessors. I assured him that the Republic would highly value such an excellent demonstration of regard, and passed on to other topics.

It is the opinion of many that Lord Derby is charged with a mission to offer large sums to his Majesty on condition that he will join the Queen of England in the protectorate of the Low Countries. But I am informed on excellent authority that Lord Derby will confine himself to general exhortations to consider the common danger caused by the greatness of Spain and will leave the weight of the negotiations to the Ambassador in ordinary, who has told me in strict confidence that he does not expect to conclude anything between the French and the Queen of England, as both parties insist on holding the more important ports, but on the other hand that he is certain that the Queen will endeavour to check the career of Spain by assisting these poor people, if she can.

Twenty-three priests set free from prison have come to France from England. Among them are three Jesuits, who were told before their departure that if they chose to obey the law they might stay and welcome, if not they must go and never return. The Queen acted thus because she saw how little good she got from putting so many to death, and also to make other Princes believe that reasons of State and not of religion had been the cause of the executions.

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The Spanish Ambassador after receiving despatches from Spain repeated his usual demands to the King, and had in answer, that the King would never take any course which might trouble the King of Spain, whom he held for his good friend.

As I was closing this, a friend told me that two hours ago a messenger from England reached Lord Derby bringing orders to him to remain here and to act with the Ambassador in ordinary in the question of the protectorate of the Low Countries, and he is not to move till the King has declared his intention.

Paris, last day of February 1584 [m.v.]

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

March 12. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

260. Matheo Zane, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the Doge and Senate.

In the Diet the Queen of England negotiated certain articles of commerce and free trade.

Prague, 12th March 1585.

[*Italian.*]

March 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

261. Giovanni Francesco Moresini, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

The Pasha, some days ago, upon information given him by certain renegades who were ill satisfied with the Queen of England who had punished them and made them repair the damage they had done to certain ships, said to the English Ambassador that the Queen of England was of no account and incapable of doing good or ill to the Sultan. The Ambassador resented this, and drew up a paper full of exaggerations, as your Serenity will see from the copy I enclose. This paper was translated into Turkish and placed it in the hands of the Sultan, and a similar one in the hands of the Magnificent Pasha. But it seems to me that the Turks make small account of the English, as facts demonstrate, for of five English ships that have been sent here, three have been robbed and ill treated.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 12th March 1585.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Enclosed in the preceding Despatch.

262. The true description of England and its present State.

The circumference of the island of England is 3,500 miles. It is most powerful in its infinite number of warlike inhabitants. It has thirty-nine counties (Beglierbey) full of cities, forts, and villages. In the City of London alone there are three hundred thousand warriors always ready. It is rich in all kinds of fruits, and in mines of silver, tin, copper, lead, iron, sulphur, saltpetre. That part which does not feed horses or other beasts, yields crops or metals, so that there is no part of it impossible for man's use. All kinds of animals abound, noble horses, bulls, chiefly because there are no wolves, sheep with wool like silk, from which they weave cloth of all sorts. The workmen are able masters of every craft. There is great abundance of

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rabbit skins, leather of bull, calf, sheep, lamb, and goat skin, which not only supplies Europe but also Asia, Africa, and America. England owns many islands, among them Ireland, but little smaller than England itself. And in short England is independent of other countries though they cannot do without her. In England, the present Queen Elizabeth, the Virgin Queen, has reigned twenty-six years, may God preserve her. Her revenue is six millions in gold, apart from the expenses of her Court which are paid by the country. At her command she has one hundred and thirty thousand armed men, from twenty to fifty years old. She is in alliance with all the Princes of the true Christian religion, of which she is the head. She has a fleet more powerful than all the other Princes of Christendom, so strong that one must see it to believe it.

The people are naturally brave, indomitable, and valourous in war. They attack the foe with such ardour that they usually come out not dead but victorious. They are impatient of injuries and revenge them fiercely. They religiously keep their treaties and highly honour their allies. Their judges are most learned and full of sound judgments, they take no bribes.

The nobles and gentlemen are affable, and delight in arms and the liberal arts; the people best friends to their friends, cruel foes to their foes; and all obey the Queen, so that on her command they would go to death without a word.

They pray to God without idolatry.

They are mortal foes of idolatry, and wish their enemies death without redemption.

[*Italian.*]

March 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

263. Giovanni Dolfin, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

On the second day of Lent the English Ambassadors went to his Majesty, and stayed nearly two hours in his cabinet. I am told that his Majesty informed them that to undertake the protectorate of the Low Countries would not suit the policy of the Crown of France at this moment, *but that it was desirable to stand united against the advance of Spain.* To which Lord Derby replied *that it was a most dangerous course to allow the power of an acknowledged enemy to grow great.* After an exchange of similar views, on either side Lord Derby seeing that he was making no progress towards his object, took leave of his Majesty to return to his Queen. The King has presented him with a side-board (credentiera) worth four thousand ducats, and has given to six of his suite a chain a piece, worth three hundred ducats. He left Paris yesterday.

Six days ago Thomas Morgan, an Englishman who was staying at this Court on private affairs of the Queen of Scotland, was imprisoned, and his papers and some money taken from him at the request of the English Ambassadors. The charge against him was that he had correspondence with two English prisoners, accused of plotting to kill the Queen. After Lord Derby's departure, Morgan was moved to a less rigorous prison. Many say he is innocent, and

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that the charge was invented the more easily to cover and excuse the imprisonment of the Queen of Scotland. She, a month ago, was removed from the custody of the Earl of Shrewsbury (Scioteveri) a great noble, wealthy, reckoned a Catholic, because he allowed her too much liberty. Now she is under another guardian, who keeps her very close, not even allowing her to write or to receive letters as heretofore (*dicono molti che sia innocente et che sia stata trovata questa inventione per coprire et scusar più facilmente la prigione della Regina di Scotia, la quale fù levata gia un mese dalla custodia del conte di Scioteveri . . . perche la lasciava in molta libertà, et hora è custodita da un altro, che la tiene assai ristretta, non li lasciando commodità di scriver, et di ricever lettere, come faceva per avanti*).

Paris, 15th March 1585.

[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*]

March 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

264. Giovanni Francesco Moresini, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

Thinking it necessary that your Serenity should be informed of what happened on Sunday last with the Secretary left here by Mons. de Germiny, late Ambassador of France at this Porte, I hasten to resume what I have already written, so that you may take what steps seem best to your wisdom. The King of France was highly displeased at the reception of an English Ambassador who enjoyed the same honours as those shown to the Ambassador of France. In spite of the frequent representations which he made through his Ambassador he was able to obtain no satisfaction. He therefore resolved to show his resentment by recalling his Ambassador from the Porte, without sending another in his place. He gave orders to Mons. de Germiny to take his leave and to return to France, but to charge some one of his attaches to remain here to receive despatches, and to advise his Majesty of their receipt, until further orders. Obeying these commands Mons. de Germiny resolved to leave his Secretary. He came to visit me, recounted all that had taken place and showed me the King's letters, and recommended to me his Secretary, whom he presented, and declared that he would obey my instructions in all things. The Secretary too, with all humility, promised to serve and obey me, and begged me to inform him if I saw any defects, as he would attend to my words as he had attended to those of Mons. de Germiny himself. I did not fail to reply as courtesy, and the perfect friendship which exists between your Serenity and the King of France required. After the departure of Mons. de Germiny, the Secretary has frequently come to me, and I have always paid him respect. I have asked him to dine with me several times, and have given him such information as was fitting, besides advising him of the despatch of expresses, so that he might avail himself of them, in short I have left nothing undone to preserve him a friend as his master was. He, however, I know not why, has always had a secret animus against us, though outwardly he shows himself friendly. I was not aware of it at

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first, but I hear now that in the affair of the galley of Tripoli, he takes the side of the Turk.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 20th March 1585.

[*Italian ; deciphered.*]

March 22. Collegio, Lettere Principi, Inghilterra.

265. Letter from Queen Elizabeth to the Doge.

Elizabeth, by the Grace of God, Queen of England, France and Ireland, to the Doge, Pasquale Cicogna, and the illustrious Senators and Nobles of the Venetian Republic.

Acknowledges the receipt of the Doge's letter of December 1584, in answer to Elizabeth's requesting the removal of the new duties and a return to the original state of things.

Complaining of the action of the Venetian rector in Zante who compelled the English merchants to pay the new imposition in cash, and refused securities, contrary to the decree of the Senate, August 1582.

Declares that she has no intention of levying new imposts on Venetian merchants. In England only sureties, not ready money, have been asked from Venetian merchants. Begs that this innovation may be removed, otherwise she will be obliged to apply the same in England.

Greenwich, 12th March 1585.

March 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

266. Giovanni Dolfin, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Last week the Ambassador of England came to visit me. He said that the Queen appreciated the goodwill of the Republic as shown in your Serenity's letter. As to the question of the customs dues, that can quickly be brought to a termination provided there be no one who, for his own ends, misinforms the Republic on the matter. Her Majesty's intention was to recall the concession made to Acerbo Velutello, of which your Excellencies had complained, and also to provide that your subjects shall not pay higher or other dues than those paid by her subjects. She hopes that her readiness in this matter will induce your Excellencies to remove the new duties which were imposed chiefly on account of the concession to Velutello. She read with some surprise that your Excellencies claimed that your subjects should not pay heavier dues than they paid before you ascended the throne, that would produce the unheard of result that your subjects would pay less dues than the people of the country. And further by the Queen's express orders he said to me "If the Republic will come to particulars and will charge you with the management of the affair, the Queen will give me a similar charge, and we two together may hope speedily to settle the matter."

I thought it best to give no definite reply to the Ambassador without express orders from your Serenity, but I returned him thanks for the offer.

I must mention that three days ago the agent of M. Todarin Lombardo, left for Venice.

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He has been some years in England and is consequently very well informed of all the particulars relating to this business, and also of the goodwill of the Queen, and of the nobles who govern the kingdom, who are ready to give your Serenity every satisfaction on this point; as they have begun to do already by granting an ample patent to Lombardo & Company.

The Ambassador before taking leave called my attention to the great danger to which the Queen had been exposed by Dr. Paris, (Parry) plot against her life, as I wrote to your Serenity. Among his papers they found . . . . in the hand of the Cardinal di Como; persuading Parry to carry out that holy work which he contemplated, and granting in his Holiness' name, plenary indulgence for the sin and the punishment of all his errors. He has confessed that when he was in Rome, he was urged to this deed, and was promised, over and above eternal life if put to death, many temporal benefits for his heirs. He has admitted that his accomplice was Thomas Morgan, who was recently arrested, and was thought to be an agent of the Queen of Scotland; but he added that neither the King nor the Queen of Scotland knew anything about the matter, as Morgan was moved solely by religious considerations and by Christian piety. He has confessed that when Morgan passed through Paris he went to dine with the Nuncio, who urged him to carry out his holy intent with all speed, and promised to pray for him every day at mass. The Nuncio had an audience of the King on Sunday, and begged that Morgan might be set at liberty, declaring that he is a person of excellent repute, a Catholic and a good servant of the Queen of Scotland, who in the midst of all her troubles should not be exposed to this additional one, that her dependents are persecuted. The King replied that Morgan's case should receive every attention.

The English Ambassador has received a despatch from his mistress announcing that she has hung and quartered Dr. Parry. He urgently demanded the person of Morgan, that he too might be punished for his crimes. His Majesty did not consent and another courier having arrived from England, the Ambassador again asked for an audience and every one supposes it is for the same purpose, so eager is the Queen in this matter. The same day the Scotch Ambassador begged the King to liberate the Queen of Scotland's agent, Morgan, pointing out that as that poor man is innocent it would be improper to surrender him to the English. The King answered that nothing but pure justice should be done, of that the Ambassador might be sure.

Paris, 28th March 1585.

[*Italian.*]

March 29. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

267. Giovanni Francesco Moresini, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

Four days ago an English ship arrived with a cargo of cloth, tin and other goods. The Turks are glad, for the city is almost without cloth for clothing. The English Ambassador has made such com-

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plaints to the Pasha against Morat Rais, who is at Valona, that they say the Turks finally gave orders to arrest and place him in irons.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 29th March 1885.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

April 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

268. VINCENZO GRADENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

It is said here that the Queen of England has sent a large fleet to Peru, to work as much mischief as possible. If this be true it will greatly hamper his Majesty's designs.

The departure of the King from this city has left so many thieves at liberty, that no one can live secure in his own house, nor walk abroad. Last night fifteen of them attacked the Bishop's Palace.

Saragoza, 14th April 1585.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in Despatch of April 26th, from France.

269. AGREEMENT made at MIDDELBURG.

The Ambassadors of Elizabeth, by the grace of God Queen of France, England and Ireland, Henry of Bourbon, King of Navarre, the Most Mighty and Illustrious Palatine Duke of Casimir, Duke of Pomerania, Landgrave of Hesse, Duke of Wirtemberg, and Prince of Ortughe (?), Swiss Confederation, Prince of Condè, town of Bruselles, and allies generally, by their legal representatives and plenipotentiaries met in the town of Middelburg on the 25th, 1584.

The miserable state of Christendom and the origin of all these ills having been explained to this assembly, all are invited to join in common means towards their common end, the proper establishment Christendom, in the following way:—

That the King of Spain be begged to observe the Act of Pacification by which the free use of the reformed religion was permitted throughout the kingdom, and that he be asked to swear such observance. If he refuses, each member of the assembly shall formally renounce all alliance or friendly relations with him.

The members will take such steps as may be necessary to prevent Christendom from suffering. And to that end the following provisions shall be ready by April 15, 1585.

The Queen of England shall contribute one thousand horse and four thousand Swiss, not counting the two thousand English she already intends to land at the most convenient spot in France, on the advice of Navarre and Condè.

The Count Palatine four thousand horse.

The Count of Pomerania four thousand horse.

The Landgrave of Hesse two thousand horse.

The Duke of Wirtemberg two thousand horse.

The Swiss six thousand men.

The King of Navarre, the Prince of Condè and other allies twenty-four thousand harquebussiers and four thousand horse.

No member to make truce or peace with the King of France without the consent of all his allies.

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The Queen of England promises to send commissioners to Basel in the month of May, there to meet other doctors and to settle the question of the Lord's Supper, about which there is at present a difference.

The Prince of Orange shall be supported in the recovery of the Low Countries.

The allies pledge themselves to attend the first Imperial Diet to endeavour to reform the Bishop of Rome; as they are well aware that all the heresies and disturbances of Christendom come from the luxury and avarice of that Prelate.

[*Italian.*]

May 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

270. Giovanni Dolfin, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Earl of Arundel was arrested on board a ship, while flying from England. He was found ten miles out at sea against the Queen's orders, which forbid anyone to leave the kingdom without permission.

Paris, 10th May 1585.

[*Italian.*]

May 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

271. Vincenzo Gradenigo, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

Two causes may delay his Majesty's designs, if, indeed, they are such as have been frequently described, one is the policy of the new Pope, whose attitude does not inspire the Ministers with confidence, for they consider him rather as a friend to France, and the news of his election left them anxious. The other is that Drake, the most famous corsair afloat, is at Madeira with eighteen ships well armed, and has captured the Peruvian fleet, which is very rich, at least they fear so, although the Marquis of Santa Cruz was arming thirty-four ships in Lisbon to fight Drake and guard the fleet. It is true that he experienced much difficulty in arming these ships, and if he has not been in time, as they greatly fear owing to the near approach of the fleet, the King will certainly suffer severely. These reasons are considered very serious; but the plans are so far advanced that it is impossible rather than difficult to retire. It has been said that the corsair was not Drake but Don Antonio Meneses, a Portuguese who has fled with Don Antonio; but that was not true.

The treaty between the King and Don Antonio will soon be effected. The King offers him a suitable income on condition that he lives in Italy.

Saragoza, 19th May 1585.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

May 31. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

272. Giovanni Francisco Moresini and Lorenzo Bernardo, Venetian Ambassadors in Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

Announces the arrival of Bernardo at the Sweet-waters, where he was received by Moresini, the Venetian colony, the Chavasses

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and Janizzaries as usual. The Imperial Ambassador sent a secretary, the French Ambassador a Dragoman to visit me. The English Ambassador, as yet, has sent no one. I will regulate my conduct by his.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 31st May 1585.

[*Italian.*]

June 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

273. GIOVANNI DOLFIN, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Queen of England writes to the King of France to urge him to peace by all means in her power; pointing out that if his own subjects succeed in compelling him to do as they desire, it will have a bad effect in the future, and reminding him how she, a poor little woman without resources, acted at the beginning of her reign when two of her greatest subjects took arms against her *at the suggestion and with the help of the King of Spain, their common foe;* how she drove the rebels out of the kingdom, and if she could succeed, so much the more easily would a powerful monarch like his Majesty. The English Ambassador showed me a copy of this letter when he called on me to inquire whether I had any orders on the subject of removing the dues. He further told me that six thousand troops are ready in London to go to the assistance of Navarre, and the Queen has sent an express to offer them to the King.

They say the Queen has issued an edict expelling all priests, of whatever nationality, within forty days under pain of death; exception is made in favour of the French Ambassador.

Paris, 1st June 1585.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

June 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

274. VINCENZO GRADENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Some days ago a courier from Lisbon passed through with news that Drake had been reinforced by eight ships, so that he is in command of forty-four sail, all well armed; that he had left Madeira to meet the Peruvian fleet; on this account the Marquis of Santa Cruz, who had received orders to arm thirty-four ships and to fight Drake, now writes to say that he requires a larger force; he also presents his list of expenses, and explains the difficulty he finds in raising money. This same courier passed through on his way back two days ago. He is supposed to be the bearer of suitable orders.

Saragoza, 1st June 1585

[*Italian.*]

June 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

275. VINCENZO GRADENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

They are much afraid, indeed they hold it certain, that Drake will strike a blow at the Peruvian fleet, as there is no news of him. They write from Lisbon that it is impossible that the Marquis of Santa Cruz should be in time to save it, as he cannot

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be ready for some days yet. The Ministers wishing to exonerate him from blame for this delay, and concealing, perhaps, some deficiency at Lisbon which renders the armament of forty or even of thirty vessels a difficult matter, declare that even if the fleet be captured the Marquis will recover it all on Drake's homeward journey, speaking as though it rested with him to meet and capture wherever he choses.

Saragoza, 15th June 1585.

[*Italian.*]

June 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

276. VINCENZO GRADENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain to the DOGE and SENATE.

The embargo on French and English shipping is carried out with all rigour. Not merely the ships but also their crews are seized. At Bilbao, in Biscay, an officer of the local magistrate went on board an English ship, to seize it in the King's name. The crew replied that they did not intend to obey the order, in virtue of a treaty between the two countries. The magistrate was obliged to go in person; whereupon the English slew not only the officer but the magistrate as well, and fourteen of his men; then setting sail they took refuge in Bircoe (Vicente de la Barquera ?). This is a matter of great importance; the embargo would not have been imposed except for very serious reasons; for between the Basques, the French, the English and the Portuguese there exists a special treaty forbidding the imposition of an embargo under any circumstances, in order to encourage the free exchange of merchandize and provisions between these people. It is possible that the embargo was ordered under the conviction that Drake had already seized the Peruvian fleet, and was an act of reprisal with a view to compelling the Queen of England to restore that fleet and to punish Drake; but, on the other hand, when Drake, on another occasion, carried out a similar enterprise, by which he acquired a million in gold of the King's money, no embargo was imposed so as not to place the Basques and Portuguese in straits for grain and other things which they get by way of France and England (può esser che questa nasca da Drago inglese, dubitandosi che possi fin hora haver fatta la presa della flotta, onde per rifarsi et per necessitar la Regina d' Inghilterra a fargli restituir et che costui sia castigato, si pensa che questi habbino voluto fare la sopradetta ritentione; ma dall' altra parte, quando Draco fece un' altra volta la medesima impresa nella quale già guadagna un milione d'oro solo del Re, non si vene a questa ritentione per non constituir quelli di Biscaglia et Portogallo in necessità grandissima del viver per il mancamento che hanno grandissimo de grani et altre cose delle quali si provedono per via di Francia et Inghilterra). And, again, if Drake's action be the real cause of the embargo it is difficult to see what blame can attach to the French.

Saragoza, 19th June 1585.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

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June 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

277. Giovanni Francesco Moresini and Lorenzo Bernardo, Venetian Ambassadors in Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

A few days ago the English Ambassador sent a secretary to visit me. He used terms of courtesy and regard, to which I replied in a suitable manner; and sent my secretary to return the visit. In the course of his remarks *the Ambassador complained that the Turks damaged English shipping, and remained unpunished.*

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 22nd May 1585.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

July 5. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

278. Giovanni Dolfin, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The English Ambassador some days ago told me that all the English ships in Bilbao had been seized by order of the King, who intended to use them in his designs against England. On board one of them twelve Spanish officers had gone to publish the Royal order; the sailors suddenly raised anchor, set sail, and reached London, where the Spaniards are in close custody.

Paris, 5th July 1585.

[*Italian.*]

July 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

279. Vincenzo Gradenigo, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

A French gentleman has been sent to make complaint to his Majesty about the embargo of which I wrote. In conversation with me, d'Idiaquez said that his Majesty really intended to use these ships to form a fleet; and the crews had already arrived from Biscay.

Barbastro, 23rd July 1585.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

280. Vincenzo Gradenigo, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The departure of Don Antonio of Portugal was communicated to his Majesty by Salazar, and thrice over from Naples; and there is no one who doubts the truth of it, moved thereto by the authority of the Minister who made the announcement, Cardinal de Granvelle. From what I have heard I gather that his Eminence would have been glad had your Serenity made the communication, all the more so because it is said here that Don Antonio met the Ambassador Bernardo in Dalmatia, and asked leave to accompany him, which was refused.

This news was believed down to the other day, when a courier arrived from France with information from Don Bernardino and Tassis. They said that in Brittany the Duc de Mercure, by Guise's orders, laid an ambush for Don Antonio, who was warned two hours before the time fixed, and so saved himself. This news will lay the fears that his journey to Constantinople might be true. Had he gone there he might have caused serious trouble to the Spaniards, especially in the East Indies, where he could have taken

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a fleet through the Red Sea, and so cut off all the trade with the spice islands, which would have been a most heavy loss to his Majesty.

The publication of peace in France has led to daily sittings of the Council of War here. As yet we know of no decision, but rumour says that the attack on England is fixed for next year, and that the preparations hitherto made, all tend to this effect. Two companies of infantry are to go to Lisbon to embark on board the ships under embargo. Orders and money have been issued, and officers have been appointed to raise men in Spain and in Italy, and the intention is to have thirty thousand men in Biscay. They also say that forty ships are to be made ready at the orders of the King. But those who know best receive the rumour with reserve; for the expedition cannot take place till next year, and so all these assertions are premature; besides they do not see how an expedition of such importance is to be undertaken before the affairs of Flanders are settled, and until they are sure of the ordinary assistance from Rome, such as the Bull of Crusade and other supports; moreover France is still armed, and although they alleged that the Huguenots are the object of these forces, yet they cannot have any confidence that they may not be directed to Flanders. The ten companies already raised are to keep Portugal quiet, as is well known. In fact the King's chief object is to free himself from the charge brought against him by all the world, that he has supplied the Guise with money, which is considered an action unworth of so Catholic a Prince. Before the publication of the peace of France, the Ministers wrote to the Pope excusing their action by alleging that Pope Gregory, of blessed memory, frequently urged three undertakings, the expeditions against England and Geneva, and the support of those who were endeavouring to expel the Huguenots from France, demonstrating that each of these undertakings belonged in a special way to his Majesty for [*God*] *had given him such power that he could show his gratitude in no other manner than by employing it for the extirpation of heresy. After frequent exhortations, by Nuncio or by letters, the King could no longer refuse to consent; but all his actions have been directed, not so much to trouble the King of France, as to fulfil the desire of his Holiness, who, on his side, promised aid as far as in him lay. The King then prayed the Pope to grant him the usual facilities, promising to attack England first, then Geneva; while, as for the Huguenots, if the King of France thought well to make use of Spanish arms he would gladly furnish them for this purpose, for he had never had any other object than the extirpation of heresy. I am informed by a person who can be implicitly trusted, that the King has ordered his Ambassador to make the above representation to the Pope, the sole objects being to exculpate himself for having helped Guise; to induce the Pope to grant the ordinary supports; and to show that he has no other designs than those which tend to the good of Christianity; and this is the meaning of these rumours of an English expedition, which is by no means a matter finally decided upon.*

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It is to be hoped that they will close the year happily if the Antwerp business is brought to an end. They say the concordat of Antwerp, as of Malines, is concluded. And so the Ministers, under good guidance, have reached their end by a road other than the one they intended, which was to settle Flanders by crushing France. Another concordat is looked for, that between Catholics and Huguenots, for no one believes that the King of France will continue the war owing to lack of money for the support of a sufficient army. And so 1585, *which threatened to be most disturbed, by the grace of God who works by inconceivable ways, will be brought to a happy conclusion.*

Barbastro, 10th August 1585.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

August 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

281. Vincenzo Gradenigo, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The affairs of Antwerp are not settled, and are going badly. Many English have reached Flushing and Middelburg; a certain sign that the Queen of England will help Antwerp. I was at mass with Don Christoforo de Mora, Chamberlain to the King, and he told me that Drake had met a great storm, which has compelled him to return to England.

Barbastro, 23rd August 1585.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Sept. 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

282. Giovanni Dolfin, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The King has at last sent M. de Lancome as his Ambassador to Constantinople. He came to take his leave of me, *and told me that he had orders to act in concert with the Bailo of your Serenity. I had already heard that he was instructed to take every step for the expulsion of the English Ambassador, and he told me that he was authorised to spend four thousand scudi for this purpose.*

The French Ambassador in England announces that the Queen was much disturbed at the news that the King had broken the edict of pacification with the Huguenots, and gone openly over to the Princes of the League. For better information she sent for the Ambassador, who confirmed the fact that the King was resolved to have only one religion in his kingdom, and therefore he has declared himself head of the League. This phrase "head of the League" displeased the Queen, and she sent Horatio Pallavicini to have information from the king himself.

Paris, 11th September 1585.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Sept. 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

283. Giovanni Dolfin, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Prince of Parma made his solemn entry into Antwerp on the 27th of last month. He is lodged in the citadel, and has five thousand infantry. Six thousand English, under Colonel Norres, are in Zealand.

Paris, 16th September 1585.

[*Italian.*]

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Sept. 21. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

284. Vincenzo Gradenigo, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The King is overjoyed at the fall of Antwerp. They even say that the news was brought to him at night, while he was in bed, and that he rose at once to take it to the Infante. Salazar reports that Venice does not show much joy at the news.

Barbastro, 21st September 1585.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Sept. 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

285. Giovanni Dolfin, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Queen-Mother has sent one of her gentlemen to Don Antonio in Rochelle with 6,000 crowns and a promise to restore his pension and to give him a safe dwelling-place anywhere he may choose inside the kingdom. But Don Antonio was not found in Rochelle; he is said to have passed over into England with an Ambassador of that Queen, who was on his way back from the King of Navarre. This has displeased many, but above all the Queen-Mother.

Paris, 27th September 1585.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 30. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

286. Giovanni Dolfin, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

On the 27th inst. a courier arrived from England. He was sent by the French Ambassador with news that Don Antonio, on the 21st inst, had embarked eight thousand infantry and two hundred English gentlemen on board sixty-two vessels, and had sailed towards Portugal to try his fortune in recovering that kingdom. It surprises everyone to see how rapidly the Queen of England has made up her mind to give him such large forces. In order to obtain every information I sent my secretary to the English Ambassador. The Ambassador, who has always been very courteous to me, replied to my secretary that for days he has had no despatches from England confirming this news, nor any other, owing to the fact that his couriers are seized by the members of the League, but that the Queen-Mother has herself sent to give him information. A friend of mine, who is intimate with the Queen-Mother, tells me that in conversation with her she never ceased to praise the Queen of England's conduct.

The English who recently went to Holland have been distributed among the forts, but Flushing has always refused to admit any one. The Queen has sent two Ambassadors to offer them all the support in her power if they will prove that they intend to remain firm by admitting the English garrison. We shall soon learn the upshot; but, as Aldegonde, a man of great weight, has gone to Holland to persuade the Dutch to come to terms with the King of Spain, and to promise freedom of conscience, which was the great obstacle to an accord, it is held certain

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that this will prevent the Dutch from accepting the protection of England. The Prince of Parma relies rather upon negotiations than on arms for the reduction of the Low Countries; he expects a great deal from Aldegonde's mission, and rightly, for it was through Aldegonde that he captured Antwerp, in spite of the nearness of English reliefs, and the fact that the city could have held out another six months. It is expected that his Majesty is going to make large concessions in the hope of bringing this long and troublesome war to a close. *He inveighs continually against the Queen of England.*

Paris, the last day of September 1585.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Oct. 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

287. VINCENZO GRADENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The fleets of Peru and of New Spain have arrived in Seville. They are very rich. One ship is said to have remained in the Azores to repair, as it was very badly handled by some English ships, which captured another ship with a million of gold on board.

Barbastro, 9th October 1585.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Oct. 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

288. VINCENZO GRADENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Of general affairs I have little to report; everything is quiet just now owing to the King's illness. They, say, however, that his Majesty, if it please God to give him health, intends next summer to go to Lisbon, so as to be in a more convenient place for directing the attack on England. On this subject there are many rumours which I do not send, as I think they lack foundation; it is possible that all this may be only a ruse to induce the Pope to grant the Bull of Crusade, as the usual time for its publication, Advent, is now coming on.

Barbastro, 18th October 1585.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Oct. 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

289. VINCENZO GRADENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Yesterday a courier with letters from Don Bernardino dated from France on the 9th, arrived here; he brings news that Don Antonio of Portugal is in England, and that he was to have sailed on the 22nd September along with Drake and his forty-four ships. The fleet has ten thousand English infantry and five hundred horse on board, and they intend to make a descent on Portugal or the Azores. But the 22nd was a bad day, and the departure was put off till the 25th. The Queen sent a courier to Don Antonio and to Drake, ordering both of them to return to her, as she had matters to discuss with them; but the courier arrived too late. Longlè has received similar news, and showed me his last letters. As regards

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Portugal, your Serenity must know that three thousand more Spanish infantry have been sent there and divided among various places on the sea. Don Luigi Enriquez and Don Gabriel de Guigno have been ordered to Lisbon with their recruits, both of them at once left Court. Longlè told me that Mons. de Saint Gard, the French Ambassador in Rome, will return to France, and that for some time the King will not send a successor.

Barbastro, 20th October 1585.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Oct. 25. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

290. Vincenzo Gradenigo, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The privation of the King of Navarre by the Pope was the work of the League of Guise, who were set on by Don Bernardino de Mendoza, who has managed the whole of this affair, for which he is much praised by the Ministers here, who say that although much money has been spent yet the fomentation of discord in France has brought about the fall of Antwerp, which was their principal object.

Drake has landed in Gallicia with four thousand infantry and done most serious damage by harrying the country, and had Bayona not been succoured it would have been captured. He then re-embarked and sailed towards Portugal where he has sacked all the shipping, French, Spanish, and Italian, and among these one Venetian whose name I don't know; in all 26 ships with a booty of 300,000 ducats. Nothing more is known at present. It seems that Drake has not yet effected a junction with Don Antonio, who, as I wrote, has also sailed from England. They were very anxious about the Peruvian fleet, but they think Drake missed it by delaying in Gallicia. The fleet is at the port of San Lucar, that it to say, at Seville. It brings seven millions; four for the King and three for private merchants; I think some ships are missing.

Barbastro, 25th October 1585.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Oct. 30. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

291. Lorenzo Bernardo, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

In my last audience with the magnificent Pasha he asked me if it was true that the French had make peace, and had come to an accord with the Lutherans; I replied that I had no such news from your Serenity, but that I had heard that his most Christian Majesty had come to an accord with the House of Guise against the Lutherans, though I was not sure of it. He then asked if I knew whether the agent of the Spanish Ambassador was at Ragusa, and what he was doing there? I answered that on my way through Ragusa there was an agent there, but that I had heard subsequently that he had left.

The French agent who came to call on me said that in an audience with the magnificent Pasha a long report on the political situation, the work of David Passi, had been read to him, and he was asked if he thought the Republic was on good terms with Spain,

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and what was the meaning of the Republic maintaining such a large fleet. The agent replied that your Serenity was on good terms with everyone, and that the fleet was the ordinary one, which was necessary for the protection of commerce in various parts of the world, for which princes owed a debt of gratitude to Venice.

The English Ambassador came to visit me a few days ago. He made use of most warm and respectful language as regards your Serenity and of great courtesy to me. Our remarks were complimentary in this first interview. I returned the visit, and in the course of conversation I discovered in the Ambassador a certain dissatisfaction with the Turk, because he neither knows nor appreciates the greatness and the power of England and his Queen. He complained bitterly that in spite of pledges the Turks have seized six English ships within a short time, and decline to give any satisfaction. The Ambassador is spreading the report that war has broken out between Spain and England, and will be a most bloody one; that the King of Spain will not succeed in recovering Flanders now that the Queen is opposed; and this he says with a view to showing to the Porte how strong his Queen is, and how highly her friendship should be valued by the Sultan as a counterbalance to the power of Spain.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 30th October 1585.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Nov. 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

292. Vincenzo Gradenigo, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The rumour that the King will go next summer to Lisbon as more convenient for the English expedition continues and grows. They are said to be raising 10,000 *infantry in Italy; but Rome is supposed to be the cause of these preparations.*

Barbastro, 26th November 1585.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Oct. 7. Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

293. Copy of a Letter from Pietro Bermudez, Governor of the Islands of Bayona, Coast of Gallicia, addressed to the Marquis of Santa Cruz and giving an account of the arrival of the Englishman Drake off the shores of Gallicia.

Drake appeared off this port, and leaving the ships near the islands, he landed about 1,500 men in launches. I sent a recognisance to see who they were, and Drake sent back one of his officers in company with my messenger. This officer was ordered to tell me that in my hands lay peace or war, that he came in the name of the Queen of England to gather together all the English and to abolish all the impositions which have been laid on them, and his action would depend on my answer. I replied through an Englishman whom I sent to Drake, that I was the officer of his Majesty the King, and could act only so far as I was instructed; that I had no orders to annoy or trouble any English, nor had anything of the sort taken place here, nor would it where I was present; that if he wished war and intended to levy it he would

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find his hands full. I keep all my men ready, and will inform your Excellency of all that happens.

PERO BERMUDEZ.

Bayona, 7th October 1585.

[*Italian.*]

P.S.—By the Ambassador Gradenigo. Later on we hear that the Governor of Gallicia has let all the English go; that they have embarked with Drake, who, on 30th October, was in Portuguese waters, seizing all the shipping that he could.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

294. GIOVANNI DOLFIN, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The French Ambassador in England wrote last week that the Queen had sent three thousand men to join the Scotch exiles, and, all together, they attempted to capture the King who took refuge in a small but strong castle. This news has caused great excitement at Court and has made the Scotch Ambassador ask for an audience. The King said to him that this news is probably on a par with the French Ambassador's other news about Don Antonio, for it is impossible to believe that the Queen would attempt so many things at once. As a matter of fact his Majesty's opinion was confirmed three days later, for it turned out that the troops were sent to Holland and that the King of Scotland had retired to that castle for fear of the plague, which is making great progress in his country, as indeed here and throughout the kingdom.

Paris, 8th November 1585.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

295. GIOVANNI DOLFIN, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The English corsairs are reported to have seized some Spanish merchantmen on their way to Flanders, from whom they received a rich booty. They say the Earl of Leicester is to leave for Zealand. He is only waiting a fair wind.

Paris, 11th November 1585.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 25. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

296. LORENZO BERNARDO, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Last week two Englishmen arrived here from Ragusa, and, after stopping here a few days, set out on their return journey by way of Poland. There was some suspicion that they came here on a secret mission, especially as one of them is very clever, and has a wide knowledge of the world. I could not find out their object although I asked them to dinner on purpose. But now another Englishman has reached this by way of Poland. He is lodged with the English Ambassador, who for many days has been very busy, and in constant conferences with David Passi, the Jew, who is

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always ready to take a part in such matters. He has let fall the remark that perhaps the Porte will send an agent to the Queen of England. All this, taken in conjunction with what the English Ambassador recently said, that there will be war between Spain and England on account of the protection which the Queen affords to Holland and Zealand, makes me suspect that the English Ambassador is negotiating with the Porte for the despatch of the Turkish fleet, though everyone holds it certain that the Sultan will not be able to move on account of his own political position and the difficulties of the Persian war.

As regards the Turkish fleet, nothing is going on in the Arsenal. And so I consider that the fleet will not take the sea next year, all the more so as some Turks returned from Messina, report that though the King of Spain has a large fleet yet there is no reason to be alarmed about him, as he is at war in various quarters.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 25th November 1585.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Dec. 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

297. Giovanni Dolfin, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Queen of England has caused to be published a declaration of the reasons which moved her to undertake the protectorate of the Low Countries; setting forth the insults she received from Spain, her own patience and good offices, the extortions and cruelties practiced on her neighbours, the damage to English trade, the threat to English liberty if Spain is allowed to advance. She expatiates at such length that she occupied more than seven leaves. The Earl of Leicester has not left London yet; but he has sent a nephew, Sir Philip, called after the King of Spain when he was King of England, to Flushing, where are three thousand English infantry.

I made the usual visit to the ambassador of the King of Scotland. He told me that on the 26th October the rebels entered Scotland, and that the King feared they had a secret understanding with some of his most intimate attendants. He lived with great precautions. He did not know if any English were with the rebels.

Paris, 6th December 1585.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

298. Giovanni Dolfin, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

In Antwerp they are working on the Citadel, where more than three hundred men are employed every day without interruption, and by the end of the month they say the work will be finished.

Paris, 9th December 1585.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

299. Giovanni Dolfin, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Yesterday the King granted audiences to the Nuncio, the Ambassador of England, and the Ambassador of Scotland,

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The English Ambassador, on direct orders from the Queen, informed his Majesty that his mistress offered herself as mediator of a peace with Navarre and Condè, and promised to take every care of his Majesty's dignity. She declares that if the war continues she will be obliged in self defence to take active measures against the growing power of the Guise faction, on whom she is forced to keep as keen an eye as she does on the King of Spain; for the objects of both are identical. The King expressed his thanks for the good intentions of the Queen of England, and said he would consult the Queen-Mother, and in a few days would give a definite answer.

The Scotch Ambassador gave information that the Earl of Hamilton and the Earl of Angus (Anghisa) and other Scotch rebels had entered Scotland, and that the King being too weak to expel them, had been forced to retire into Edinburgh, where they have beseiged him.

They demand the persons of five of his principal attendants, and Dumbarton (Domberzand) and Blackness (Blacnes) the strongest fortress in the kingdom, together with a general pardon and amnesty for all the rebels. All these demands have been granted, as the King had no means of resistance, while the rebels had secret intelligence inside the kingdom, and support from the English on the borders. Of the five persons demanded, the most important fled; the others were surrendered, and are confined in their castles. The King is now surrounded by the rebels, who govern him as they and the Queen of England desire. The English Ambassador also gave me a similar account of these events, except that he denies that the English had any share in them.

Paris, 20th December 1585.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 21. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

300. Vincenzo Gradenigo, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

His Majesty does not desire to upset all his arrangements in Italy, just now that he is fully occupied with Flanders; for it is reported that the Queen of England has thrown provisions and infantry into Holland and Zealand, and is harrassing his Majesty by means of Drake. About Drake there is positive news that he has passed the Canaries, and, after capturing the flag ship of the Peruvian fleet with four hundred thousand crowns, has sailed towards Brazil. If he lands there, as they fear he has already done, there is not the smallest doubt but that the whole country will be thrown into confusion and danger, for there are no forts nor troops, and only discontent among the people on account of the brutal usage they experience from the Spaniards. The Marquis of Santa Cruz writes to the King that it will be impossible to deal with the situation unless his Majesty will go to Lisbon, for his presence there would assist the armament and frighten the enemy.

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They say here that the King will go in autumn. But he is tired of travelling, and they fear he will not move.

Madrid, 21st December 1585.

[*Italian ; deciphered.*]

Dec. 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

301. Lorenzo Bernardo, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

A few days ago two Englishmen left here in company with a Jew belonging, as I understand, to the household of David Passi. Many conjectures as to their mission are made, but I have no definite information to give your Serenity.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 26th December 1585.

[*Italian ; deciphered.*]

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Jan. 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

302. Lorenzo Priuli, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

A courier from Spain directed to a private gentleman, brings news that the King of Spain has resolved to make the English expedition.

Rome, 4th January 1585 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

303. Lorenzo Bernardo, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

The Ambassador of England and the French resident have made serious complaints to the Grand Vizir about the damage which Hassan Aga of Tripoli has inflicted on the shipping of both Kingdoms. They consider all the steps taken through Governors and so forth as mere pretexts, and they can do nothing but lament and complain. The Capadun Pasha, although he is indignant with Hassan because he has never sent him any presents, cannot do less than defend him against this attack, as Hassan is a creature of his.

Another son has been born to the Sultan by one of his twenty-five slaves, and so he has three males and three females alive.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 8th January 1585 [m.v.].

[*Italian ; deciphered.*]

Jan. 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

304. Vincenzo Gradenigo, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

I enclose for your Serenity the report of the Marquis of Santa Cruz upon the subject of Drake, to which I referred in my last. You will gather from this report what is the opinion of the Marquis, and the other points upon which it enlarges. From the many reports to hand it seems that Drake has gone to the Brazils, where it is feared that he will do great damage, all the more so as in those parts he will meet with no check from fortresses nor from troops; he can therefore overrun not

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only all Brazil, but also Peru. He has a fleet of sixty ships with seven thousand infantry, all well armed, and five hundred gentlemen on horse. He is provisioned for a year. It seems that other sixty great ships are sailing to the Canaries, and will cross over to join Drake's fleet, or else will seize some good harbour on the route of the India fleet to prevent Spain from sending succours there. I enclose some reports on this subject which were yesterday forwarded by courier to his Majesty. Drake is master of the sea and finds no hindrance to the development and execution of his designs; he is likely to maintain his superiority for some time to come, for no steps are being taken here, not because they do not care, but because of the great deficiency of all kinds of stores. (Draco è patrone del mare, ne ha impedimento alcuno onde puo disegnare et esseguire tutto il desiderio suo, et per quel che si vede, sarà per molto tempo, perchè qui non si fa provisione, non perchè non curino ma per le grandissime difficoltà che ne hanno di tutte le cose.) Orders were sent to Seville to arm twelve galleys to be added to this Lisbon fleet; but seeing that it is impossible to complete these, they have not even been begun, although embargo has been laid on other foreign ships for this purpose. Nor should this remissness cause surprise, partly because it is in the character of the nation, partly because neither in Seville nor in Lisbon is there such good order as to allow the hope of manning a fleet in eight days. Besides, the King's determination to see, to understand, and to deal with every point himself, is the source of constant delays, and prevents the completion of the necessary steps to meet the evil, which in the general opinion, and in fact, is most serious. The King's irresolution in this matter causes the persistence of the rumour that he will go to Portugal, as he thinks that without his presence no adequate steps will be taken. On this point, finding myself with Cardinal de Granvelle, I inquired what was the truth as to this Portuguese journey. The Cardinal replied that it would be of little use for his Majesty to visit Portugal for a few days only, but that he was ready to advise his Majesty to reside there permanently, as a place excellently suited for France, England, Flanders, India, and also for commanding the Mediterranean. He added that this would be the true way in which to curb the Queen of England; but that this will take place now, I doubt, for the King is already tired of moving, and then the Castilians would not allow it (mi rispose Sua Sig^ria^ Ill^ma^ che l'andare il Re a Portogallo per puochi giorni saria cosa di puoco frutto, ma che egli prontissimamente consigliarà il fermarsi per sempre come luogo opportuno a Franza, a Inghilterra, a Flandra, all' Indie; et che facilmente potria far correre tutto Mediterraneo, anzi soggionse che questo sarria il vero remedio per levare a fatto l'ardire della Regina d' Inghilterra, ma che questo habbia ad essere per hora io non lo credo perchè gia è stanco il Re de caminare, poi li Castigliani non lo consentariano). These rumours about Drake have caused the King to give orders that the West

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India fleet, that is the fleet for Peru and New Spain, should not sail. It is known that Drake is in command of the first sixty ships; it is suspected that Don Antonio, of Portugal, commands the other sixty. We hear from London that these ships have sailed, and further, that Don Antonio has sent two Portuguese converts and one English to Constantinople in his name, and it is possible that they are at this moment in Italy.

Four thousand English are in Holland; of these one thousand are in Flushing. The Dutch with difficulty endure their insolence. This arrival of the English has caused the Prince of Parma to build the citadel of Antwerp; it seems that the leading citizens themselves councilled him not to delay any longer; but the only step taken here for this purpose is the collection of money; a loan of fifty thousand ducats is being negotiated with the Genoese.

The Bull of the Crusade was published here before the Feast of Christmas. It does not give satisfaction as the people are unable to pay the tax of two Reals per head, which is exacted before a man may confess and communicate. They say the King is much consoled by the concessions made to him by the Pope, who has not only accorded him the remains of Pope Gregory's crusade, which ran for two years more, but also for the five years following, so that at one stroke the Pope has given the King a present of a million eight hundred thousand crowns a year, which in seven years means eight million four hundred thousand crowns, all of which is to be collected in special chests in the mint at Madrid. This most important concession has caused much speculation as to the English expedition. They say there are negotiations for a League of the Pope, the King of Spain, your Serenity, Savoy and Tuscany against England; the promoters are the Pope and his Majesty. The question, as a matter of fact, has been under consideration of these Ministers, but is only a rumour.

Madrid, 10th January 1585 [m.v.].

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

305. An ACCOUNT of what the ENGLISH FLEET may accomplish in case it should cross over to the INDIES and then pass into the PACIFIC, as it has done once before.

Francis Drake has 32 ships and galleons, and many transports and brigatines, rowing vessels; five thousand soldiers, which is the number estimated by the people of Bayona, though the sailors of the fleet pretend that, between sailors and soldiers, he has thirteen thousand.

He can make his course for Rio di Janeiro, on the coast of Brazil, in 22 degrees of south latitude. The port can hold many ships, and is very safe. There he can lay in water, wood, and meat. He can seize ———— situated about two or three leagues from the port of Rio di Janeiro.

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As this lies on the route to Maderia, the Canaries, and the Cape Verd Islands, he can sack these at his leisure.

From the coast of Bayona to Maderia, with the prevailing north winds, will take six days; from Maderia to the Canaries four days, and from the Canaries to the Cape Verd Islands, eight; eighteen days in all; if he stops to plunder he will take so much longer.

From Cape Verd Islands to Rio di Janeiro he will take fifty days, say two months in all. So that if the fleet set sail this month from Galicia it can reach Rio di Janeiro at the end (of March).

At the mouth of the harbour of Rio di Janeiro there is (a rock) where it would be easy to build a fort able to hold five hundred men and upwards. If he lands his artillery there he can defend the harbour from the fort, which will be on an island, for on one side it has the sea, on the other the harbour, while to east and south-east are the two channels by which the harbour is reached. In this harbour Drake can refit his ships and can leave a certain number to keep open communications with England. With the rest he can sail for the Pacific, shaping his course for the Straits of Magellan, which are five hundred and fifty miles distant from Rio di Janeiro, in fifty two and a half degrees of south latitude. He can enter the Pacific and make the city del Re, of two thousand inhabitants. This he can capture, for it has no troops, no forts, and is an open city; he can make himself master of the district, and prevent any succour from Spain by seizing all the ships he finds. It is likely that he will also capture Panama.

On the other hand, if Drake is unwilling to embark on this voyage he can divide his fleet into two squadrons and sack the island of San Domingo, Port Ricco, and the coast of the mainland as far as Carthage and Nombre de Dios. From the river Chagres, which is fifteen leagues from Nombre de Dios, he can put his infantry in rowing boats and arrive at Venta de Cruz, which is five leagues from Panama. As it is an open place it will be easy to sack. Havanna too is in danger, for though fortified it is very weak, and could easily be captured if anyone landed canon. Not the least of the evils of such operations would be that Drake could thus cut the communications between Spain and the West Indies, and seize the fleets.

Steps to be taken to counteract this mischief. To send a carvel with all speed to the Viceroy and Governors of the Indies, giving them warning of the English, so that they may be prepared and may put everything in order; although, considering the number of ships which have sailed from England, I feel certain that a detachment of them has already gone to the Indies. The Queen has sent to seize the fishing boats in Newfoundland, and it is not likely that she has forgotten the affairs of the West Indies. Considering that England has sent out eighty ships it is necessary for your Majesty to man another fleet with orders to find and fight the English; to

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careen and refit the ships in the river of Seville so that they may be ready for any voyage, however long, and at the same time to commission a galleon of the Duke of Tuscany; to victual for eight months the forty-five great ships which are at Biscay and Giupusca; to raise a thousand sailors in Catalonia and Genoa to be divided among the ships, as was done in the case of the fleet for the Azores.

Moreover, six thousand infantry must be raised, and a commission issued for a larger figure, so that the full compliment may be secured.

Twenty transports are required from Biscay, similar to those employed in the Azores. Guns, powder, lead, harquebusses, muskets, pikes in reserve for the protection of the coast. Two ships of 400 tons each should be built, and four of 100 tons each; as well as four transports to carry one thousand soldiers. Considering the damage that the English have done to the merchant shipping in these waters during the last two months, and that it is likely that they will do the same to the India fleets, it is necessary to send with those fleets, besides the usual captain and admiral ships, two others at least with each fleet, as well as the convoys.

All these preparations are only to counteract the English fleet. Should Don Antonio sail with the English, and should he attempt an enterprise in Portugal, then the following preparations will be required.

All the fleet and troops above named should be employed to route the enemy off the coast. Six hundred of the Castilian guard of light horse should be sent at once; three hundred stationed on the Douro and three hundred in Lisbon; four thousand infantry should be stationed at Badajoz.

The knights are to hold themselves in readines to come into Portugal. So, too, the garrisons of Toro, Zamorra, Salamanca, and Rodriquez to defend the frontiers between the Douro and the Miño, and those of Estremadura and Seville to defend Lisbon and its district.

Guns should be mounted in the forts of this city and on the river, and provision of powder, rope, and lead, all that is needed for artillery should be made in abundance. The galleys should be provisioned for four months, and six others sent from Spain with 120 men on board each.

Should the English fleet remain in these waters another fleet will be required for the Indies.

It is necessary for your Majesty's service that all this should be carried out with all rapidity.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 11. Original Despatch, Venetian, Archives.

306. Lorenzo Priuli, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

Doubts expressed as to whether the attack on England will take place. Perhaps the recent capture of the King of Scotland will

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make a change, for both Spanish and English Catholics counted on the person and the forces of that Sovereign.

Rome, 11th January 1585 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

307. VINCENZO GRADENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I am told that two Spaniards have been sent, one to Aden, the other to Ormuz, to fortify those two places, and to prevent the Turkish ships for the future from going to the Indies to buy pepper, as his Majesty is resolved to be the master of all this trade.

Madrid, 11th January 1585 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in Despatch of January 11.

308. On the 22nd December, 1585, at four o'clock, there entered the port of Cadiz a ship coming from Teneriffe, master, Alvaro Rocha. Benetto Diez, the Royal Judge in the department of the India contracts, resident in this city, caused Alvaro to appear before him to give information on the presence and the number of English corsairs in those islands, that such news might be forwarded to his Majesty and proper steps taken.

Rocha declared on oath, that on the 25th November, as he left the port of Garachio, in the island of Teneriffe, on board the ship he now commands, he fell in with thirteen English corsairs sailing in company, and other seventeen in another squadron, thirty in all; he fled from these and entered a port of Lancerote, called le Saline; the following day two of the thirteen put in. They robbed him of his sails, his bread, and his wine, and left him. The next day other seven sailed in, and stripped him of all his possessions leaving him only the bare hull; they took all the clothing of himself and his crew, and left them in their shirts. The governor of the island gave him a piece of canvass, out of which he made a mizen sail with which he reached Teneriffe, to report to the governor, Juan Nuñez, the bastard of Granada, who at once prepared for fight, and sent round notice of the information he had received to the islands of Palma and Gomera.

After two days the two English squadrons came in sight, and effected a junction at Cape Anaga (Roche di Naga) in Teneriffe. When they saw the troops drawn up and the artillery in play, they did not land, but sailed to Palma, where they lowered thirty boats with men on board, to effect a landing. The troops in the island, with the monks, and the priests to encourage them to the defence and to death for the faith of Jesus Christ, prevented a landing and sank one of the boats and all the troops in it, while they rattled up the captain ship and another in such a way that they became unmanageable, and had to be lightened of all their crew and fittings, and taken in tow by the others. They sailed to the island of Ferro where they seized a ship.

Nuñez, the governor of Teneriffe, sent Rocha with news of what had happened, and with a despatch for the King to be

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delivered to Gaspar d' Arjuixo. It is eleven days since Rocha left the island.

Asked if he knew what plans the English had, and what route they were taking, he said that when they robbed him in the harbour of le Saline, in Lancerote, they asked him if he would sail with them to the mainland, and to the Straits of Magellan, and promised to make him a rich man.

Asked if he knew who was in command of the English fleet, he said that at the time they robbed him he spoke with the commander, and they told him that the brother of John Drake was in command.

All this he declared on oath, but could not sign as he did not know how to write.

Asked if he knew whether they had done any other damage, he answered that before he was robbed, the Corregidor of the Great Canary, Doctor Mochieco, said he had been robbed of his ship by the French; and having chartered another ship, that too was seized near Cape S. Vincent, and he was taken back to Teneriffe to be ransomed, which was done for four barrels of wine.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in Despatch of January 11.

309. LETTER for the BISHOP CORNELIUS, an Irishman; detained by his Majesty, 3rd November 1585.

The Queen of England has three thousand soldiers ready to send into Flanders against his Majesty; and has ordered the Ministers of the Church to pay a third of their incomes to maintain these troops.

Upwards of one hundred ships have left England with orders from the Queen to make as much money as they can in the islands and in the Indies.

After the three thousand men are in Flanders the Queen will send an Ambassador to his Majesty to ask the meaning of the embargo on English ships, and to inquire whether there is peace or war.

The master of the ship which sailed three days after the letter was written says that the fleet had not returned yet, and they said it would sail to the Indies.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in Despatch of January 11.

310. REPORT of JEAN PERIS, master of the French ship Girales of S. Malo, and of JACQUEZ, pilot of the same.

They sailed from a port called Sonese (Swansea ?) in Wales, laden with coal on the 22nd November; and into another port, six leagues off, called Vastito (Barnstaple ?), the English have brought three Portuguese prizes, two laden with Brazilian wood, and the other with salt and a mixed cargo. He heard the English say that one hundred and fifty ships had sailed to plunder the Spanish. Asked if the English fleet under Drake had returned to those waters, he he said he had heard that the fleet was still absent, and that it was provisioned for a year.

Asked if he had fallen in with other English, he said that on his way he met two great men-of-war with three tiers of guns (*che*

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portavano tre mani d' artiglaria), and one transport. They took his money and his instruments in spite of the commander's orders that they were not be molested, because they were Frenchmen. That all English merchant-men were fully armed.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 17. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

311. Giovanni Dolfin, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

On the first day of the year a truce for three years between the King of France and the King of Spain, was published at Cambray, in accordance with the terms suggested by the Prince of Parma. Both sides have laid down arms, and peace and quiet are drawing near.

Prince Maurice, son of the late Prince of Orange, who was named Governor of Holland and Zealand by the Queen of England, before the arrival of the Earl of Leicester, who was sent as Lieutenant-General for this war, made an attempt on Nimegen in Guelderland. After having thrown up some works and placed five pieces in position, he was assailed by four thousand Spanish and fled, leaving his guns behind him in the enemies hands.

Paris, 17th January 1586.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

312. Giovanni Dolfin, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Some weeks ago the Prince of Condé went to England, whence he has recently returned, accompanied, as far as Rochelle, by 15 English ships. As yet it is impossible to discover the results of this journey; everyone talks in the way that consorts with his own wishes. But I am told that the French Ambassador in England reports that the Queen recommended peace, and that Condé brings back nothing but words.

The English in the Low Countries have attempted to seize Dunkirk, but had failed, with some loss.

Paris, 20th January 1586.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 25. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

313. Vincenzo Gradenigo, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

There is no word of Drake. They suspect that he is engaged in important operations. The whole sea is swarming with English corsairs. *It is now stated that the Queen of England has adopted as son, and named as Successor, the King of Scotland, with whom his Majesty has always been on good terms.*

Madrid, 25th January 1585 [m.v.].

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

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Jan 28.
Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

314. MATHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

There is circulating at Court an ingenious and pungent declaration by the Queen of England, setting forth her reasons for undertaking the protectorate of Flanders.

Prague, 28th January 1585 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 31.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

315. LORENZO BERNARDO, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Capadun Pasha talked much of the Emperor Charles V. and the Sultan Suleiman, and said that Goletta, which Charles had stormed with so much difficulty, fell before him in a few days because he had discovered the true way to attack any fortress; and so saying he drew on the ground a plan of his trenches and other works. I gathered from his remarks that he intended to indicate the weakness of France, which left Spain without a counterpoise, and that consequently Venice should join in alliance against Spain. This, I take it, is the policy of the English Ambassador, although the Capadun hates the English and above all their Ambassador.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 31st January 1585 [m.v.].

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Feb. 8.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

316. VINCENZO GRADENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

A courrier from Flanders passed yesterday on his way to the Court, and reports that Robert, Earl of Leicester (*Robert Miloert*), had entered Holland with four thousand foot and six hundred horse.

Madrid, 8th February 1585 [m.v.]

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 17.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

317. GIOVANNI DOLFIN, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On the evening of the 14th there went to meet the Duke of of Guise, who had stopped a short way from this, *Madame de Nemours and the Cardinal of Guise. They took council on the question of advancing any further for fear of the King, who, in addition to the steps he had already taken, had also sent to search the Guises' Palace for arms.* They resolved to enter Paris with a smaller following than they had maintained on the journey. The Duke of Nemours went to meet his brother. In whipping up his horse the pistols at his holster exploded and wounded him, though only slightly, in the left knee. *The entrance was not very impressive in spite of the presence of two Cardinals, and the Ambassadors of Scotland and Ferrara.*

The Prince of Parma has laid seige to Grave and Venlo, places of no great moment in themselves, but important as closing the road between Antwerp and Germany.

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M. de Villeroi informs me that yesterday evening he had news from Antwerp that the English have captured Aldegonde, who gave Antwerp to the Prince of Parma, and that they have sent him to the Queen of England; she is likely to use him very ill, for she was much annoyed at the fall of that city.

Paris, 17th February 1586.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Feb. 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

348. Lorenzo Bernardo, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

This morning the Capadun Pasha sent to ask me if I would send him my dragoman at once, which I did. His Magnificence said to the dragoman, "as soon as I heard that Venetian ships had been seized and that leave to lade them had been refused, I made strong representations to the Grand Vizir and to other grandees of this Porte, in order that the ships might be set at liberty and freedom of commerce resumed; and I am glad to say I was heard favourably. I took the opportunity to point out to the Grand Vizir and the other Pashas the great advantages which the Venetians bring to the Sultan, as compared with mischief which these lutheran English work in this kingdom. I declared that I could not abide their Ambassador nor the whole race; for they are a pack of thieves and pirates, and ruin this country. At Patras they have warehouses where they store raisins, raise the price and commit a thousand wickednesses. Finally, the Queen is a very distant Sovereign, and can be of no use, only harm. I therefore intend to exert all my power to expel this rascal of an Ambassador, and these lutherans. I have sent for you in order that you may report all this to the Bailo in my name; and tell him that if the Grand Vizir or others of this Porte should inquire of him what manner of men these lutherans are, and what advantage they bring to the Sultan, he must answer in the same sense (ne posso veder l'Ambasciatore, ne questa natione, perchè sono ladri, vano in corso, ruinano questo paese, tengono magazeni a Patrasso per incanevar uve passe, et incarirle, et fano mille tristitie; et in conclusione, è Principe lontano che non giova et fa gran danno, però voglio far ogni opera per far scacciar questo tristo del Ambasciatore, et questi lutherani, et però ti ho fatto chiamar accio riferissi queste cose al Bailo in nome mio, et la dichi che se dal Bassà o altri Grandi di questa Porta le sarà dimandato che homeni sono questi lutherani et che benefficio possono dar a questo Signor, che rispondi ancor lui in conformita). I know that the Signoria of Venice also will be glad if the English Ambassador is dismissed." The dragoman returned thanks and promised compliance. As he was going away a renegade in the service of his Magnificence said "these lutherans are a bad lot. The Capadun Pasha has heard that in their warehouses at Patras large earthenware jars with Turkish characters on them have

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been seen; these must come from Barbary, and must have been stolen by English ships in those waters; the Capadun cannot abide them." (*Nel partirsi poi un renegato della sua Magnificentia disse al dragomano "questi lutherani sono gran tristi. Il Capitano ha inteso che nelli loro magazeni a Patrasso sono sta veduti molti piteri con lettere turchesche lavorate sopra, le quali sono di Barbaria, et devono esser stati da loro rubbati in quelli mari dalli loro galleoni, et però il Capitano non la puo supportar.*")

Although these remarks of the Capadun were nothing new to me, for I was aware of his detestation of the English, still they gave me pause, for I know that the policy of the English Ambassador and of the Capadun must be identical, as both desire in some way or other to harrass his Catholic Majesty. And so I did not believe that between these two, who have one and the same object, there could exist such violent opposition; for between persons of influence love and hate is only a question of interest. Nevertheless, as I know that your Serenity's interests require the expulsion of the English, if possible, and as my predecessor had orders to act in concert with the French Ambassador on this point, I resolved to pay a visit to the agent of his most Christian Majesty, and to find out his intentions on this point. The agent told me that the Capadun Pasha had sent for him some days ago, but that he had not responded, as he feared the subject of discourse might be some request by the English Ambassador that the Sultan would send out his fleet; and he did not wish it to seem, as had happened before, that his Most Christian Majesty was a party to this proceeding. Accordingly he had sent to excuse himself with his Magnificence, and to beg that he would explain to the dragoman all that he had to say. The Capadun then sent back a message similar to the one he gave to my dragoman, declaring his hatred of the English and his resolve to do all he could to expel their Ambassador; and he further inquired when the French Ambassador would arrive, promising to take more vigorous action when that happened, upon which point he begged for instant information. Since then the Capadun has repeatedly sent to ask the agent and me if we had any news of the Ambassador. I considered that, in obedience to the instructions given to my predecessor, I was bound to tell the French agent what the Capadun had said to me. The agent returned thanks, and I gathered from his remarks that the Ambassador, whom he is expecting, will bring special instructions on this point, to be communicated to me, as his Majesty complains that not merely have English vessels been removed from subjection to his flag in these waters, against the terms of his treaties with the Turk, but that the Sultan has broken a formal promise given in a letter written by himself, that he would never receive an Ambassador nor accept an alliance from England, except through the mediation of his Most Christian Majesty (*molto mi ringratio, et compresi, dal suo ragionamento che l'Ambasciatore, che si aspetta, porta particolari ordini di questo*

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negotio per communicarlo anco a me, dolendosi S.M. Christianissima che non solo contra li capitoli che ha con questo, li siano levati li vasselli Inglesi dalla sua obbedientia in queste parti, come erano prima, ma che anco questo Signor le li abbia mancato a una particolar promessa che le fece per una sua lettera, che non haveria mai accettato ne Ambasciator, ne amicitia d'Inglesi, se non per il mezo di S. Mta. Christianissima). The agent excused himself for not having been the first to make these communications, by saying that he was expecting the arrival of the Ambassador. I am of opinion, although I am aware of my predecessor's orders to act with the French, that I should not go too far in this matter. If your Serenity will instruct me I will follow your orders with all diligence.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 18th February 1585 [m.v.].

[*Italian ; deciphered.*]

Feb. 19. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

319. MATHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Scotchman employed by the Cardinal de Bourbon and the Guise to negotiate a league of the Catholic Princes against the Huguenots, has had more success than was expected. The Emperor did not receive him, to avoid giving offence to the other Protestants; but his Majesty charged Archduke Ernst to receive him and send him on his way.

In reporting on his embassy he declared that he was given to understand that the League would take effect if the Pope and the King of Spain would contribute largely, as Archduke Ernst had promised that they would; and that Baveria, Cleves, and the Ecclesiastical States were of a like good will. When this was known here, Prince Ernst denied having made any such assertions. This leads us to the supposition that the Emissary of Navarre has induced the German Princes to coallesce in a league.

Prague, 19th February 1585 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

320. VINCENZO GRADENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Enclosed I send your Serenity a description of Drake's operations. Information from Lisbon, received to-day, confirms this account. Many think that after amassing very rich booty he will return to England by the Pacific, a sea that is very quiet and free from hostile fleets, and on his way he will repair the fort he has already built at the Straits of Magellan, so as to be always master of that passage, and free to return whenever it may please him. This conjecture is based on the calculation that he will not care to risk all his booty on his homeward journey as he would do if he fell in with a Spanish Armada. *Lisbon is in an uproar on account of the mischief he has done, so too Castille; yet there are no signs of preparations except what I have already described to your Serenity as going on in Seville.*

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They murmur still more on account of the news that Claremont, an Englishman, has conquered all Florida in the West Indies, and threatens New Spain; and this would be a most important enterprise on account of the many millions of gold which yearly arrive from those parts. The King left Valentia on the 17th inst. for Portugal, and will occupy all Lent on the journey.

Four sailors of the galleon *Lombardo*, who were captured by the English, have arrived in Lisbon. The ship was lost by the explosion of the powder magazine; all the same the sailors fought on, till at length twenty-seven of them were killed, including the master and the supercargo. The ship was sent to England. Two English ships, driven into San Lucar by stress of weather, were captured by the people of the place and the crews sent to the galleys.

Madrid, 19th February 1585 [m.v.].

[*Italian; the parts in italics deciphered.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

321. On the 27th November 1585, the English Armada arrived at Santiago in the Cape Verd Islands, and cast anchor at St. Martin, half a league away from the city. They landed troops at a distance sufficient to be out of shot of the fort. They were about three thousand men, divided into eleven companies; picked men, well armed with pikes, harquebusses, muskets, and bows. At day break, in good order, they marched on the town, which offered no resistance except to prevent the English ships from casting anchor in the harbour. During the night the inhabitants, hearing that the English were in the harbour, fled to the mountains with all the goods they could carry. The Governor waited till day-break, and seeing that the English were entering on one side of the town, he went out by the other with some men who had staid behind. The English seized all that they found in the town; wine, oil, corn, and other provisions, as well as clothes, baggage, artillery, ammunition, and all the bells. They put all this on board their ships which numbered thirty-four in all, eighteen great galleons and sixteen other smaller craft. They made havoc in the city, destroying the churches and all the houses, leaving only some fifteen or twenty standing, in which they lodged during their occupation of the town, which lasted ten days. They burned the others and spared neither saints, nor crosses, nor bells; they broke the crucifixes and all else they could not use. They spent ten days in sacking and plundering. On the eleventh, two hundred of them went to the hills to see if they could capture the Governor, the Bishop, and other personages, from whom they could exact a large ransome. They pushed on to a place called San Domingo, two leagues distant from the town. The others retired, and the English gave up the prospect of capturing them, as they had put together large bands of men and many negroes under the orders of the city officers. The English returned to the city and then went to the Villa della Alagia, where they wrought their usual havoc, destroying the churches and ruining the houses. The artillery was saved as the inhabitants

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had buried it in their alarm. The English injured no person neither men, women, nor children. There they embarked and sailed away, the eleventh day after their arrival. They are said to have fifteen thousand men on board, and no one knows what route they intend to take; every rumour says they are sailing for the Straits of Magellan. In the port of Santiago there were seven ships, two from Lisbon, three from Madeira, and two from Santiago itself; one was laden; the English took all they found, and burned the ships in sight of the city.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

322. Vincenzo Gradenigo, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

Every day Mons. Spetiano, the Nuncio, a Milanese, is expected here. His instructions are conjectured to have reference to the expedition against England and the expedition against Geneva, both of them eagerly desired by the Pope. The Nuncio, here resident, in conversation with me remarked that if his Holiness were as well informed as Pope Gregory had been, he would know that perhaps both undertakings were impossible, both for the King of Spain as well as for any other Prince who might be allied with him. As I desired further light on this point, the Nuncio said "as for the enterprise against England, since it will be the joint work of the Pope, the King of Spain, and other allies, they must first determine who is to be the master of that kingdom when it is captured. The King of Spain, as the most powerful of the allies, and as the larger contributor to the undertaking, will certainly claim to be absolute master; while, on the other hand, neither the Pope nor any other Prince can consent to such an aggrandisement of the Spanish. For, although the King of Spain is very calm, and declares that he has no desire for what belongs to others, still the opportunity and the natural thirst for dominion, common to all, may quite soon produce such complications that the remedy will be beyond the power of any to apply, should he some day desire to make himself sole Monarch of Christendom. Besides, even supposing such thoughts to be absent from the King's mind, who will guarantee that they may not occur to his son." In short, the Nuncio's opinion is that the resolution of this point, if not impossible, is exceedingly difficult. I asked him what opinion Pope Gregory held on the subject, and he replied that the Pope wished the whole decision to rest with himself, and that he should name the master of the kingdom; but that, later on, the Pope saw the impossibility of anyone but the King of Spain holding the kingdom for any length of time, and had consented to surrender the kingdom to his Majesty in return for an annual fee.

As regards the King of Spain, seeing that he held no port near to England, nor in England itself it is evident that the undertaking must be one of great danger and toil. It is superfluous to think of the English enterprise at present. (Che se il Papa fusse cosi ben instrutto di queste due imprese come fu dapoi instrutto Gregorio, chiaramente conosceria esser forse impossibile l'effetuare alcuna di esse, cosi per parte del Re, come da parte di chi fusse collegato

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con questa Maestà. Et desiderando io maggior chiarezza in questo proposito mi disse che quanto all' Inghilterra dovendosi far l'impressa colle forze del Papa, di questa Maestà et altri collegati, sarà necessario trattar prima il ponto, chi deve restar patrone del regno quando di questo si faccia acquisto, perchè questo Re per essere piu potente et più atto a conservarlo, et perchè contribuirà con maggiore forze, pretenderà sempre di dover essere il Patron assoluto; che dall' altro canto ne il Papa ne qualsivoglia altro potentato potrà consentire che alla grandezza di Spagna s'aggiongi l'imperio di un regno d'Inghilterra; perchè sebene il Re ha l'animo composito et dice non voler quel d' altri, tuttavia eccitato dalla commodità et dal desiderio naturale che è in tutti del dominare, potrano succedere accidenti tali che il remediarsi non saria in potenza de alcuno, volendo inferire de farsi un giorno Monarcha della Christianità; et posto che questi pensieri non havessero luogo nel petto del Re, chi assicura che vivendo il Principe come molto potente, giovane et desideroso di gloria con l'occasione non possi haver li medesimi pensieri; però pare non esser credibile che ne il Papa ne altri Principi siano gia mai per assentire a questo; dall' altra parte pretenderà il Re tutto l' opposito, introducendo la Maestà sua Catholica per prima l' havere alcuno dritto sopra quel regno, poi non esser honesto che habbia tanto chi contribuisce tra il poco et il niente quanto chi ha da portare si puo dire tutto il peso; in maniera che pare a questo Noncio che il concordare queste difficoltà sia, o impossible o molto difficile. Giudicai opportuno ricercarlo sopra la opinione del Papa morto in questo proposito, mi rispose sua Signoria Reverendissima che il Papa Gregorio pretendeva che facendosi l'acquisto di questo regno, dovesse ogni cosa restar nel petto di Sua Santità sino che ella nominasse chi dovesse essere il padrone, ma in fine mi circonscrisse, che doppo qualche anno il Papa veduto l' impossibile che quel regno si possa sostener lungamente in nano d' altri che del Re di Spagna, per la grandezza sua et per la vicinità facilmente saria condesceso a rinontiarlo con alcuna recognitione annua a questa Maestà; et questo è quanto alla parte de collegati. Quanto alla parte di questa Maestà, non havendo alcun porto ne vicino al regno, come in Olanda, ne neno nel regno medesimo, non sapeva cognoscere come si poteva far l' impresa senza grandissimo pericolo et travaglio; considerando in fine che il pensar all' impresa d' Inghilterra per hora era una cosa superflua.) The same might be said as regards the enterprise against Geneva. Swiss interests are so bound up with those of the city that they will never abandon it. The real safety of Geneva lies in this, that it can stir the Protestant cantons to attack the Milanese, and a mere advance in that direction would work incalculable ruin. The Duke of Savoy desires this enterprise of Geneva for his own interests, but the King of Spain is not compelled to risk his position in Italy in order to please others. And so as regards the two subjects to be broached by the new Nuncio, the present Nuncio foresees that both will end in nothing.

Madrid, 22nd February 1585 [m.v.].

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

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Enclosed in Despatch of last day of February.

323. Resolutions passed in a Council of the League.

To urge his Holiness to follow up the sacred intentions of his predecessor as regards the Queen of England, and to take information thereon from the Cardinal of Como, who is fully acquainted with the subject.

Further, to persuade the King of Spain to assist the King of Scotland in the troubles which the Queen of England stirs up in his country (*d' aïutare il Re di Scocia nei trubli* (*sic*) *che fa la Regina d' Inghilterra in quel Regno*); and to convince the King of Spain that if he will spend 400,000 ducats in Ireland, not only will he secure the kingdom of Scotland, which is highly important, but he will cause a diversion in the affairs of Flanders. To induce the King of France to make vigorous representations to the Queen of England on account of the assistance which she is giving to his Protestant subjects. On this point it is necessary to speak strongly, for this is the true way to make her retreat, as we know from our observation of her rules of conduct. The agent sent to England should find out the real relations between the Queen and the King of Denmark.

To concert measure with the Scotch Ambassador in Paris with a view to thwart the marriage of his Sovereign with a princess of Navarre, by holding out hopes of a Spanish alliance, though they are weak and vain.

[*Italian.*]

March 3.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

324. Lorenzo Bernardo, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

The Capadun Pasha said to my dragoman "Tell the Bailo that the French Ambassador will soon be here, and that he must not forget to take every step he can against the English whenever occasion offers, so that, all together, we may drive out these canaile." The dragoman promised obedience, and as he was going away the Capadun asked if the crystal box which has been promised him was ready yet; the dragoman said that it was looked for this September.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 3rd March 1586.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

March 4.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

325. Lorenzo Bernardo, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

The English Ambassador cannot procure any support from the Turks against Spain, for the Sultan is entirely occupied with his own affairs. It happened that the Ambassador went, some days ago, to speak with the Capadun Pasha, who either through inadvertence or in contempt, made him wait a little while. The Ambassador left in a rage, and sent his secretary to complain of the treatment to which he had been subjected; treatment to which the French Ambassador and the Venetian Bailo would certainly never have been exposed; whereupon the Capadun, bursting with scorn and rage, drove the secretary from his presence with scurrilous abuse, making use of these actual words, "Just look at this fellow

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who wishes to stand on an equality with France and the Venetian Signory." (Et essendo gia alcuni giorni esso Ambasciatore andato per parlar al Magnifico Capitano di Mare, occorse che o a caso o per sdegno contra di lui, il Capitano si fece aspettar alquanto, talche l' Ambasciatore si parti molto alterrato, et mandò il suo secretario a dolersi che processe con lui in quella maniera, con la qual non procederà ne con l'Ambasciatore di Franza, ne con il Bailo di Venetia; all' hora il Capitano Bassà, pieno di sdegno et colera, scacciò da se il secretario con vilanie, dicendoli questi formar (formal?) parolle, Guarda chi vol concorre con franza et con la Signoria di Venetia.)

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 4th March 1586.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

March 4. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

326. MATHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

There is still an alarm lest the Protestant Princes of Germany should form a League under the dread that the Catholic Princes have made a combination hostile to them. They say the Swiss will join them. If the rumour persists the Emperor will send round to the secular electors, to assure them that he would never consent to anything prejudicial to their interests.

Prague, 4th March 1586.

[*Italian.*]

March 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

327. VINCENZO GRADENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On the fourth a courrier from Lisbon passed through. He went express to his Majesty; he left no other news except that the Portuguese are full of discontent at the damage done by Drake and other English corsairs. They say that their lives and property were safer under their King, Don Sebastian, than at present. And, indeed, the constant report of serious losses and the absence of all signs of active preparation not only disturbs the minds of the Portuguese but causes them to entertain little respect for the principle Ministers of the Crown, and for the Marquis of Santa Cruz, who is on his way to Lisbon; he enjoys no reputation among the people, but is the object of their contempt. As to the preparations in Lisbon and Seville it seems that there are no more galleys there now than there were before, and they can hardly be ready in the month of April. In the meantime they are in dread that Drake will do all the mischief he can; indeed, they hourly expect news of fresh conquests on his part. We hear from the Court that the courrier brought news that twenty English ships are off the mouth of the Tagus, which leads right up to Lisbon. These ships sacked and burned the territory round about, and prevented any vessels from entering the port. There is news from England that the Queen's fleet will arrive off Portugal in great strength, and with it will come Don Antonio. The King will hasten his journey, and next week he will be at Aranjuez, a pleasure house of his, three

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leagues from Madrid, and his household has already left to prepare his chambers. They say the reason of his hurried departure is that he wishes to pass the month of June in Lisbon, and they speak more positively on this point than heretofore.

The Cardinal de Granvelle has advised that this journey is necessary on the ground that the King's presence will quiet the minds of the Portuguese, and will cause a greater diligence in the preparations which are needed not only to sweep the corsairs from the sea but also for the attack on England. His Eminence is of opinion that this course is desirable for the dignity of his Majesty, and that, indeed, there is no other remedy than to strike at the head and first cause of all, the Queen of England (anzi non esser altro rimedio a questo che andar al capo et alla prima causa, ch' è la detta Regina). Here in Madrid there are many Spanish officers waiting the King's commission. A member of the council of war told me that forty have already been despatched to raise troops to the number of eight thousand. In Gallicia they are laying in large stores of salt meat. The Prior, Don Ernando di Toledo, has orders to be here on the King's arrival; he is the only Spanish Minister whom the King can employ as general of an army. All these preparations point to some scheme for a great enterprise, and that can be no other than the attack on England. A person of importance told me that, although they have no safe harbour neither in Holland nor in England, yet, on the appearance of the Armada they are confident that they will capture Ireland, which will give them an excellent harbour quite close to England, in which they can concentrate the fleet. These designs can be the more easily carried out, as Spain is relieved from all dread of the Turkish fleet, owing to the victory of the Persians, which report from all sides declares to have been most signal; for which thanks be to God for this service to Christendom. I shall have fuller news on the arrival of the Court, which is suffering greatly on its journey, owing to the unusual intensity of the cold and the amount of the snow.

Madrid, 8th March 1586.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

March 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

328. Vincenzo Gradenigo, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Chiefs of the Ten.

I went to visit the Grand Prior, Don Ernando di Toledo. The subject of Portugal came up, and his lordship said to me that the Queen of England was very hardy, and that it was impossible longer to endure her conduct, which deeply affected the interests of all Christendom. He had recommended the journey to Portugal, as the King's presence would produce order. Courtiers consider the journey a certainty. I must inform your Excellencies of what happened to me a few days ago. A friend of mine, an officer, came to me and, after much circumlocution, told me that he had a letter from Don Antonio in cipher, telling him that a powerful fleet was coming to Portugal and especially to Lisbon, and urging him go to Lisbon and join some conspirators in that city and obey their orders. The officer had received this letter at the time Drake was off

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Gallicia, but Don Antonio was not then with Drake, as he was recalled by the Queen of England when on the point of departure, and Drake had sailed alone. Don Antonio is to be on board this other fleet, which they say is coming in force to Portugal, it is possible that the conspiracy will explode at the moment of his Majesty's arrival there. As this is a matter of great importance for all Christendom I have thought it right to inform your Excellencies so that you may know what is going forward. I have not been able to see this officer again, although I have used diligence to find him; but I am sure that on the news that the English fleet is approaching he will fly to Lisbon. If I had pressed him he would certainly have shown me the letter from Don Antonio, but to avoid appearing too curious I did not do so.

When closing this, a courrier from Lisbon has passed through on his way to the King. He reports at Bayona, off Gallicia, thirty-two English men-of-war have been sighted; and rumour says the English fleet numbers one hundred and fifty sail. The Marquis of Santa Cruz is to come to Court. A person in high position assures me that the infantry they are raising in Italy are to come to Spain; and that many companies of Germans have been recruited.

Madrid, 9th March 1586.

[*Italian.*]

March 17. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

329. Lorenzo Bernardo, Venetian Ambassador at Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

Some days ago an English ship entered this port. She has a little cloth and tin. She made a great noise with her guns. In a few days she sold off her cargo and sailed away in ballast. This will give me occasion to talk to the Grand Vizier of the slight profit which the English alliance affords to the Sultan. The French Ambassador is expected in ten or fifteen days. A large part of his suite is already here. The Ambassador has suffered much inconvenience and danger on his journey.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 17th March 1586.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

March 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

330. Lorenzo Bernardo, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

Last week the French agent had an audience of the Grand Vizier. After disposing of his business the Pasha said, "Well! is it true that the Queen of England has taken from the King of Spain two large and important countries, and intends to make war on him?" The agent replied that he understood so. The Pasha said, "Well, then how is it that you reckon the King of Spain for such a great sovereign by sea and land, when a woman all alone, has the courage not merely to attack him, but to despoil him of so large a part of his dominions," and he kept on repeating, "how can it be?" and showed his great astonishment. The agent replied that the Queen had easily been able to accomplish this, owing to the

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vicinity to her kingdom of those provinces; which were not conquered by arms, but surrendered voluntarily on account of religious questions; that the Queen had not undertaken this enterprise, relying on her own sole resources, (but) knowing that she would be supported by other powerful sovereigns; by whom, as he told me, he meant the Kings of Sweden and Denmark. The English Ambassador, however, does not fail to make diligent use of this occasion to instruct all the Pashas, and to make them report to the Sultan the grandeur and the power of his mistress, indicating the immense advantage to the Sultan of finding the power of Spain neutralised just now, that he is engaged in a war with Persia, and deducing from this the vast importance of an English alliance. In addition to this he has preferred a request for a permit that English ships may land in Barbary to water and to provision themselves, on the ground that the ports of Spain are now closed against them. But even though this permit be granted, it will not be safe to use it, and it will prove of little value to the English, for the Turks, in a hundred ways, will be able to excuse any breach of the agreement. (Ma questo Ambasciadore d'Inghilterra non manca di diligenza in questa occasione di informar tutti li Magnifici Bassà, et far riferir a questo Signor, la grandezza et forze che ha la sua Regina, et considerar il gran beneficio che fa hora a sua Maestà, assicurandola dalle forze de Spagnoli mentre la è occupata in questa guerra di Persia; ponderandole quanto importi in questa sola occasione l'amicitia della sua Regina a questo Imperio, et oltre di cio dimanda salvocondutto, et sicurtà alle sue navi di potersi hora servir della costa di Barbaria per far acqua et provedersi delle cose neccessarie per il loro viaggio, hora che non possono piu accostarsi alli luochi et marine del Re de Spagna; il che, seben li sarà concesso da questo Signor, si crede però che non sarà sicuro, et poco li gioverà perche questi per molte vie si possono iscusar quando non li sarà osservato."

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 18th March 1586.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

March 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

331. Vincenzo Gradenigo, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The King arrived on Saturday last at Aranjuez, where he stayed seven days, invited by the softness of the air and the beautiful weather. Yesterday his Majesty made his public entry with all his household. As he came by carriage he was not met by the Councils of State but only by some few courtiers. The city showed great content at seeing its Sovereign home again, sound and in good spirits. The Prince has improved in health; he is vivacious, active, of a good colour; the Infanta has grown quite beautiful and graceful, to the great satisfaction of the King, who clearly shows that this daughter is his delight. I and the Nuncio are to have an audience to-morrow.

Public rumour says that great preparations are to be made against Drake and the other English corsairs, as it is thought that it would be unworthy of the Crown to shut its eyes any longer

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The beginning of these preparations are already visible, for thirty thousand crowns have been sent to Lisbon. Indeed I have been told by a person of absolute credibility that in Madrid four millions are ready for the King's service, and will be employed partly in Italy and Flanders, partly in Portugal.

The Secretary of the Council of Flanders will leave as soon as possible for Denmark, to persuade that King to recall all the Danish ships at present in the service of England and Holland, and to forbid the export to England of masts and shrouds of any sort whatsoever. They hope in this way to withdraw a large part of the English fleet, and to inflict a blow on Holland and Zealand. Further your Serenity must know that after Easter they are going to discuss the question of the attack on England; I am informed that the last courier brought the Marquis of Santa Cruz's report on this subject. His opinion is that sixty thousand infantry are needed, that is fifteen thousand Germans, fifteen thousand Italians, twenty thousand Spaniards, drawn chiefly from the garrisons of the Italian towns; the Marquis offers to provide five thousand Portuguese and five thousand sappers, which make up the sum total of sixty thousand. Besides these he requires one thousand horse, one hundred and fifty ships of first class dimensions, and one hundred and fifty transports and munition ships. In Andalusia I hear they are making great provisions of corn, and in Portugal many cheeses are ready, salt fish too, and in Gallicia salt meat in quantities. In conclusion he says that to send off the Armada fully found and all paid, will require, in gross, not less than three millions of gold; and all these preparations would be facilitated by the presence of his Majesty (il parer del Marchese Sta. † sopra questo, il qual parere é che bisognano $\frac{m}{60}$ fanti cioè $\frac{m}{15}$ alemani, $\frac{m}{15}$ Italiani, $\frac{m}{20}$ Spagnoli eletti di qual si sia luoco particolarmente delle guarnigioni d' Italia, offerisse questo Signor di haver $\frac{m}{5}$ portughesi che con $\frac{m}{5}$ guastadori fano la summa delli $\frac{m}{60}$ fanti, oltre questi vuole 1,000 cavalli. Domanda di piu centocinquanta Navilii da Altobordo, et altri centocinquanta come pattachie et simili delle munitoni. Ho inteso che in Andalusia si fa grandissima provisione di farine; piu in Portugallo sono all' ordine molti formazi et pesci sallati, cosi in Gallicia gran quantità di carne sallata. Concludendo in fine che per partir l'armata con tutta la gente, munitioni, et paghe che noi dicemo in groppo, non è bisogno meno di tre millioni d'oro; soggiongendo che tutte le provisioni si faciliteranno con la presentia di Sua Maestá). I will do all I can to secure a copy of this paper. They imagine that the Duke of Medina Sidonia, a gentleman of royal blood and very rich, has been summoned to Court to advise upon the expedition. He is considered by every one as a diligent and prudent gentleman. He had no sooner arrived than he went to the King at Aranjuez, where he was cordially

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received. Those who know think that he is to be of the Council of State and General of the Spaniards, should the expedition take place (Duca di Medina Sidonia di Sangue regale, richissimo et reputato dal generale diligente et prudente Signor, il quale, subito gionto andò al Re a Ransuez doue fu dalla Maestà sua con molto affetto veduto. . . . Guidicasi da persone molto intendenti che questo habbia ad essere del Consiglio di Stato et General de Spagnoli quando si faccia l'impresa). The presence at Court of Don Pietro de Medici, of Signor Prospero Colonna, and the Grand Prior of Hungary, along with many other gentlemen, lends colour to the rumour of this enterprise, which is further strengthened by the orders which have been sent to the Counts Altemps and Lodron to raise German levies. They say the King will start for Portugal in September. Prince Doria with the Genoese galleys, will come to Spain as soon as possible, for money for Italy, whence he will return at once to guard the coast, as the galleys of Spain will have to take the open sea. The money destined for Italy is six hundred thousand crowns on the King's account, and three hundred thousand on the crusade. The King will stay five days more in Madrid; then he leaves for the Escurial.

Madrid, 22nd March 1586.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

April 2. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

332. Lorenzo Bernardo, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

Drake the famous English corsair and captain, well known to your Serenity, has sent as a present to the Capadun Pasha, many vases of silver, although he does not know the Pasha personally, the present condition of affairs is the real cause of this gift. The Capadun has prepared two beautiful table-cloths and two webs of Persian cloth of gold, as return presents to Drake, and has written him a letter which I have had an opportunity of reading; it contained nothing but compliments. The Capadun Pasha sent to inquire Drake's name, surname and title from the English Ambassador, who at once saw that the Pasha intended to send these presents not through him but through the Captain of an English ship which was lying in the port. The Ambassador, thereupon, ordered the ship to sail at once, and when the Capadun Pasha heard this he recalled his presents and burst into a rage against the English Ambassador, using very violent language. The Ambassador, in fear of some personal injury or of a scene, has appealed to the Grand Vizir, complaining of the Capadun and begging the Vizir to pacify him.

The Grand Vizir sent for the Capadun Pasha and begged him to be pacified, to accept a visit from the Ambassador and to allow his hand to be kissed. But the Capadun merely flew into a greater rage, and absolutely refused; so that the Ambassador goes with great caution and dread of some mischief.

On the 29th of last month the French Ambassador entered Constantinople with a distinguished suite. He was met by many officials and dignitaries of the Porte. I, in accordance with

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custom, sent my secretary to meet him. The following evening I visited him in person. He returned my visit, and in the course of a long conversation he told me that he was informed that Ambassadors from the King of Persia had come to Spain with gifts for the King and an autograph letter of which he had a copy; that those two Sovereigns intended to divide the world between them. The King of Spain was to take all Europe, the King of Persia all Asia. Then he added, "You see what a situation we are in; when they talk of expelling my Sovereign who has always been the first Prince of Christendom." In the course of his remarks I discovered a great dread of the power of Spain; he said, "The balance of power is not in equilibrium, things go ill thus." He endeavoured to support the attitude of the Queen of England towards Spain. To all this I replied with few and cautious words.

The Ambassador appears to be a courteous and humane person. He greatly praises the conduct of Messer Nicolo Balbi whose ship brought him to Ragusa.

There is a rumour that Giovanni Steffano dei Ferrari, agent of Marigliani, is expected here.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 2nd April 1586.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

April 5. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

333. Vincenzo Gradenigo, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

Two couriers arrived on the 28th of last month, one from Seville, the other from Lisbon. Both bring identical news of Drake's successes. They say that, when he reached the Spanish Isle, he landed troops and seized the city of San Domingo, the capital, and Porto Ricco and the whole island, as your Serenity will see from the enclosed report. The booty was immense; it amounts to a million and a half in gold and silver, and is a portion of that which was to have been dispatched with the fleet. The President, the Governor, and other Spanish ministers have been allowed, as a great favour, to retire almost naked to the mountains. As this news is true they fear that the further news that Havana has been taken, is also true. Havana is not less important than Spanish Isle, for it is the storehouse of the bulk of the gold and silver which comes from Peru and New Spain, which is added to the fleet when it has collected there; and from what the Duke of Medina Sidonia has told me, we know that two millions of gold were stored in that place. These successes are important on account of their consequences. For if Drake sets out for Peru he will pass Cartagena, where the gold of Peru is collected, and where is all the machinery for sifting the metal which is brought there from all the gold fields. The journey is only two hundred leagues, and the city is without forts or garrison; so that on his approach the inhabitants will fly. A similar fate may befall New Spain. And so the Spaniards are struck with terror, and dread of losing their positions, and, as the Bishop of Porto Ricco says, there is every cause for alarm, especially on behalf of the

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Church, for nothing is more likely than that the Indians, induced by the promise of liberty of conscience which the English profess, should leave the Catholic Church and become Huguenots, or fall back into idolatry (essendo cosa facilissima che li Indiani per la libertà della conscientia, come professano Inglesi, abbandonando la religione Cattolica si faccino tutti Ugonotti, overo ritornino ad esser idolatri). In short everyone is convinced that neither this year nor next will there be any fleet; and this will produce the greatest confusion owing to the obligations which the crown is under to private merchants and others, secured upon the Seville funds, which is the same as the Mint; and so payment may be suspended, to the great disturbance of business (tra tanto ogn' uno conclude che quest' anno ne l'venturo s' haverà la flotta, che apporterà confusione grandissima per li oblighi che ha fatto il Re con Mercanti et altri particolari sopra la cassa della contrattione di Siviglia, che è tanto come la cecca; in maniera che li pagamenti potrebbono allongarsi, che sarà con disordine grandissimo di tutto il negotio). The King is at the Escurial for Easter. They say he will return very soon to consult upon the necessary steps, the Marquis of Santa Cruz has been summoned, and pray God that they may determine for the benefit of Christendom and the honour of his Divine Majesty. All these misfortunes are laid at the door of Don Bernardino di Mendoza by those who understand, for his conduct in England caused the King to refuse an audience to the Queen's Ambassador, and brought about the embargo on the English shipping in Spain and Portugal.

Madrid, 5th April 1586.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

334. *Letters of February 6th from the Governor of Havana, announcing that Drake arrived at St. John's in Porto Ricco, sacked it, and without waiting passed on to San Domingo, which he entered on the 12th January. Two leagues from the town he landed eight hundred musketeers and curiasseers. The fleet then sailed up to attack the port and the inhabitants rushed to defend it. Suddenly came news that the eight hundred English were marching upon them. They resolved to abandon the city and fled to the mountains; fathers left their sons, daughters their mothers, monks and nuns were all mixed up together, and the English became masters of the island without having shed a drop of blood. They say that the sack gave more than a million and a half of gold as booty, and they are afraid that the blacks have joined the English, if that is so it will be all the more difficult to recover the island.*

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

April 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

335. Lorenzo Bernardo, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

The Reverend Father, the Minister of S. Francesco sent me, on Palm Sunday, a note in which he declared that the French

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Ambassador declined to sit on the ordinary seats in the choir, but demanded a separate seat, covered with velvet. Although the minister thought that this request was only intended by the Ambassador to take him out of the crowd of common people, especially at this time of plague, yet, as that might not be so, he had thought it well to inform me; and that he had prepared two priedieus, exactly alike, one for each of us, to be placed by our servants in front of our chairs.

That same day the French Ambassador came to visit me; and after exchanging the usual compliments, I offered to accompany him to church, and inquired where he meant to sit, for if he had resolved not to use the seats of the Padri but one of his own, I would send my servants and have one brought for myself and placed near his as was usual. To these remarks, which I made in a very clear voice, he gave no answer save a very vague one. Accordingly I thought it judicious not to attach to his action a meaning which, perhaps did not exist, and I did not pursue the subject further; but thinking that his action was simply dictated by a regard for his own safety, I did not even report the occurrence to your Serenity, being unwilling to disturb you on so slight a foundation.

As Easter was approaching, in which the Ambassador of France and the Bailo of Venice are accustomed to assist at High Mass in the church of S. Francesco, I thought it well to take steps for preventing any diminution of the honour due to your Serenity. Accordingly I again sent my servant to the French Ambassador offering him my company to church, on the ground that our houses were so close together, and that this would demonstrate our complete union and accord.

He accepted my offer, but added that his seat would be prepared in a suitable place, and that, as the church was large, I had better cause mine to be prepared wherever it best pleased me, provided always that it was not near his, but separated. My servant showed surprise at this proposal, and took his leave, and reported to me. I heard the report with great pain, and resolved at once to send my secretary, whom I instructed in all the answers he was to make, and I especially charged him to say that he had come in order to be more clearly informed of the answer given to my servant who, unaccustomed as he was to such business, had reported it incorrectly. My secretary performed his task accurately. The Ambassador replied that he could not understand why I should be offended at taking a place separate from him, and should insist on appearing with him. That he was representative of the greatest power in Christendom. My secretary replied that neither I nor my household had ever dreamed of doing anything to diminish the honour of the King, his master; but that he was throwing grave doubts on his professed devotion to the Signory of Venice, but endeavouring to deprive me of a place which my predecessors had always held without the slightest complaint or opposition on the part of his, which place consisted in sitting next the Ambassador of France, as was customary at all European Courts. The

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Ambassador replied that he did not intend to regulate his conduct by that of his predecessors or of other Ambassadors, but by his own knowledge of what was just and right. That he was informed that M. d'Avaux had a separate place in church, and that he intended to follow his example. . . . He added that he was the only real Ambassador at the Porte, for your Serenity only kept a Bailo, whose rank was that of agent not of Ambassador. . . . The choir of S. Francesco is like the choir of Venetian churches, and our difficulty is that the French Ambassador wishes to occupy the right-hand side alone, either in the first of the choir stalls or on a velvet chair brought from the Embassy with a stool in front of it, and that I should place myself on the left-hand side in the same way as he on the right, so that between us there should be the distinction of right from left, and also the whole width of the choir, while I claim to remain at the same side as he does, be it right or left, and in the seat immediately next to his, as has always happened, the left side of the choir being occupied by secretaries and the merchants who accompany the Ambassadors to church. To avoid a scandal I did not go to S. Francesco on Easter Day. I went to mass with my household at S. Peter's. The French Ambassador caused his seat to be placed right in the centre of the choir, and came to church dressed in cloak and sword, which is an inovation. The Perotes are all in my favour. The Ambassador's assertion about M. d'Avaux (Ax) is a downright falsehood; for he always sat, as I explained above, with the Venetian Bailo next to him.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 7th April 1586.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

April 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

336. Lorenzo Bernardo, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

Orembey, Grand Dragoman of the Porte, being as he is wont, at dinner with me, apropos of the French Ambassador reported to me a conversation which he interpreted between the said Ambassador and the Chavass Pasha, who had gone to meet the Ambassador on his entry into this city. When Constantinople came in sight the Ambassador was asked what he thought of it, and answered that it was so magnificent that the lord of it should be lord of all the world. Then, discussing the grandeur of the Sultan, he said that much of it was owing to the King of France and his aid, and therefore the Sultan was bound to foster such an alliance; for his King was the greatest monarch on earth, he was able to put in the field three hundred thousand infantry and as many horse. He had just destroyed all the Huguenots and now offered to the Sultan sixty thousand good harquebusseers to help him against the Persians. The Pashas laughed and said, "The Sultan is so powerful that he never requires aid, rather he is wont to render it; as he had often done for France," and with that they spurred on their horses and left the Ambassador behind them.

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The day after the French Ambassador's entry, the English Ambassador sent his secretary, and some of his gentlemen to make the usual complimentary greetings. The secretary began, "My Master the Ambassador," when the French Ambassador broke in in a rage, saying "Ambassador! why he is a merchant, your master, Ambassador! I know only one Ambassador at the Porte, and that is myself; out of this at once, and tell your master that he had better mind his trade and not usurp titles like these, or I'll have him drummed out of the place." The secretary greatly disturbed left, without a word; and when he reported to his Ambassador, the latter exclaimed, "I think that he wont be quite strong enough to turn me out. But even if the Sultan should dismiss me, the Queen, thank God, is quite powerful enough to do without French or Turks, which is more than the French can say," and with that he went straight off to an audience with the Grand Vizir. The French Ambassador, some few days later, called on the Capadun Pasha, in private form, before paying official visits to any of the other Pashas. I will keep your Serenity informed from time to time of what happens.

The French Ambassador has been informed of the names of those who have usually figured in the negotiations for the treaty of truce between the Sultan and Spain. He has shown great objections especially to Orembey, and declines to make use of his services as Dragoman in his public audiences with the Sultan, as is usual but prefers an Ali, one of the Court sergeants, who was once in France, but does not profess to be a Dragoman.

The minister of S. Francesco and a Jesuit father have put themselves forward to arrange the difficulty about our position in the church of S. Francesco. The French Ambassador has consented that our seats shall be close to one another; he would not, however, allow that our stools should be on a level, he claimed that his should be one pace in front of mine, so that I should be behind him. He urged, as an explanation of this demand, that the width of the choir would not admit of both stools being equally advanced. But when it was demonstrated to him by measurements, that there was room and to spare for both, and in spite of his being informed that the choice of place rested with him provided that my seat came next his wherever it might be, all the same he would not be pacified; and we were forced to tell him that he repudiated the action of all his predecessors by insisting that his master was so great a sovereign that no other power could approach him. He replied that he would make a drawing of the choir and send it to his master, awaiting orders; in which remarks one sees not merely unreasonable hautiness but also contempt for other princes. I shall avoid his company as much as possible, both in public and in private, and all the more so as on my first visit to him he did not use any of those terms of courtesy which one Ambassador is accustomed to use towards another in his own Embassy, as, for example, the Imperial Ambassador here, who, when I visit him, uses a modest violence to make me take precedence of himself. I am inclined to attribute all this to inexperience; but all the same

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I will not find myself alone with him again till I have your Serenity's orders.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 12th April 1586.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

April 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

337. VINCENZO GRADENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King will return from the Escurial on Tuesday next, the 15th, and will stay here ten or twelve days; then he goes to Aranjuez, with all his household, for the month of May; then he will go to Toledo and then back to the Escurial for as long as his business detains him. The Marquis of Santa Cruz is reported to have reached the Escurial with great secresy on Easter Monday. He was summoned to advise on Indian matters. It seems that some steps have been resolved upon, for three couriers left the Escurial in one day, and the King has caused the Minister of the Posts, Giovanni dal Monte, to remove to the Escurial with his whole staff. All that is known at present is that the Seville fleet which numbers ten galleons, four great ships and three frigates, is to go to Lisbon to join the fleet there, which numbers ten sail. At Seville the artillery and ammunition are in good order; but the troops are poor, all raw recruits, from the scum of the people, raised by force and kept, by force, prisoners in monasteries. They numbered three thousand men at first, but now they will hardly be two thousand; many are dead and many fled. The Portuguese galleys are manned by reserves, and their place in garrison is filled by others. This fleet is thought to be insufficient to fight Drake, who is believed to have been reinforced by the eighteen ships which were lately off Bayona; this conjecture is based on the fact that they have not been seen again. But what is much more important, a Spaniard who arrived at Seville from England on the 26th of last month, says that a nephew of Drake has been enobled with the title of Earl and rewarded with large estates for the news of his uncle's successes which he conveyed to England. He was given the command of thirty great ships, which in a very few days were manned and armed to go to the assistance of Drake. So great was the rumour of the booty acquired by Drake that soldiers and men from all parts of the kingdom rushed to serve on board these thirty ships; such were their numbers that had there been one hundred ships instead of thirty there would have been men for them all. This Spaniard was in San Domingo and was taken prisoner by Drake's nephew. When he reached England he escaped. He says that in San Domingo and throughout Spanish Isle, Drake behaved with such humanity to the Indians and negroes that they all love him, and their houses were open to all English. (Riporta di piu che in San Domenico et in tutta l'isola Spagnuola, Draco si portava così humanamente con gli Indi et Negri che tutti l'amano grandamente, anzi che le case eran communi a tutti gli Inglesi.)

It seems that he left a strong garrison there and sailed to Cartagena or to Nombre di Dis or Panama; all three important

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cities in the province of Peru. Drake is thirty-seven years old, of mean birth, but loaded with honours and riches by the Queen. He is of great courage as a captain, eager to please, severe in his justice, and so he is beloved by all (nel navigar è homo molto risoluto, amico di gratificar et molto severo nella guistitia, in maniera che è amatissimo da tutti). The fact that such a large force has been sent from England leads people to think that it is not their intention merely to make a raid and then to retire, but that their orders are to plant themselves as firmly as they can; if that be so then the troubles of the Spanish will increase every day, and they will require much larger preparations than those which they are making at present. Every one expects the King's coming to clear up the situation; for it seems impossible to believe that matters of such moment will be entirely neglected. Many think that the present method of proceding indicates irresolution on the King's part.

Longle came, to visit me on Thursday after Easter. He entered into a long conversation, stating that his master did not view the attack on England with favour, not on account of any good will towards England, but because he did not wish to see the King of Spain grow any greater than he is at present. The King of France wishes to remain neutral and will leave his subjects full liberty to volunteer for the defence of England. He added that it was very likely that they would make peace in France, in that case the King would certainly shut his eyes if any Frenchmen desired to pass over to the Indies to serve under Drake; for he does not and never will forget the trouble which the King of Spain has caused him by furnishing money to all parties in France, supporting the Guise, and supplying Catholics and Huguenots alike in order to keep the civil war alive, against all reason; for the affection which this most Christian Majesty showed to the King of Spain did not merit such a recompense, and with this he ended his discourse.

The finances are embarrassed. It is said that the King will ask for a loan.

Madrid, 12th April 1586.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

April 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

338. Lorenzo Bernardo, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

The French Ambassador, as though sorry for his past conduct, now behaves towards me, both in public and in private, with every mark of regard which is due to the dignity of your Serenity. I trust that between us will now subsist both affection and union for the service of your Serenity and the satisfaction of Christendom in these parts. I have had an opportunity of finding out the tenour of the Ambassador's remarks at his audience with the Sultan, and also the contents of the letters from the King of France. At the audience he said that his master desired to maintain his alliance with the Sultan as a most precious legacy from his ancestors, left in his keeping for the benefit of Christendom. He presented his Majesty's letters, which contained three demands for the observation

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of the capitulations of Francis I. First, that the English Ambassador should be expelled from the Porte; second, the restoration of a despatch boat which had been captured by the Algerine galleys, and the liberation of the slaves; third, that the French Ambassadors at the Porte should be treated as they were treated at the time of Sultan Suleiman, and this because for some time back it seems that the provision for their maintenance has been diminished. At the same time the Ambassador presented a petition on the instance of Horatio Rucellai's agent begging for payment of the 63,000 *thalers, the value of the diamonds sold to the Sultan.*

Such was the Ambassador's audience; and I hear that as he insisted on employing an unusual Dragoman, who had little experience in similar affairs, he was cut short, and not allowed to finish all he wished to say; but on a sign from the Grand Vizir, without receiving any answer from the Sultan as is customary, he was straightway conducted to the door by the Capigi, to his own very slight satisfaction.

In the last visit, which the French Ambassador paid me in my house, he affirmed that he had actually said to the Secretary of the English Ambassador all those things which I have already reported to your Serenity. He added that the Capadun Pasha had sent to tell him, the moment he arrived, that he would be glad to see him, and this was the reason of that private visit to the Capadun which he made before any of his official visits to the Pashas. He told me that when introduced to the presence of the Capadun he made no formal compliments, because having been summoned by the Capadun he expected him to open the conversation, the Capadun, on the other hand, awaited the Ambassador's remarks, as being a new comer, and so both stood still for a bit in silence; and at last the Capadun began to speak. In the course of his remarks he let drop one phrase, though not a burning one, as to his dislike of the English Ambassador. The French representative could not discover why he had been summoned by the Capadun; and suspected that all his remarks were dictated rather by courtesy than by any real desire to make them; he strongly suspects that the English Ambassador has shut the Capadun's mouth with presents. At this first audience, the French Ambassador begged, as a favour, the restitution of a slave captured by the Algerine galleys; the Pasha excused himself, saying he had no such slaves. The Ambassador is, therefore, much enraged against the Capadun.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 20th April 1586.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

April 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

339. Vincenzo Gradenigo, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

Cardinal de Granvelle is very feeble, and has been in this state for many days. I recently paid him a visit in your Serenity's name, and found him very much reduced. All attribute his illness to the excessive anxiety which has deprived him of sleep. His anxiety arises from the fact that he has lost all his influence in important affairs. In the matter of Drake he has not even been

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consulted, to the great surprise of all the Court. These troubles, and his seventy years, lead people to think that he may soon die. He has gone to a villa outside Madrid, to recover.

Madrid, 23rd April 1586.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

April 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

340. Vincenzo Gradenigo, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

Couriers arrive from Lisbon, but they are forbidden to carry letters for private individuals. There is a great lack of corn, and 300,000 *aneghe* have been ordered from Andalusia. The Marquis of Santa Cruz is hurrying his departure to fight Drake. His fleet, all told, will number fifty sail, including twelve royal galleys. The fleet will go to the Azores so as to cut off any reinforcements from reaching Drake. The Adelentado of Castille has captured an English ship near the Straits of Gibraltar, and sunk two others. These ships were on their way home from Constantinople, where they say they had gone to secure the help of the Turkish fleet against the King of Spain. Whatever speed the Marquis makes they say he cannot be ready before the first days of July, owing to the many obstacles he will encounter, and because they intend to wait for three thousand Italian reserves. The number of troops on board will be twelve thousand, that is to say, three thousand Italian reserves, two thousand from Seville, three thousand Portuguese reserves, and four thousand which they are raising at this moment. There is no news of Drake. Courriers from here are taking despatches to the Pope, to Germany, and to your Serenity, with news of this war, which the Queen of England is waging against Spain.*

Madrid, 23rd April 1586.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

April 25. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

341. Giovanni Dolfin, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Yesterday evening an Ambassador from the King of Denmark arrived with an honourable suite, and is lodged at the King's charges. It is rumoured that his mission is to exhort his Majesty to make peace with the Huguenots, who have urged the Queen of England to induce the King of Denmark to send this Embassy with all speed, for the Ambassador of the Protestant Princes of Germany is delaying so long. Ambassadors from Bern, Zurich, Basel, and Schaffhausen are also expected shortly. Navarre has urged these cities to send an Embassy for this same negotiation of peace. But the warlike preparations do not point to such a conclusion.

Paris, 25th April 1586.

[*Italian.*]

April 29. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

342. Lorenzo Bernardo, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

Paulo Mariani was merchant and French Consul in Alexandria but now he is English Consul. He came here on a certain suit

* See page 61.

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which he has against Christopher Vento, the actual French Consul in Alexandria; the French Ambassador caused him to be arrested, and sent to inform me of the fact; and begged me not to support Mariani, as a Venetian subject, for he had spoken and acted in a manner hostile to his master the King of France. I replied that, as your Serenity was always disposed to oblige the King, if facts stood as narrated, I would not support Mariani. The same day, however, Mariani was set at liberty on the instance of the English Ambassador, supported by Ibraim Pasha, who had known him in Cairo, to the great disgust of the Ambassador of France. (*Ma il giorno medesimo esso Mariano fu liberato ad instantia dell' Ambasciatore di Inghilterra, con il favor di Ibraim Bassà da lui conosciuto al Cairo, con molto mala satisfaction dell' Ambasciatore di S. M^ta X^ma.*)

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 29th April 1586.

[*Italian.*]

April 30. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

343. Lorenzo Bernardo, Venetian Ambassador at Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

The Capadun Pasha is spreading a report that an English ship, which left this recently has sunk a Turk and captured its crew. The English Ambassador defends himself, and proves the whole story to be an invention of the Capadun.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, the last day of April 1586.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

May 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

344. Vincenzo Gradenigo, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The Prince is better; great advantage is expected from the change of air. After the King's departure orders were sent to the Duke of Medina Sidonia to raise eight thousand infantry in his own country and in Andalusia, and giving him the appointment of all the officers. The Duke left the next day by post. Besides this, 20 *other officers are gazetted, with companies of one hundred and fifty men apiece. This will make ten thousand infantry in all. These, with the* 2,500 *on board the Seville fleet, and the* 3,000 *which are coming from the Italian reserves, will amount in all to* 16,500 *troops, all Spaniards. The Duke of Medina Sidonia has received no commission as yet, and one does not see how he can accept one, as his presence is incompatible with that of the Marquis of Santa Cruz, who, wherever he may be, or wherever engaged, would always take rank as commander-in-chief in virtue of his earlier commission. These troops are needed for the Portuguese fleet, which they say will number* 58 *sail, and besides that there will be the Naples galleys. People think the King must have some other object, such as the expedition against England, in his mind; for these preparations seem excessive if they are intended against a single individual, all the more so, as the rumour that Altemps and Lodron are raising German recruits is now confirmed. Every day in monasteries and convents prayers are offered that God will guide the*

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King in what he has in hand, which may be the expedition against England.

The Nuncio told me in great secrecy, begging that his name might not be mentioned, that the King has received two offers recently, one from Tuscany, the other from Parma. Tuscany offers 12,000 *infantry and his own person as commander-in-chief. It seems, however, that the King has not accepted the offer of the infantry, because of a certain clause on the subject of their pay, nor yet the person of the Grand Duke, for he knows very well that the absence of the Grand Duke from his State would be prejudicial to his interests. It seems that the King lent a more willing ear to the proposals of Parma, which are, that the King should furnish a strong body of Germans, and that Parma will then supply a body of Spanish troops drawn from Flanders, but not in sufficient numbers to endanger that country; and that these should attack England. The Prince also declares that there is no other way of finishing the affairs of Holland and Zealand than by striking at the head of all the mischief, the Queen of England. He explains his plan of campaign, which is to mass troops at a point near the English coast, and then to cross over in boats, which would only take a few hours. This proposal has received more attention from the King than the Tuscan offers, but he has not publicly declared his will as yet, nor is he likely to do so till all is ready.*

Here there are some great English lords who promise much, such as, for example, to raise 12,000 *infantry on the appearance of the Armada, and the like. But the King is prudent and knows quite well that exiles can never be fully trusted. The proposals of Parma seem to risk the certain for the uncertain, all the same we must reckon that as the Prince is prudent, he is not likely to have put forward his scheme without good grounds.*

The Nuncio said further, that although it was to the interests of Christendom that this expedition should be made, yet it was not right that one kingdom alone should carry it out, for then the power of the King of Spain would become dangerous. The King has sounded Toledo, Seville, and other cities on the question of a loan, they replied that it was his to command, but they were sure that he would not command them beyond what they could accomplish. All this points to the King's intention to carry out the expedition, but that cannot be this year; for it will require at least six months to raise so many troops. Meantime Drake will tranquilly carry out his programme. A corvette has arrived from the Indies, but as no news is published, that is taken as a sign of some other disaster.

Madrid, 1st May 1586.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

May 3. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

345. Vicenzo Gradenigo, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

A courier sent by the postmaster of Airon arrived here yesterday, and passed straight on to Aranjuez. They say he brings news of a rising in Artois, and all the Walloon country. The head of the rising is M. de la Motte, a favourite of his Majesty;

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who made him very rich. No reason is given, but it is known that the Queen of England is at the bottom of it all. She will leave no stone unturned to annoy his Majesty. If the news is true, it will embarrass these Ministers, who may perhaps be forced to alter their schemes as regards the attack on England, though yesterday there ran a rumour that it was to be carried out this September. But those who understand the matter think that the expedition cannot be ready at the stated time, for it is impossible to raise so many troops all at once in Spain, and the Spanish are never as smart as they should be in carrying out their plans. Don Christopher de Mora is making great strides ahead; it is thought that he will soon have as much weight as Ruy Gomez enjoyed; he sleeps in the King's ante-chamber, which no one has done since Ruy Gomez. The Spaniards have caught certain Englishmen who were endeavouring to enter the harbour of Lisbon, guided by some French; some had been executed, some sent to the galleys.

Madrid, 3rd May 1586.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

May 6. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

346. Matheo Zane, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the Doge and Senate.

A copy of a letter from the Queen of England to the Turk is circulating here. In it she treats of the liberation of certain slaves in Algiers, of free trade with the Levant, and of the right to touch on the shores of Barbary for watering and victualling, as the ports of Spain are no longer open to her, owing to her war with that crown. The Spanish Minister has published the letter to prove that the Queen is the foe of the King of Spain and of the Emperor.

An agent of the Queen's, a Genoese called Valvicino, has been going through Germany, seeking to persuade the Protestant Princes to join her.

Prague, 6th May 1586.

[*Italian.*]

May 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

347. Giovanni Dolfin, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

As the Danish Ambassador was very anxious to take his leave he was admitted to the presence of his Majesty, and de M. Bellievre, first Councillor of State, in place of the Chancellor who was ill, addressed him in Latin. He thanked, in his master's name, the King of Denmark for his interest in the affairs of France; as regards the peace, no one was more anxious to secure it than his most Christian Majesty, who, however, recognised his obligation to permit one sole religion in his kingdom, as did the King of Denmark, the Queen of England, and many great Princes besides, and he could never consent to any other course. Experience had taught him that where two religions were permitted there was always an excuse to take up arms and to throw the kingdom into confusion once more. In all else he wished the King of Denmark to know

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that he would grant every satisfaction to the King of Navarre and to Condé as to his good and well-beloved cousins. On taking leave the Ambassador requested protection against the followers of the house of Guise; and a captain of the guard and two archers accompanied him to the frontier.

Paris, 8th May 1586.

[*Italian.*]

May 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

348. Giovanni Dolfin, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Earl of Holach (Lord Audley?) hearing that the city of Grave in Brabant was poorly provisioned, resolved to send Colonel Norres with one thousand five hundred English, to succour it. When the Prince of Parma heard this, he sent Count Charles Mansfeldt with one thousand infantry to meet them. An engagement took place on the 17th (of last month), and the English losses are very heavy; letters from Brussels and from Holland estimate them at almost one thousand, while the Spaniards lost only two hundred, and sixteen officers of wide experience in war; a loss which greatly disturbs the Prince of Parma.

Four days later, the continual rains caused such a rise of the waters that all the surrounding country was flooded. The English put together some three hundred infantry, and embarking them in well provisioned boats, effected an entry into Grave, which is now fully supplied and quite able to stand a long siege.

Letters from London dated 25th of last month announce that the Queen of England has had news of Drake's capture of San Domingo, Porto Ricco and all Spanish Isle with immense plunder in silver, pearls, and other jewels. On receipt of this news, she gave orders instantly to man twenty-two great ships armed with all possible provisions of war to reinforce and support Drake. These ships were to have sailed at the end of last month. She also ordered other twenty-five to be got ready at once, so as to be able to sail at a moment's notice in the direction of Drake, many private ships also have sailed to join him.

The Queen is throwing her whole heart into the expedition, so that Drake may continue his operations. When she heard that the King of Spain had recalled his squadron for the protection of the West Indian fleets in order that he might augment it, she at once commissioned two hundred ships, between large and small, between her own and private owners, together with some from Holland, and rumour says that these will soon be ready to sail wherever they may be ordered.

Moreover the Queen sends daily reinforcements into Flanders. She makes her levies chiefly and easily in Scotland, thanks to the weight she has with the principal lords of that country; and her greatness and her reputation grow surer every day.

The Queen of Scotland keeps well. By permission of the Queen of England she was visited the other day by a secretary of the French Ambassador, who confined himself to presenting compliments

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from the King of France and the Queen, as her chief gaoler was always present throughout the interview.

Paris, 9th May 1588.

[*Italian.*]

May 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

349. GIOVANNI GRITTI, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

His Holiness, led on by me, began to talk of Drake and his successes, he said he had foretold them whenever he heard that Drake, with forty ships, had gone to the West Indies, and had warned the Spanish Ambassador that his master had better make preparations at once, instead of allowing the enemy to intercept his commerce, seize his islands, and then to begin to pay attention after the deed is done.

The same fortune had befallen the King in Flanders, where, because he had not put out his power at once, the war had dragged on for so many years that he had spent more than all the Low Countries put together were worth. His Holiness then went on to talk of the King's person, how this year he entered on the sixtieth year of his age, a very serious consideration, for those of the house of Austria, who generally die young. The Prince was eight years old, sickly, with continual fever, and little likelihood of living.

Rome, 10th May 1586.

[*Italian.*]

May 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

350. GIOVANNI DOLFIN, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

In obedience to your orders of January 27, I have written to friends of mine in Marseilles, Rouen, and London, the three ports where I think Venetians might conveniently trade. I have inquired whether Venetian consuls exist at those ports, and if so, by what authority.

Neither at Marseilles nor at Rouen are there Venetian consuls, nor anyone who represents that nation; as there is very little Venetian commerce in Marseilles and absolutely none at Rouen. From London I hear that there is no one but a certain Giovanni de Riviera, a Corfiot, who of his own accord undertakes to assist Venetians, but without the office or name of consul.

He has frequently asked me to give him some information on the subject of the difficulties which exist between the Queen of England and your Serenity, dwelling at length on the importance of the matter and the ruin it produces.

Paris, 12th May 1586.

[*Italian.*]

May 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

351. VINCENZO GRADENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Some days ago a carvel from the Indies reached Galicia with news that Drake was fortifying himself in Spanish Isle, at the city of San Domingo. The citadel was finished, and he has began three other forts. He has sent home four ships richly laden with

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gold, silver, and jewels and with many presents for the Queen; he also begs her to send him, as soon as possible, troops to garrison the forts. Yesterday too a courier from the Duke of Medina Sidonia brought news that three Biscayans had arrived at S. Lucar from Spanish Isle. They report that Drake had made an attempt on Havana, but had been repulsed with the loss of three ships, sunk; and that he soon after abandoned his forts and sailed away with all his fleet. The reasons for this sudden retreat were that the governor descended from the mountains at the head of four thousand men, and the negroes, on whom Drake counted much, refused to desert the Catholic faith; finally disease had so thinned his ranks that, what with sickness and his losses at Havana, he had hardly sufficient men to work his ships, far less to fight; yielding, therefore, to necessity he had departed. His route is not known. The Biscayans had come over in a carvel from Spanish Isle, which was captured off Cape Verd by the English; her cargo was two hundred thousand crowns in silver.

This news has given the greatest satisfaction at Court, for they think that now the islands will be free of the enemy, and the fleet will be able to sail. And though it will not be so rich as it might have been, it will be very welcome as allowing the operations between Seville and the Indies to be carried on. All creditors who claimed their interest had been told that it was suspended for the present. The King will receive the news in Toledo, where he has gone to keep Ascension Day without pomp. I must however warn your Serenity that all this news should be accepted with reserve. It is thought by some to be merely an artifice to facilitate the raising of troops in Spain. Every one is waiting to see what orders the King gives. If the recruiting is continued it will be a sign that he is resolved on the expedition against England.

Madrid, 14th May 1586.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

May 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

352. Lorenzo Bernardo, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

Preparations for the marriage of the Sultan's daughter to Ibrahim Pasha.

Ibrahim's major-domo, more on his own account than by his master's orders, has sent several times to ask me to supply him with pheasants, partridges, hares and other game, as he said he knew we Franks were used to eat game. He made a like request to the French Ambassador. Both of us, without consulting one another, made an identical reply; excusing ourselves on the ground that we were strangers in a strange country, and that if we required game we were more likely to seek his help than to be able to grant him ours. We hear, however, that the English Ambassador has sent not only game but also a vast quantity of fowls. I thought such conduct unbecoming your Serenity's dignity, besides creating a precedent not easy to resist in future.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 15th May 1586.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

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May 17. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

353. Giovanni Gritti, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

The agents of the King of Spain are hastening the despatch of the galleys which are being built in Naples; they are raising Italian troops, and making great preparations against Drake and England. Spanish losses are indeed immense, the sack of San Domingo alone implying not less than two millions of gold; for it was the head-quarters of the West Indian fleets. They fear that Drake has sailed to meet the fleet, and may make himself master of it.

Don Alonso di Leva was named for the military, and the Marquis of Santa Cruz for the naval command; but they have not decided yet whether to attack England in order to divert Drake, or to attack Drake directly.

Rome, 17th May 1586.

[*Italian.*]

May 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

354. Vincenzo Gradenigo, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

A courier from the Duke of Medina Sidonia confirms the news of Drake's departure from Spanish Isle after doing a great deal of harm in the city of San Domingo, where he has burned churches and monasteries and violated all sacred places. On his departure he wanted to fire the town, but was bought off by twenty-five thousand crowns which were given him by the few inhabitants who had remained in the place. He went to a city between Nombre di Dios and Panama, and they fear he will do mischief there as he has done in Spanish Isle.

Here they are hurrying up the recruits from Andalusia and those of private officers. The King is getting money together. His journey to Toledo has brought him something, the Cardinal has given him a gift of 200,000 *crowns, to be held by a third party and spent entirely on raising troops. The city of Seville supplies* 1,500 *infantry.*

The King was expected here yesterday to keep his birthday of sixty, but he was attacked by the gout, and stayed at Vazia Madrid. When he recovers he will go to the Escurial, where, on Easter Sunday, the church will be consecrated by the Cardinal of Toledo.

Some say the King will call a meeting of grandees at the Escurial to beg them to assist him, others that he will address letters to each one privately, and will adopt the same method with his kingdoms.

Madrid, 19th May 1586.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

May 20. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

355. Matheo Zane, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the Doge and Senate.

The Queen of England begged the King of Denmark to join her in a league against King of Spain. He, however, did not see upon what just grounds she was moved to this, and replied that he would take no part in the business. In these circumstances the Queen is

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seeking the support of the Maritime cities, known as the Hanseatic League, though it seems that she has been forestalled by Spain, who has persuaded many of them to refuse to declare themselves hostile.

Prague, 20th May 1586.

[*Italian.*]

May 27. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

356. MATHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The English Ambassador at the Porte, though he has failed to obtain the assistance of the Turkish fleet for this year, has secured a promise that next year it will take the sea. He strongly urges the advisability of attacking the King of Spain rather than the Persians, and insists on the greater glory and less danger of such a war, especially if the attack be directed against Naples or Sicily; he promises that the Queen of England would attack the Spaniards outside the Straits, so that they would be unable to defend those kingdoms. The English Ambassador counts on the support of the new French Ambassador.

We are informed that the King of Spain will listen to those to urge him to attack England; as he considers such an enterprise not only just but justified, and therefore hopes that all will go well. The King will require help; and already offers of assistance have reached him from some of the great Princes of Italy, all of whom are supported in this action by his Holiness.

Prague, 27th May 1586.

[*Italian.*]

May 30. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

357. VINCENZO GRADENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

After Drake's departure from Spanish Isle, which took place on the 9th of February, as your Serenity will learn from the enclosed report, everything quieted down, and there is no more word of Drake, nor of England, nor of anything of that kind. This causes universal surprise, for Drake so far from having left those parts, has gone to a place where he can do even more damage than he has hitherto done, that is to Cartagena, where all the gold and silver of Peru is collected On this point I have news from Lisbon of the 22nd, that the Marquis of Santa Cruz is not so active in his preparations as he was at first, and that they had even stopped careening the ships; while he stays at home without doing anything. This makes the Portuguese very angry, when they consider the damage they are continually receiving from the corsairs. It is supposed that this sudden quiet after all the movement of twenty days ago, is caused by the discovery that this year they are quite unable to carry out any of their plans. They know now that the Spanish infantry can not be ready even by the end of July and perhaps of August, owing to the difficulties in the way; and secondly because the Seville fleet is infected with a mortality of such violence that the ships are almost without men.

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And this is the cause of all the delays, for when they wished to re-man the ships of the Duke of Sidonia everyone fled. The officers who are raising troops find the same difficulty. It is proposed to raise two reserves from the Portuguese veterans, and one from the Azores, and to fill their place by the troops which the Duke of Medina Sidonia is collecting, and though they are only raw recruits, yet with the help of a thousand veterans, and these two thousand fresh levies they think that both Portugal and the Azores will be sufficiently protected. These difficulties can only be overcome by time, all the more so as the harvest is near at hand. Preparations are suspended. Perhaps they think that all they have to do will be the work of a few days only. In the meantime to satisfy public opinion the Seville ships, as soon as they are ready, will sail for Lisbon, where they will find seven other galleys and some transports which were already commissioned for sea, to cruise about as a protection against corsairs, and to try to pick up some of Drake's fleet; and this is all they will do this year. As to money, the King intends to use that which was to have gone to Italy on board the Genoese fleet. That amounts to 900,000 *crowns. For the Flanders levies the King raised a private loan of* 1,800,000 *crowns; but as business was so bad in Seville the bankers asked such high rates that the King broke off negotiations. The King has again been attacked by gout on his way to the Escurial.*

Madrid, 30th May 1586.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

358. The CONTENTS of the LETTERS from the Royal Judge, the President, and others in Spanish Isle, under date February 24, 1586, received 14th of May, explaining what the corsair Francis Drake did in that island.

On the 12th January the fleet was in sight. It numbered thirty-five sail; some of the ships being of seven hundred tons burden. Seeing the enemy so strong and the garrison so weak in men and arms, many people were panic-stricken and fled with all they could collect. The rest went at once to defend the harbour, which was done by sinking three ships. They also went to guard a narrow passage by which they thought the enemy might effect an entrance. The enemy came in by the canal of Haina, and landed 1,400 men. The Judge went to meet them with the handful of men he could put together; but when they came in sight of the enemy, and saw how strong he was, they fled; the Judge retired, and the enemy took possession of the whole city on the 11th of the month. The fort also fell, as it had no means of defence, and the enemy was five thousand strong, without counting the sailors. The women and children were placed in safety, but very little could be saved; the government house did not escape. The enemy, up to the day of their departure, which was the 9th February, did all the mischief that they could; they burned the greater part of the male population (abbrugiorono la maggior parte delli huomeni della città), and the

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churches and altars; what has escaped was saved at a ransome of 25,000 ducats. The cathedral perished, also all the shipping; and they carried off with them the galley-slaves, and set them free on condition that they lent their aid. Some of the negroes went willingly with the English. It is said that they are going to Cartagena straight and then to Cape Canaveral, where there are some English settlers, and where they will enlist more men.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

May 31. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

359. Giovanni Gritti, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

I told his Holiness that I heard from Spain that the Marquis of Santa Cruz has sailed against Drake, and asked if it was true. "So they say," replied the Pope. "But we should have been better pleased had he sailed against England and struck at the fountain head. They say the Queen has sent to Drake five thousand infantry, and so he must be in command of a very powerful fleet with abundant troops; he can't have less than seventy first-class ships under his command; and God only knows what he may succeed in doing. The attack on England would have been far better, for that kingdom would have been found unprovided; all its forces being scattered between the Indies and Flanders, and by attacking that island all its troops would of necessity have been recalled from those places.

"We have looked at the subsidies of Paul III., to Charles V.; of Julius III. on the subject of Parma; of Paul IV. whom God pardon, on bringing the French into Italy; and lastly of Pius V., on the League; and we are willing to give the King of Spain four times, I say four times, as much for a subsidy against England. We will not fail; we are amassing money now, and this not for our own good but to the public benefit, by helping Christian Princes against infidels. Should Venice ever require such help, which God forbid, we will spend for her too, and for Savoy also."

Rome, last day of May 1586.

[*Italian.*]

May 31. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

360. Vincenzo Gradenigo, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

While we were still in doubt whether Drake, on leaving Spanish Isle, had gone to England, news was brought by a carvel to Seville, and confirmed to-day by despatches from the Duke of Medina Sidonia, that he has crossed over to Honduras to the port of Cavaglio (Caballos); that he suddenly fell upon and robbed three ships nearly full of goods, he took their guns out and then sank them along with other ships which were lying in the harbour. He landed, sacked, and burnt the place, and made a raid ten miles inland. The damage is great, but they fear worse, especially as they don't know in which direction another English corsair, his cousin, has gone with a fleet of twenty sail. In this city is collected all the gold and a little silver, from New Spain, so the

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booty will be very rich, I hear. The Queen of England for the last two years has taken a share in all the new ships which are built, on the condition that they shall be ready for her service whenever called on. So she has no lack of every kind of craft. (La Regina d'Inghilterra da doi anni in quà, ha osservato d'intrare a partein tutti li Navilii che si fabricano nei suoi mari coll' obligare li patroni di andare a suo servitio sempre che ella li ricercherà, di modo che non li mancano legni d'ogni sorte.)

Madrid, 31st May 1586.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

June 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

361. GIOVANNI GRITTI, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I hear that Drake has returned home, and this will alter the whole scheme of the Spaniards for an attack on England.

Rome, 7th June 1586.

[*Italian.*]

June 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

362. GIOVANNI DOLFIN, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Letters from Antwerp announce that the Prince of Parma in person has sat down before Grave; and, by the 28th of last month, had sixteen pieces in position. As he was reconoitring the situation, his horse was shot under him, and he escaped by the purest grace of God. The English army is camped four leagues off.

Paris, 9th June 1586.

[*Italian.*]

June 10. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

363. MATHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

There has been living in Prague for some two years now, an English doctor, a man of great learning; he has a following. He does not profess a Christian life, but declares that he has revelations from angels. Partly on this account and partly because he affirms that he possesses a secret of riches, in Alchemy, he draws many after him. When the Pope was informed he rightly feared the appearance of a new sect. He requested the Emperor, who consented, to expel the Englishman from the empire and its dependencies; and though he has many friends he was forced to leave for Saxony three days after the publication of the Imperial decree. It is thought that he will not find an asylum there for long, as all the powers have been put on their guard against his religious innovations.

Prague, 10th June 1586.

[*Italian.*]

June 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

364. GIOVANNI GRITTI, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I hear that the Pope has sounded the French King on the subject of the attack on England, and has had a very clear answer, that

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the King would be quite willing to see that kingdom in other hands than those of the Queen, but he would never be satisfied to see it in the hands of Spain. It has been suggested that the kingdom might be given to the King of Scotland, who, though a heretic could easily be brought back to Catholicism. The French, however, say that no one will believe that Spain, when by its arms and gold it has conquered England, will be content to hand it over to others; for the Spaniards are not monks who, in virtue of Papal orders, can be compelled to give up what they have conquered by their arms.

(*Intendo anco per buona via che il Papa ha cercato di sapere da quei che fanno per il Re come Sua Mta Christianissima fusse per sentire l'impressa d'Inghilterra, et assai chiaramente gli è stato risposto, che il Re vorria ben veder quel Regno in mano d'altri che della Regina, ma che non vorria però mai vederlo cader nelle mani di Spagna; et seben si è discorso che il Regno si potria metter nel Re di Scotia, il quale benche sia heretico, facil cosa saria ridurlo al Catholicismo, dicono non dimeno Francesi che difficil cosa saria persuader ad alcuno, che quando Spagna con l'armi et denari suoi havesse conquistato quel Regno, lo volesse poi cieder ad altri; dicendo che questi non sariano frati che in virtù di santa obbedientia potessero esser astretti dal Papa a renonciar un Regno che s'havessero conquistato con le sue forze.*)

They say that some of the Irish have invited the Spanish to make the attack on England. The Marquis of Santa Cruz declares that he requires three hundred ships, seventy thousand soldiers, and three million crowns at present.

Rome, 14th June 1586.

[*Italian.*]

June 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

365. Giovanni Gritti, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

His Holiness asked me if I had any news from the Levant; on my replying in the negative, he took up a bundle of news letters which were lying on his table, and began to read them to me. They were written in Latin, in a pure and elegant style, so that I imagine them to come from Poland or Germany, or from some Jesuit. The contents were that the Queen of England's Ambassadors had urged the Sultan to attack Spain in Algiers. The Queen is harassing the King of Spain in Holland and Zealand, and also talks of restoring the legitimate sovereign to the throne of Portugal.

Then came the Turk's reply; that he was very ready to help the Queen; that for this year he wished to fortify the territory he had acquired in Persia; but next year he would send out a powerful fleet of three hundred sail under the command of Ibrahim Pasha.

I asked his Holiness if it was true that Drake had returned to England, "Yes, it is true," he said, "Drake has returned with vast riches. He has left a garrison in the islands."

Rome, 14th June 1586.

[*Italian.*]

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June 14.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

366. Vincenzo Gradenigo and Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassadors in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

Some days ago the Seville galleons set sail from Cadiz. They had two thousand recruits on board, and their orders were to go to the Indies to meet the Peruvian and the new Spanish fleets, which are to effect a junction at Havana and to sail all together for Europe. The route to be taken has been ordained; they are to keep in as low latitudes as possible, in order to avoid the enemy. The escort has similar orders. If they fall in with the enemy they hope to be strong enough to resist. The Ministers do not think that it will be difficult to effect this junction, as they have confirmation of the news that Drake has gone over to Honduras. But the decision gave rise to a difference of opinion among the Ministers; the route is thought to expose both the Peruvian fleet and its escort to danger. Those who know the route are of the same opinion as the sailors; and have, with all due humility, informed his Majesty that the fleet will sail if ordered, but that it is nearly sure to be lost. His Majesty replied, "Go, and see that you are back by the end of February." They have publicly expressed their opinion, with all the more confidence that a Biscayan, who had escaped from Claramont's fleet, says that Claramont with thirty-two sail, all well armed, is drawing towards Spanish Isle, to effect a junction with Drake, and as that island is near Havana, these urgent and hazardous orders of the King are taken as a sign that his Majesty is falling into financial straits again. And so if he wishes to attack England he will have to ask help from his kingdoms, and the Cortes, I hear, are summoned in Madrid for the month of September.

Signs of the attack on England are visible on the coasts. Royal orders have been issued to the ports that English ships and English goods on board ships of other nations are to be reckoned as ships and goods of an enemy. Moreover the Count of Beneventum, a gentleman of high standing, has received orders to raise three thousand infantry in old Castille, on the same footing as the Duke of Medina Sidonia, who along with other officers, continues to raise his levies, all of which are for Portugal.

The friend of the Prince of Parma who supplies me with news, has shown me a letter in which the Prince praises the terms offered to him by the English in the Netherlands, which are to abandon Holland on the concession of certain points. The friend has offered to negotiate with the King, recommending the acceptance of the terms, as that would greatly facilitate the attack on England. The friend thinks that Spain ought to make a great show of arming. He hopes to see the English terms accepted for this would bring about the possession of harbours and other advantages which are essential to the success of the operation.

I have been informed from more than one source which is trustworthy, that the Pope, Gregory XIII., has given the brief of investiture for the kingdom of England to his Majesty in the same form as he gave the investiture of Navarre (che Gregorio XIII. diede a questa Maestà il breve dell' investitura del Regno d'Inghilterra nella forma medesima che diede quello di Navarra).

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Recently much money has been sent to Fontarrabia to some agents of Lansac who is the Guise's lieutenant. The Governor of Bayonne, on hearing this, ordered the arrest of the agents at S. Givanni da loro (S. Jean de Luz), three leagues away from Fontarrabia. They were put to the torture and confessed all. As regards the preparations for Drake, nothing more has been done, and it seems that matters are quieting down.

Madrid, 14th June 1586.

[*Italian ; deciphered.*]

June 17. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

367. Matheo Zane, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the Doge and Senate.

A fleet of 25 vessels, laden with pitch, sails and shrouds for a large armament, sailed from the German ports. To avoid the Breton and English cruisers the route was laid outside England. The fleet sails for Portugal, where these supplies are eagerly desired by the Marquis of Santa Cruz, whose absolute want of such necessaries makes it doubtful if he would be able to man his fleet this year and to attack Drake.

It is rumoured here that Poland and Sweden disuade Denmark from joining the Queen of England against Spain, pointing out that this would bring the war down on them. Denmark has sent an agent to endeavour to bring about a reconciliation.

Prague, 17th June 1586.

[*Italian.*]

June 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

368. Lorenzo Bernardo, Venetian Ambassador at Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

Some days ago the English Ambassador had an audience of the Grand Vizir. The Capadun Pasha was present; as I have already informed you he hates the English Ambassador. The latter made most vigorous complaints that owing to secret orders from here (by which he meant from the Capadun Pasha), the Turkish officials in Barbary not only refuse obedience to the Sultan's orders for the liberation of English vessels and subjects captured by those galleys, but have actually committed fresh depredations. The Capadun answered that, on the contrary, English ships, while feigning amity, seized Turkish ships on the plea that they were common pirates, and that they deserved to be chastised. This quarrel came to such a pitch that from abuse they passed to blows, the Ambassador and the Capadun, to the disgust of the Grand Vizir (questa contesa si ridusse a tale, che si vene dalle parole ingiuriose alle mani, cioè tra l'Ambasciatore et il Capitano del Mare). When the Vizir had quieted them, he replied to a letter addressed by the Queen of England to the Sultan. It is clear from this answer that the Turks are pleased at this English alliance as a counterpoise to Spain while they are occupied with Persian affairs.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 23rd June 1586.

[*Italian ; deciphered.*]

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Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

369. Copy of a Letter from the Sultan to the Queen of England.

As I have been informed that the Beglierbey are remiss in liberating the slaves and restoring the goods and ships of the English, in contravention of our honourable capitulations; and as I issued orders that the slaves should be sought out and the ships' goods restored, which were in Algiers, now, as great complaints have been made on this point, and rigid orders sent to Algiers, Tripoli, and Tunis, that the malefactors are to be sought out and duly punished, and the ships, merchandise and property, which were taken from the English, restored, the slaves freed, and for the future no injury be done to your subjects, but that they shall enjoy full freedom to trade in my dominions, it is right that you should stand firm in your alliance with us. And our alliance shall endure down to the destruction of the world (*non la disfarà mai fino alla consumation del mondo*).

[*Italian.*]

June 23.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

370. Giovanni Dolfin, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

On the 21st of this month, a courier for the English Ambassador arrived with news that Drake had fought the Spanish fleet and taken twenty ships and four galleys with hardly any loss to himself. Nine hulks laden with cables and sails for Spain were seized on their way from Hamburg by English ships. The Queen of England is continuing her preparations; but will find it difficult to raise men.

Paris, 23rd June 1586.

[*Italian.*]

June 25.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

371. Vincenzo Gradenigo and Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassadors in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The King has been very melancholy and anxious these days past, on account of various bad news, which all came at one and the same time; for six days ago a courier arrived from Seville, with information that Drake continued to make great progress, and to work excessive damage. He has penetrated as far as New Cartagena, sacking every town that would not yield to him, and compelling them to pay a heavy indemnity. He played havoc with all religious places; among others, he set fire to a convent of nuns and burned them inside it, without allowing anyone to come out alive (haveva tra le altre cose messo fuoco in un monasterio di monache, abruggiandole dentro di esso, senza permetter che alcuna uscisse viva di là). These deeds offend the soul of all good people; and the Ministers declare that they will take the affair seriously in hand, and will send a strong fleet to those parts, and a squadron of galleys towards the Azores.

The preparations of war are going forward. The Duke of Medina Sidonia and other captains are engaged in raising their levies; in Lisbon a large contract for biscuits has been signed, they

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are to be ready at the beginning of next year. In course of conversation with the King's Majordomo, a gentleman who takes a part in all the most important discussions, touching on English affairs, he said to me, "the Spanish monarchy being so powerful is able to outweigh those who would harass it"; from these and similar expressions we gather that the King would not be averse from an accord with England. For he thinks that although Drake is working great mischief, to the dishonour of this Crown, as too are the other English in Flanders, still he will be able to cover all this by an able and advantageous treaty of peace. In fact it seems that an agent from the King of Denmark is actually at the Escurial for the purpose of negotiation. The terms would be the withdrawal of the English from Holland and the restitution of some of Drake's booty. They calculate that if the Netherland provinces are left alone they will not be able to hold out. The straits for money in which the King is placed, may help to hasten an accord; and on the subject of these straits it is said that his Majesty has begged the Pope to grant him the crusade, and the exemption from the perpetual subsidy, that he may use them as security for money borrowed from private merchants, promising to make the attack on England. The Pope has replied that he will consent if the King of Spain will promise to leave England to the Pope, and this with a view to quieting France. The Pope further promises to renounce all his claims to the dominion of Ireland.

The consideration of these obstacles, which it will be impossible rather than difficult to overcome, leads us to suppose that all these preparations which are on foot are intended rather to facilitate the conclusion of an accord than with a view to a genuine attack on England.

News from Flanders that the Prince of Parma is almost besieged, and that the English, with the help of the natives, become every day more powerful. He is urgent in his demands for men and money, in addition to the last which were sent to him.

Added to all this the King gave audience to a Portuguese woman, and was subsequently informed that she and some companions were spies of Don Antonio, and had plotted to stab the King with a sharp dagger which she concealed in her pilgrim's staff. This proves both the audacity of these people, and the protection which God bestows on the King.

Madrid, 25th June, 1586.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

July 1. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

372. Matheo Zane, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the Doge and Senate.

Orazio Pallavicini, son of Tobia, of Genoa, came from the Queen of England to the Duke of Saxony, his mission was to compliment the Duke. His reception was cordial on account of the friendship which the Duke has for the Queen; a friendship which he desires to continue, all the more so, as his uncle, the King of Denmark, is so well disposed towards her. The Governor of Metz also reached

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the Duke; he was charged with a similar mission by the King of France.

A man who was in the habit of calling on the Devil to burn him if the lies which he told were not true, was one day suddenly surrounded by fire and burned, though nothing else in the house was consumed.

Prague, 1st July 1586.

[*Italian.*]

July 2. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

373. VINCENZO GRADENIGO and HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King has had the gout in his hand and a little fever. They have bled him twice in the foot, a common medical practice in this country. Sure and certain news of Drake have arrived. He sacked New Cartagena, and the inhabitants paid a ransome of one hundred and twenty thousand ducats to save the churches and what remained of the city. Drake has behaved in the same way all along the coast, wherever he has been, to the great damage of the country, and in this way he has acquired a vast booty. Furthermore, we hear that Claramont has joined Drake with thirty sail, and that they are going to Havana to meet and fight the Spanish fleets, so there is no lack of rumours and much terror.

The agent of the King of Denmark has brought a letter from his master to the King of Spain, in which he points out how injurious it is that people in Flanders are not permitted to live in their own way, as regards religion. He insists upon the mischief which Drake is doing in the Indies, the worst of which is that it shows to the world how weak Spain is in those parts, and points the way to all who desire to voyage in the Indies. He urges an accommodation with the Queen of England and offers to mediate; he proposes the following basis:—The Queen of England, counciled by her peers and also by himself, will consent to remove the English from Holland and Zealand, on condition that the inhabitants are left in liberty of conscience and of government, and in enjoyment of the privileges they possessed under Charles V., without troops of any description being placed in those countries, and with the fortresses left in the hands of the people; the Queen will recall Drake from the Indies, and stop him from doing more damage, and the commercial relations of both countries will be restored. (Considera li danni che fa Dracco nelle Indie, il maggior de quali è far conoscer al mondo la debolezza di quella parte, con insegnar la strada ad ogni uno che volesse far quei viaggi; essorta appresso il Re ad accommodarsi con la Regina d'Inghilterra, et s'offerisse mediator, preponendo insieme le conditioni dell' accordo. Dice che la Regina, cosi persuasa dalli Baroni del suo regno, et anco da lui, si contentarà di levar li inglesi di Olanda et Zelanda, con questo che siano lasciati viver nella sua libertà et di coscientia et di governo con li privilegii che havevano a tempo di Carlo V., senza che se li mandino soldati di alcuna sorte, et che le fortezze restino in mano de 'medesimi paesani; che richiamerà Draco dalle Indie, acciò non faccia maggior rovine, et che se retorni il comercio de 'populi

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reciprocamente.) Both contracting parties are to be allowed to name their confederates. The agent of Denmark has orders to wait here one month, and then to leave whether he has an answer or not. The matter is entrusted to the Cardinal de Granvelle, and they are discussing it just now. It seems that the King will not consent to the clause about religion. All the same the preparations for war are slacking off. The levies of recruits are suspended, and all are commanded to stay at home till further orders. There is no more talk of an attack on England, nor of an armada to oppose Drake, nor of anything else. All is put off till next year. Perhaps they hope in this way more easily to pacify the Queen. The two ships of the Portuguese fleet of last year, for whose safety fears were entertained, are now reported at the Canaries.

Madrid, 2nd July 1586.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

July 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

374. Giovanni Dolfin, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

After Grave had surrendered to the Prince of Parma, he resolved to attack the troops under the Earl of Leicester, who had with him Count Maurice, son of the Prince of Orange, and the eldest son of Don Antonio of Portugal. These troops, though superior in numbers and strongly entrenched, took to flight, leaving behind them baggage and tents in the hands of the enemy, who followed them hotly, and slew about one hundred, as is reported.

From Antwerp we hear that five of the squadron which the Queen of England sent to support Drake had been sunk in a storm, while all the others suffered severely; the news that the English have captured twenty ships and four galleys of Spain is supposed to have been intended by them to cover their loss, for we have no confirmation of it. And thus one sees as clear as daylight that the Queen employs all her art in hiding her own losses and inventing those of her foes.

The Spanish Ambassador in his last audience with his King has, on the special orders of his master, used every effort to urge the King to peace and good accord between the Crowns of France and Spain, pointing out that, if united, the subjects of the French Crown can easily be reduced, and offering to act as mediator, inducing Navarre to embrace the Catholic faith, and to submit to the King of France.

The Ambassador continued, saying that his master had no desire for new kingdoms nor for greater glory, as God had given more than any of his predecessors had ever possessed, but that it was quite true that in order to preserve his hereditary possessions and to establish his own dignity, *he is forced to contemplate an attack on England, which country is daily causing him such great troubles and losses, and that if his Most Christian Majesty desired to take a part in the enterprise for the Glory of God, his Catholic Majesty would be quite satisfied to allow the Guises to raise French troops, as they are much inclined to such sort of business, and that they should have the principal charge, he reserving for himself the responsibility of the naval*

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armament, and that the conquest should be made by both in the name of the Queen of Scotland, to whom of right the Crown of England belonged, and who was so closely related to his Majesty.

I am informed that the King replied to this most important communication in very general terms, thanking his Catholic Majesty for his good will and for his solicitude about the quiet of France, without descending to any particulars or showing any intention of making a further answer. (*Aggiungendo che non ha la Maestà Sua Catholica ambitione di nuovi Regni, ne di maggior grandezza, poiche il Signor Dio ne ha donati tanti quanti habbia mai havuto altro Re precessor suo; ma che è ben vero che per conservatione de' suoi beni patrimoniali et hereditarii, et per il stabilimento della sua dignità è obligato pensar all' impresa d'Inghilterra, dalla quale li viene ogni giorno tanti disturbi et tanti incommodi; et quando Sua Maestà Christianissima vorre haverne parte per honor del Signor Dio, si contenta Sua Maestà Catholica, che li Signori di Ghisa levino gente di Franza, poi che sono molto inclinati a questo per la volontà che hanno prontamente d'impegnarsi in simile negotio, et habbino la carica principale; volendo esso haver l'obligo et pesa di tutta l'armata di Mare . . . et che l'acquisto sia fatto unitamente per la Regina di Scotia, a chi di ragione aspetta quel Regno, et che è tanto congiunta di sangue. A questo ufficio importantissimo sono imformato parimente, ch'el Rè Christianissimo ha dato risposta molto generale, rendendo gratie al Rè Catholico di questa buona volontà et della prontezza che dimostra per adoperarsi per la quiete et commodo di questo Regno, senza condescender ad altri particolari, ne dare intentione d'altra risposta.*)

I am assured, however, that his Most Christian Majesty laid the proposal before the Council of State for advice, but the only upshot was that the King expressed the many reasons which induced him to place no reliance on the good faith of the King of Spain. For the King of Spain, finding that he could not succeed in his object of attacking England without the consent of the French, is now, under the cloak of affection and of alliance, endeavouring to secure ports of safety for his fleet.

A few months ago, Lord Paget, Charles Arundel, and a Tracmorton (Throgmorton) were here in France; all three of them great lords of England in exile. They have gone one after another to Spain, *which leads us to believe that the attack on England is surely being matured.* The Cardinal d'Este has written to say that in the approaching promotion to the Cardinalate, Dr. Alan (Allen) an Englishman, will receive the hat on the recommendation of the King of Spain. Dr. Allen is a person of great authority and following. Last year he was living here in extreme poverty at the expense of the English College in Rheims, whence he went to Rome, to beg some assistance from his Holiness, with whom he now is.

Paris, 4th July 1586.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

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July 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

375. VINCENZO GRADENIGO and HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassadors in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King is ill again with fever. In spite of the heat the doctors purge him. The Ministers say that the news from Flanders and of Drake in the Indies are the cause. The worst is that some Turkish galleys, after doing much mischief all along the coast, sailed under Barcellona by night and sacked every ship they found.

Madrid, 4th July 1586.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

July 5. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

376. GIOVANNI GRITTI, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Despatches from Spain say that Drake, after receiving twenty-five thousand crowns and four hundred oxen from the inhabitants of San Domingo as the price of sparing their city, has moved to the other islands, where he is doing great damage; nor had he yet returned to England, as they had hoped. The King has the gout, and is attending to the preparations for war.

The details of the Pope's offers of help for the attack on England are, one million crowns supplied by his Holiness, two millions to be raised from the clergy of Spain, on condition that his Majesty adds another two millions from his Treasury; but the undertaking is held to be full of difficulties. (*I particolari delle offerte fatte a nome del Pontefice per l'impresa d'Inghilterra sono stati, un million de scudi che saria esborsato da S. Santità; due milliona se li fariano dar dal clero di Spagna coll 'obligo alla Maestà Catholica di metterci del suo erario altri due milliona; ma l'impresa era stimata piena di molte difficoltà.*)

Rome, 5th July 1586.

[*Italian.*]

July 8. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

377. MATHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Emperor has again warned the King of Spain that France and England are co-operating at the Porte in order that the Turkish fleet may take the sea next year.

Prague, 8th July 1586.

[*Italian.*]

July 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

378. VINCENZO GRADENIGO and HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassadors in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Don Juan d' Idiaquez has not ventured to give the King the bad news of the capture of New Cartagena by Drake, though he has told his Majesty that Grave and other places in Flanders have fallen to the Prince of Parma. These places prevented the arrival of provisions for the army and for Antwerp. There is a report that the Queen of England is fitting out other twenty-four ships,

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and raising three thousand infantry to support Drake, as she has heard that in Spain and Italy they are making active preparations against him. It is clear the Queen will use every means to strengthen herself. *Nothing has been resolved as regards the agent of Denmark.* They intend to fortify San Domingo, and New Cartagena, engineers have been sent to the Marquis of Santa Cruz for this purpose. The Marquis urges the King to continue the preparations against Drake, and promises a revenge for all injuries; *but it seems that these threats will prove of little service to the Crown.*

The Portuguese woman who was arrested has confessed nothing; it is only certain that she is a spy of Don Antonio, who continues to plot in that kingdom.

Madrid, 9th July 1586.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

July 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

379. Giovanni Gritti, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

His Holiness told me that he had said to the Ambassador of his Catholic Majesty, that his Sovereign for extent of dominions was master of a larger part of the world than belonged to the Turk; while, as regards the people that he governed, there was no comparison between the valour of his subjects and those of the Turk, for these were an Asiatic population, and little fitted for fighting, and yet his Holiness observed that a mere woman harassed him, that English pirates swept the seas outside the Straits of Gibraltar as far as Cape Verd, that Drake has wrought immense damage at Spanish Isle, which is the flower of the west, that Navarre attacked him from Bearn. His Holiness went on to say that the King of Spain had given him hopes that he would do something serious, but he was now cooling down, whereas it was his duty to attack England.

Rome, 12th July 1586.

[*Italian.*]

July 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

380. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The King is well, but not quite restored in his feet. He intends to consecrate his church of S. Lorenzo in the Escurial on that Saint's festival, the tenth of next month.

The Marquis of Santa Cruz has sent his brother in great haste from Lisbon to confirm the news that the Queen of England is arming the twenty-four ships which are intended as reinforcements for Drake, and that she has given him orders to attack the West Indian fleet. The Marquis seizes the occasion to repeat his requests, and he makes vigorous representations to the King that he should man fifteen or twenty great ships, and should send them to the Azores under escort of the galleys of Spain, and to do all that he can to cut off these English reinforcements. The Marquis recommends that these ships be got ready with all speed and secrecy possible, and if it be impossible to conceal the fact on account

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Accordingly the King at last made up his mind to send for the Italian squadron in haste. On board will come the reserves from the Neapolitan garrisons, to the number of three thousand men; the three thousand from Biscay have been ordered to stop at Bilbao, and to embark on board the ten great ships in that port, which are under the escort and command of Don Martin de Recalde, who, on the recommendation of the Marquis of Santa Cruz, has been appointed to the defence of the sea board, in appearance, but in reality his commission extends to twenty ships, and as many more as he can put together, with orders to hold himself in readiness to sail at a moment's notice for Lisbon, where he will join ten other ships which are being got ready there, and place himself at the disposition of the Marquis of Santa Cruz. The Marquis reports that he suspects treasonable communications on the part of the Queen of England and of Don Antonio in some parts of Portugal.

Don Alonso de Vargas, a very distinguished officer, who followed the fortunes of Alva, has been summoned to Court, with the intention of using his experience in the council of war. Similarly Don Juan de Cardona has been summoned from Barcellona, for a like reason, and they will give him the command of the artillery.

The agent of Denmark, who was here to treat of the accord with the Queen of England, is merely waiting the King's letter, which is being translated into German. The reply, although it is kept secret, I hear from a good source merely affirms that the King has always been defender of the Catholic religion, and will always be so as long as he has life; that he would rather lose all his kingdoms than swerve an inch from this point, for if he did otherwise he would be called upon to answer before God. That he will recommend the same course of action to his successors.

From Seville we hear that Drake has captured the ship which was sent to warn the Governors of the Indies to be on their guard against the incursions and depredations of the corsair. Drake took the letters and opened them. After reading them he expressed his amazement that they should still mistake the admiral of the Queen of England for a corsair, and sent to tell some of the governors that he hoped soon to demonstrate to them how great was the difference between a bucaneer and the supreme commander of so mighty a Sovereign. This answer has aroused greater indignation and more violent desire for revenge.

The city of Hamburg, which governs itself as a republic, and is hostile to the Queen of England on commercial and other grounds

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has sent a letter to the King of Spain, offering him the port of Hamburg, which is capable of sheltering a large fleet. (A scritto a questo Serenissimo Re che gli offerisse il suo porto capace di grande armamenta.) The King is also in treaty for the use of another port near Hamburg, both will be of service for Flanders and for putting some check on the Queen of England.

When the new Indies were added to the dominions of Spain a division was made both of the lands and of the mines. A fourth part was reserved for the Crown, some portion was given to deserving subjects, and the rest his Majesty sold for two lives. These lives are almost all expired, and orders have been given to the Marquis of Villa Marica, who has lately gone as Viceroy to the Indies, to put all the lots up to sale again for another two lives. Those who know about the matter say that the Crown will draw twelve millions in gold from the transaction at the very least; because on the occasion of the other sale the proceeds amounted to twenty millions and upwards. This sum of twelve million will be all collected in a couple of years or a little more, for there are plenty of purchasers, Portuguese, Indians, Spanish here, who will pay up willingly at once.

Madrid, 14th July 1586.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

July 15. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

381. Matheo Zane, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the Doge and Senate.

The Protestant Princes have resolved to hold a meeting, I believe, in Hamburg. They say that the King of Denmark has already reached that city to attend the meeting, and also in order to negotiate the more easily with the Queen of England for the marriage of his daughter with the King of Scotland, and the question of war or a treaty of peace with Spain. It was unexpected news to this Court that two thousand armed English had entered the empire and had made an attempt with scaling ladders to seize an important city of the Duke of Cleves. These are English from the fortresses of Flanders which were abandoned after the fall of Grave. In the memory of living man the English have never been seen so far east in Germany. It is feared that they are in league with the Protestants to oppose the Spanish troops introduced by the Elector into Cologne.

Prague, 15th July 1586.

[*Italian.*]

July 17. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

382. Giovanni Dolfin, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Spanish Ambassador, in course of conversation, told me of the communication which he had made to his Majesty, as reported by me on the 4th. After dwelling at length on the authority which the King of Spain enjoys with Navarre and the Huguenots through means of Montmorency, *he complained that the French will not do anything; but insist upon being allied with England for another*

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year, and that these last few days they have shown their animus by retaining, at the instance of the English Ambassador, several ships which were on the point of sailing for Spain, as he declared that the King of Spain would make use of them against the Queen of England.

Paris, 17th July 1586.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

July 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

383. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

His Majesty hears with great displeasure the account of the damage which the Queen of England is doing in Flanders and in the Indies, besides the understanding which she maintains with Portugal through the medium of Don Antonio, and her negotiations at Constantinople. But what has enraged him more than all else, and has caused him to show a resentment such as he has never before displayed in all his life, is the account of the masquerades and commedies which the Queen of England orders to be acted at his expense. His Majesty has received a summary of one of these which was recently represented, in which all sorts of evil is spoken of the Pope, the Catholic religion, and the King, who is accused of spending all his time in the Escurial with the monks of S. Jerome, attending only to his buildings, and a hundred other insolences which I refrain from sending to your Serenity. All this, taken in conjunction with the continual exhortations of the Pope and his promises of help from church revenues, has once more stirred the King, who is naturally inclined to peace, to make vigorous preparations for war; such is the general interpretation of these many levies of troops in Italy, and the galleys and galleasses and the Spanish reserves from the Neapolitan garrisons. Public rumour says that the King will go to Portugal in November, and points to the activity displayed in laying by money, of which two millions in gold are already set apart for the express purpose of this campaign. They say the King has resolved to sell three thousand titles of that nobility, called hidalgo, to anyone who wishes to buy them for two thousand crowns apiece. There have been fresh appointments to the council of war, among others Don Juan de Cardona, named also Majordomo to the Prince, and Don Alonso de Vargas, named Majordomo to the Infante, Don Antonio Mureno, Captain-General in Perpignan, and Don Lelio di Gusman, late favourite of Don Ferrante Gonzaga, both these latter old men of seventy, very highly esteemed by all; they have arrived at Court.

Nevertheless, I am informed from a good source that all these preparations have no higher objects than an attack on Drake, to terrorise the Portuguese, and to alarm the Queen of England. For although the King feels that he has been deeply insulted, and would like above all things to be revenged, still he does not blind himself to the difficulties of the enterprise against England, both in itself and on account of the allies who would take part in it, as well as the large force and consequent expenditure which would be

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necessary. I am also informed that with a view to encouraging the belief that he is about to act seriously, his Majesty will, after the consecration of S. Lorenzo in the Escurial, come to Madrid to lay before the Estates of Castille his proposition for an English campaign, and to announce his intention of going to Portugal with a view to settling that kingdom by his presence, and because he will be nearer at hand for news from Flanders, England, and the Indies, as well as for the better ordering of all necessary provisions. The object of meeting the States is that either they will grant large subsidies, and submit to the new taxes which are in view, among others, ten per cent. on capital, or else they will cease to complain of the indignities which Spain suffers, of the shame incurred by leaving the Indies exposed to the ravages of a corsair, the infection of a false religion, and the rage of that woman. She, on the other hand, continues to make new and vigorous presentations to the Turk, that he should send out fifty galleys under Uluge, to join the fleet of the King of Algiers, and assist him on sea and on land, recommending an attack on Fez, and above all on El Arisch. She urges that this expedition would be now all the easier that Hassan Agi, Viceroy of Tripoli, holds in custody the son of Ali Malek, who was killed in the last battle with Don Sebastian of Portugal. This son is sixteen years old, and came into Hassan's hands through his mother, who hoped to marry Hassan, and to induce the Grand Turk to restore her child to his kingdom. Finally she urges that the Turk would be making a great mistake if he misses this opportunity of checking the King of Spain, for if his Catholic Majesty succeeds in taking El Arisch, which the Prince of Fez is in treaty to surrender, the Spaniards will then be able to make great progress in Africa. Although it seems that she has received no promises from the Porte, still the Spanish Ministers are very much afraid that by means of presents she will bring the Grand Vizir round to her side.

Here they continue to equip the ships, and to arm the troops which are destined to harass and to fight the twenty-four vessels which the Queen of England is sending in support of her fleet in the West Indies. But there is every probability that, as matters here usually move slowly, and seeing that they will have to wait for the six Neapolitan galleys before sailing to the Azores, they will not arrive in time to prevent the junction of the reinforcements with Drake. He is said to be lying at St. Anthony's Isle, waiting for the new fleet, and if they effect a junction it will be highly dangerous for Spain, for although they say he is short of men owing to the great mortality aboard, still it is possible that he will cause the West India fleet to delay its journey for another year, and that will produce a dearth of gold, and cause the failure of some merchants. In view of this contingency the King has raised a loan of one million two hundred thousand crowns for Flanders, payable partly in Turin, partly in Genoa.

Madrid, 20th July 1586.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

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July 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

384. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

As some of the governors in the Indies are dead, and others captured by Drake, the King has appointed others, the tenure of office lasts for three years usually, the governors are then changed to another post, at the King's pleasure, and those who go out there usually finish their lives there.

Madrid, 20th July 1586.

[*Italian.*]

July 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

385. LORENZO BERNARDO, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

A Persian, made prisoner by Cicala, declare that he is brother of the Ambassador whom his master sent with many presents to the king of Spain.

The Spaniards have fortified the island of German (Perim), opposite the kingdom of Aden, in spite of resistance by the Schereef. This disturbs the Turks, for the possession of that island will allow the Spanish to close the spice traffic from the Indies to Cairo. This will mean the loss of half a million of gold a year, which came in from the customs dues. The Spanish fleet in the Red Sea will now be masters of the gulf of Suez, and the pilgrimage route to Mecca will be no longer safe. The Turks also remember that they have now to deal with a Sovereign very powerful at sea, who, although engaged in a war with England and with Flanders has been able to strike this blow from which they conclude that if he sends a large armament into those waters he will make himself master without any difficulty. They hold therefore that it is absolutely necessary for them to keep a large armament in those parts, and to accomplish this they are entertaining the idea of excavating the ancient canal constructed by the Kings of Egypt, which led from the port of Damietta on our sea, through one hundred and fifty miles of land, to Suez on the Red Sea. Others think it would be easier to cut a canal from the Nile to Suez; but here too there would be many difficulties. The Turks blame the Sultan for attending to the Persian war and thus allowing Spain to reach such a pitch of power. France does not fail to encourage this jealousy, spreading a report that the Spanish fleet in Sicily is destined to make a descent on Barbary. The Bey of Jemen is here and has received, among other orders, instructions to make a survey of the ancient Suez Canal.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 23rd July 1586.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

July 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

386. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I have heard from one who knows the most intimate secrets of this Crown, that his Majesty has lately sent a courier express with letters to the most Christian King; in these his Majesty declared that the audacity and insolence of the Queen of England have

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reached such a pitch, and her boldness so overleapt all bounds, that it has become impossible to endure her any longer, or to support the most serious injuries which she inflicts, not so much on himself as on the Pope, the Catholic religion, and his most Christian Majesty. For the Queen had quite recently persuaded the Protestant Princes of Germany to send some companies of horse to the assistance of Navarre. He therefore thought it fit to point out to his most Christian Majesty how necessary it was for them to take a common revenge; and to beg for advice in these circumstances, at the same time that he expressed his opinion upon the subject of an attack on England; adding that if he moved in this matter, it would be from zeal for the honour of God and for the exaltation of the Catholic faith; and to prove in the eyes of the whole world how good were his intentions, he promised that, should it please God to give him the victory over this enemy of his Crown and of the Christian name, even though he himself had borne all the toil of the undertaking, he would seek for nothing beyond the glory of the deed, but would allow the King of France to confer the kingdom either upon his near relation, the Queen of Scotland or on some other English Catholic nobleman. (*Sebene di lei sola fosse stato il travaglio et il peso, che non le restasse altro che l'honore di quest' attione, rimettendo a Sua Maestà di dar quel regno o alla Regina di Scotia, tanto congiunta seco di parentado, o ad altro Cavallier Catholico d'Inghilterra.*) The French reply thanked the King for his loving and confidential communication, and added that as the King of Spain was so prominent a Prince, he required the advice of no one, and certainly in the case of this English expedition his own wisdom would instruct him what he ought to do. All the world saw only too dearly how the kingdom of France was afflicted and tormented, and with sorrow the King was obliged to declare that if the civil war continued much longer he would be forced to allow each of his subjects to take his own line; while if peace was brought about he would be in no condition to prevent either Catholics or Huguenots from assisting the Queen of England, were they so minded.

From this reply the Spanish gather that the King of France, so far from approving an attack on England, would be more likely to allow his subjects to assist the Queen. They are content to have discovered this jealous attitude of the King of France by means of this correspondence (dalla qual risposta siccome questi sono stati restati assicurati che il Re di Franza non solo non sente questa impresa, ma piu tosto sia per comportar che detta Regina venga aiutata, et difesa, cosi par loro che sia per giovare grandamente l'haver scoperta questa gelosia con quest' officio). As the agent of the King of Denmark, who came to negotiate an accord has been dismissed, the Ministers will wait to see what the Prince of Parma can do; he is dealing with the same subject in another direction, and, as they think here, with greater advantage and honour of this Crown.

Cardinal de Granvelle has shaken off the fever, thanks rather to his own courage and his good constitution than to the medical treatment. He is, however, very weak and can hardly stand on his legs;

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he eats in company, forcing himself thus to be as cheerful as he can. He asked me to come and dine with him two days ago. *He talked at length of the necessity under which his Majesty lay of avenging the insults he had received from the Queen of England; and this will entail a journey to Portugal in order, as he said, to put a rudder on the ship, but that the King could not go there earlier than Christmas; between this and then many things might happen, referring, I believe, to the negotiations of the Prince of Parma, for he went on to add that the Queen of England at length began to show signs of repentance for all her follies.*

The Cardinal went on to remark that at the present moment there were no great commanders alive; I agreed, but observed that the Republic was no worse off than France or the Empire. The Cardinal answered laughing, "Well, you know the proverb," "In blind man's land the one-eyed man is master."

Madrid, 26th July 1586.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Aug. 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

387. Giovanni Dolfin, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Spanish Ambassador has been asked to grant a passport for a Dane who desired to go to Spain, and who gave himself out as a private individual and quite poor, Don Bernardino granted his request, but afterwards found out that he was an agent of the Danish King, sent to Spain to endeavour to effect a peace between his Catholic Majesty and the Queen of England.

From Flanders we hear that although the English are in superior numbers yet they often suffer reverses, showing themselves unintelligent in the art of war, and little able to save themselves from the valour and ability of so glorious a leader as the Prince of Parma, who after capturing Grave and Venlo, has, they say, occupied Til on the borders of Guelderland.

Paris, 1st August 1586.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

388. Vincenzo Gradenigo, retiring Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The Ambassador of Savoy has been several times to see me, and in course of conversation we touched on English affairs. He assured me with almost excessive asseveration that the King would go to Portugal in the month of September to see to the preparations for the attack on England, so as to be ready for next year. I desired to pass to other points, but he said that some days ago he had read to his Majesty and the Grand Commendatore, two memorials written by the late Duke of Savoy, setting forth the proper way in which to conduct this campaign. These were appreciated so much that the King had asked to have them. The Ambassador said this perhaps, in order to avoid giving me a copy. "Well then" I said, "Your Duke will be appointed Commander-in-Chief no doubt to his great benefit," meaning to allude to the rumour I reported that the Duke of Savoy wishes to have the command of the expedition,

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and then the investiture of the kingdom of England; a rumour founded on the belief that the European powers would be more content to see England in the hands of Savoy than of Spain (lui disse che li giorni passati egli havea letto al Re et al Commendatore Maggiore due scritture del Duca morto, sopra il modo che si havea da tenere per far l'impresa le quali furono molto care, anzi che sua Maestà Catholica le ha volute; il che forse disse per non darmene copia. Con questo io soggionsi "Hora il Re farà generale dell' impresa il Signor Duca suo, et potrà essere non senza speranza di gran bene" il che volsi dire per quello che gia ragiono che quell' altezza desiderava il generalato, et poi la investitura del regno d'Inghilterra; et si fondava questa proposta con dire che li principi Christiani piu tosto si contenteranno che l'habbia Savoia che Spagna). The Ambassador replied "The Duke is the servant and also the son of his Majesty, and will do whatever his Majesty desires. The King, however, will desire him to remain at home, for if he undertook this campaign it must be borne in mind that every Huguenot Prince would be up in arms against him, nor would France remain quiet, for the Duchy of Savoy is conterminous with France, and so it will be absolutely necessary for the Duke to stay at home and to defend himself and the Duchy of Milan, for which God has designed him as a bulwark." Continuing his discourse, the Ambassador said that both the Prince of Parma and Signor Vespasiano Gowzaga had offered their services as Commander-in-Chief. Orders had been sent to the Duke that he was to hold himself in readiness as the King intended to make use of him presently in conformity with instructions which would be sent him shortly. From all of which it appears that matters are far advanced, indeed the Ambassador told me that he heard from Madrid that the King had borrowed one million and a half in gold.

Barcellona, 4th August 1586.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Aug. 4. Original Letter, Collegio, Secreta, Lettere, Paesi Bassi.

389. Uguzzone Rangone, from the Camp under Nus (Neuss), to the Doge of Venice.

I have not written these months past to your Serenity, although the operations which have taken place invited me to do so, because I thought it better to wait and so to furnish at one stroke more facts in greater detail than I could have supplied at that time. You must know then that his Highness took the field in May last, and after concentrating his troops, he resolved to attempt Grave, a strong place on the Meuse, held by one thousand two hundred infantry. The place had been besieged all winter by the Spaniards from some forts which they had constructed, and was in great straits. The enemy, however, relieved it by sending in some boat loads of munition after a sharp fight between the English and the Spanish, in which many fell on both sides, but more on the English. His Highness now resolved to take the place at all costs by bombardment. He accordingly recalled us Italians who were camped at Neuss, which belonged to the Archbishop of Cologne, and sat

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down before Grave. In a few days the Spanish on one side and the Italians on the other had pushed their trenches up to the ditch in the teeth of a stout defence from the walls, and then having planted two batteries the city yielded in twelve days. After four days he struck camp, and marched with all speed to Venlo, likewise on the Meuse and stronger than Grave. The town was surrounded by surprise, and as the Commandant imagined that we should attack some other places first, the garrison was not up to its compliment; indeed, there were in the place only some five hundred infantry and fifty cavalry. The guns were planted, and after a few shots, some quarrel broke out between the garrison and the townspeople and Venlo surrendered. It is a marvel that in the course of a few days two such important places should have fallen, places that every one thought would require more months to reduce; but nothing is really marvellous when one thinks of the valour and ability of the Prince of Parma. We stayed some days under Venlo to put things in order, and in the meantime the Archbishop of Cologne made urgent appeals for an attempt upon Neuss on the Rhine. The position is important for his Majesty the King of Spain, for he requires to be master of all the passes in order that he may more effectual carry on war in Holland. Accordingly the Prince of Parma consented, and we marched to Neuss before which we sat down. The Prince was there in person, for he knew that the garrison consisted of one thousand six hundred infantry well supplied with artillery and well fortified. During the early days of the siege the garrison continually made great sorties and skirmishes, and often drove us back to our trenches, and seeing that in parley for a surrender, the Commandant had sent us a mocking answer, the troops grew furious and much more so his Highness. He planted two batteries, one for Spaniards and one for Italians, and laid low the walls, then he filled the first of the two ditches with fascines, beams and stones, under a heavy fire from the town, and gave the order for a double assault by Spanish and Italians simultaneously, having refused to listen to any proposals for a surrender which were made to him more than once. God gave us the victory, and we mounted the breach, putting the garrison to flight and cutting all to bits; the Governor and some of the officers were hung. The town was sacked, but that did not last long, for that same day, towards evening, the city took fire, none knows how, in several places, and through the night the whole place was burned. The town was one of the most beautiful in this country, and God, perhaps, permitted this misfortune because there were in it some of the most ribald men of those parts, to serve as a warning to others not to be so haughty. After these feats his Highness took the bâton and Mantle which his Holiness sent to him by the abbé Grimani. In two days they say we are to march for Berg on the Rhine, also belonging to the Archbishop of Cologne. We hear that there are two thousand foot and four hundred horse.

From the Catholic camp under Neuss, 4th August 1586.

UGUZZONE RANGONE.

[*Italian.*]

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Aug. 5. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

390. Matheo Zane, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the Doge and Senate.

The meeting of the Protestant Princes in Luneburg is to be held to-day. They have all left for that place. There is no positive news of the subjects to be proposed to the assembly.

Prague, 5th August 1586.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

391. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

Of Drake nothing more is known except that near the Straits the Spanish galleys captured an Englishman, laden with arms, which was going to meet him, and to tell him that twenty-four more ships would soon be sent out to assist him.

The Prince of Parma writes in great haste to say that the clause about the freedom of conscience for Zealand and Holland can be accommodated in this way; that the King should promise not to impose the inquisition while the inhabitants should promise to live in a Catholic spirit, without any further explanation, by which they might understand that if they did not nothing would be done to them. But here it seems that not even this will suit them, for it would be equivalent to granting liberty of conscience, which would then have to be extended to Flanders as well.

Signor Luisi Dovara writes from Rome that he will soon be here. It is supposed that he comes to renew the offers of the Grand Duke on the subjects of Africa and England.

Madrid, 6th August 1586.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

392. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

After the King had elected the four new members of the Council of War, in addition to the three original members, the Grand Commendatore, Don Juan d'Idiaquez, and the Count of Borrase, he has submitted to the Council many memoranda drawn up originally by the Duke of Alva, by Don Ernando, his son, and by the Prince of Parma, and by other personages of experience, which referred to both the attack on England and to the affairs of the Indies as regards Drake's incursions; also to the mischief which the Queen of England is working in Holland and Zealand, of which places she styles herself mistress. His Majesty desired the Council to consider the whole question and to report what action they advised him to take, with a view to achieving a single but complete revenge for all the injuries which the Queen inflicts daily on this Crown. The King shows a lively desire to shake this disgrace from his shoulders, and among many other insults he cannot conceal his indignation at the infamous comedies which the Queen causes to be acted; for although his Majesty professes never to show his emotions, still I am assured that when an account of these plays was given to him by an Englishman, he rose from his chair with every sign of wrath and indignation (non potendo tra le

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altre cose dissimular il sdegno che tiene di quelle infame comedie che lei fa rappresentare, perche con tutto che S. Maestà Cattolica professi di non scoprir mai l'affetto dell'animo suo, son però assicurato, che essendole dato conto da un proprio inglese di questo fatto, si levò dalla sedia dove stava mostrando grandissima perturbatione et sdegno). The members of the Council have held long deliberations on this subject, and although they take pains to keep their proceedings very secret, yet I have found means to come by many of their memoranda and speeches on the subject in hand. As these are very voluminous I do not send them to your Serenity, I merely enclose a short summary drawn up by the Marquis of Santa Cruz and sent from Lisbon; it contains a statement of all the provisions which will be required for the attack on England. I gather that all seven Councillors are of opinion that next spring the King should undertake this war. In favour of this resolution they urge that his Majesty cannot do less than punish the Queen, if he desires to preserve his reputation and his possessions, for she is the foe of all good people, aye, and of God himself; her subjects are in part Catholics, and they are waiting anxiously for this day; in part they are deeply attached to the Queen of Scotland, while all are ill-affected towards their Sovereign, who tyrannises over them; that the English race is little accustomed to arms, having the use of the bow only, and they cannot put together more than seven or eight thousand trained infantry, without any cavalry, without any harquebussiers, without generals of experience; that there are no forts of any importance in the kingdom, that it will be impossible to prevent a landing if the right moment of the tide be chosen. In this way the war in Flanders may be finished at a blow, these seas and the Indies swept clear of corsairs, and all that poor people of England brought back again to the Catholic faith. Thus the King would acquire a new Crown on earth to add to his others and a still greater one in heaven. God will fight for the King, for that woman in the wickedness of her heart and the folly of her intellect has reached such a pitch of insolence as to attack the Pope and the King in public comedies, though his Majesty, when King of England, caused her to be freed from her prison and saved her life (onde intendo che vorriano tutti sette che, potendosi, a primavera S. Maestà movesse quella guerra, considerando a favor di questa resolutione che non puo mancar il Re, volendo conservar la sua reputatione, et li soi Stati, di non castigar quella regina, nemica di buoni, anzi di Dio medessimo; che li suoi sudditi parte son Catolici, nè aspettano altro che questa giornata, parte affectionatissima alla Regina di Scotia, et tutti mal affetti alla loro patrona, che grandamente li tiranniza; che sono gli Inglesi poco esercitati nelle cose delle armi, non sapendo adoperar altro che l'arco et che non potrebbe metter insieme più di sette inotto mille fanti di consideratione, senza cavallaria, senza archibusaria et senza capi d'esperientia; che non vi sono fortezze d'importantia nel regno, et che non si puo sturbar il sbarco quando vadano con ordine della Marea. Che di questa maniera si finirebbe subito la guerra di Fiandra, si netterebbe quelli mari

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et l'Indie da corsari, si riduria tutto quel povero populo Inglese alla religion Cattolica, acquistando la Maestà sua una corona in terra alle altre sue, et una in cielo maggior di tutte, et che Dio combatterà per il Re, poi che si vede quella donna posta in reprobo senso, et priva d'intelleto, essendo benata a tanta insolenza di far rappresentar le pubbliche comedie contra il Pontefice et S. Maestà Cattolica, la quale pur altre volte essendo egli Re d'Inghilterra et essa prigiona, la fece liberare salvandole anco la vita). In short, as the whole Council says and believes that to search for and to fight Drake, or to attempt to expel the English from Flanders are both impossible, they all strongly recommend an attack on the root of all these ills.

On the other hand this expedition presents many difficulties, which they think can hardly be overcome. The Marquis of Santa Cruz requires a great number of ships of war and other vessels, galleys and galeasses, vast quantities of provisions and ammunition, and that number of soldiers which your Excellencies will see stated in the enclosed. All of these will call for large expenditure of treasure. But all this would be as nothing compared with further difficulties which are brought to light; such, for instance, as the want of a port in that island where they can assemble in security; the difficult navigation of those seas, where the tide rises and falls to such a great extent, the doubt, nay, the certainty, that France does not desire to see Spain any nearer herself, nor that England should be joined to the other resources of this Crown; the knowledge that Denmark and Sweden will stand by England, along with many Protestant Princes of Germany, and perhaps the Turk; the careful guard which must be kept on the frontiers of Spain, the scanty assistance to be expected from the Pope and the Grand Duke of Tuscany, the small chance of other Princes joining in the undertaking; finally, the want of a Captain-General fitted to command so great an army, except the Prince of Parma, who might say, "If I go who stays; if I stay who goes." (incontrano in tante difficoltà che stimano difficilissimo il superarle; vuole il Marchese Sta, Croce gran numero di navi et d'altri legni, galee et galeazze; gran somma di vitturia et munitioni, et quei tanti soldati che l'Ecc. Vre, vederanno; in che sara bisogno gran tesoro; e questo sarebbe nulla alla grandezza del prò, rispetto agli altri impedimenti che si scuoprono, come in non haver porto sicuro in quell' isola da ridurvi l'armata; et la difficultà di quel Mare che cresce et descresce tanto; il dubbio, et quasi certezza, che Francia non voglia maggior vicinità con Spagna, nè che quel regno si aggiunga alle tante altre forze di questa corena; la sicurezza che li re di Danimarca et Svetia saranno in favore d'Inghilterra, et molti prencipi heretici di Germania et forse il Signor Turco; ancora le molte guardia che bisogneria ponere a tutti li confini della Spagna; li pochi aiuti al gran biscgno che darà il pontefice et il Gran Duca di Toscana, la poca speranza che ha d'altri prencipi, et in fine il non haver Capitano Generale di terra atto commandare per tanto esercito se non il Principe di Parma, che potria poi dire se io vo chi resta, se io resto chi va). All these difficulties

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placed in evidence by the Council of War frighten everyone, and modify in a considerable degree the justifiable desire of revenge.

It has been suggested that it would be advisable to attempt Ireland first, and this is the King's own opinion, for the enterprise would prove far easier, as the inhabitants are very ill affected towards the Queen, and the island offers many safe meeting places among the mountains, there is no lack of good harbours open to the Armada, and for many other reasons the Irish love Spain (è stato discorso, che meglio sarebbe tentar prima la Irlanda, et questa è opinione del re medesimo, sendo la impresa molto piu facile, et gli habitanti malissimo affetti verso la regina; con molti ridotti sicuri nella montagna; per non vi mancar buoni porti aperti; et per altre cause ama Spagna). It seems that they have come to this decision, that if the Prince of Parma can bring the negotiations for an accord which are now in his hands to a reasonable issue, it will be judicious to accept them, especially as it seems likely that some modification of the religious clauses, which at present upset the whole business, will be discovered. In the meantime they will continue their preparations both with a view to protecting the coast of Spain and Portugal, and to cutting off any reinforcements which may be sent to Drake, as well as to attack Drake on his homeward voyage. And through the winter they intend to continue the preparations for an attack on England or Ireland, considering that all is well meant which goes towards this object, for vigorous preparations for war are the surest way to secure favourable terms of peace. And for this purpose they say that the King will go to Portugal, or he, at least, gives out that he intends to go, so as to lend greater fervour to the preparations. They are pushing on the Biscayan fleet, and some four hundred sailors have arrived from Naples and Genoa; besides that, his Majesty has granted leave to the Biscayans to arm as many ships as they choose against the English, treating them as declared foes. Though the Biscayans have often before demanded leave it has never been granted till now (havendo di piu Sua Maestà data licenza a biscaglini che armino quanti vasselli che vogliono contra Inglesi, trattandoli da nemici; cosa che seben domandata più volte da quei populi non gli è stata mai più concessa che hora). The twenty companies raised in Castille are on the march to Lisbon, where they say ten great ships are ready, and others of lighter build. Orders have been issued to all the captains of horse to hold their companies in readiness to march, either complete or in squadrons, where they may be bidden. Among other serious considerations it would seem that the Ministers have under discussion the advisability of attempting to renew the truce with the Turk, and to upset the Queen of England at the Porte. The Court Marigliano has been summoned to the Escurial by the King, in order to hear his opinion on this subject. I am further informed that four days ago a Neapolitan arrived at the Escurial, a man whom his Majesty despatched a year ago to the Persian. From that Prince and other Sultans he brings most honourable letters, assuring his Majesty that if any Christians, or if the King himself will only take some

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steps to cause a diversion, he will never make peace as long as he lives, but will keep his sword bare. These letters are most pleasing to his Majesty, and are kept a profound secret; the Agent is not allowed to see anyone, and they say he will soon return to those parts. I shall use all diligence in advising your Serenity upon this and other points, making use of those means which are the true and powerful ones all the world over. I deeply regret that the Court is absent from Madrid, and, consequently, those Ministers from whom I might have extracted some light. None the less I will use all diligence, and I pray your Excellencies to keep everything secret.

Madrid, 6th August 1586.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

393. SUMMARY of the SUPPLIES required for an attack on England; calculated for eight months. Forwarded by the Marquis of Santa Cruz to his Catholic Majesty.

Forty great ships of the build that come to Spain from Venice, Ragusa, and Sicily	40
Twenty-five galleons, like those which his Majesty has at Seville, or those which touch at the mouth of that river	25
Twenty galleons from Portugal and Castile; for these we require Genoese sailors	20
Thirty-five from Biscay	35
Thirty German ships	30
Total between great ships and galleons	150
Forty hulks, to be got ready in Lisbon, for transport service	40
Fifty transports, from Valencia and Catalonia	50
Fifty transports from the coast of Spain	50
One hundred and twenty from Portugal; twenty to be used as despatch boats	120
One hundred from the Atlantic sea-board, Biscay and Provence	100

The entire cost of all the above ships will amount to four hundred and fifty-one thousand eight hundred and sixty crowns - - - - - - - 451,860

Twenty galleys of Spain	20
Fourteen galleys of Naples	14
Six galleys of Sicily	6

Each of these requires eighty men, between sailors and marines, besides two hundred galley-slaves. Cost of the whole, one hundred thousand crowns - - - - - 100,000

Six galleasses with one hundred and twenty men a piece; besides three hundred galley-slaves. Cost of the whole, thirty thousand crowns - - - - - - 30,000

Twenty Italian frigates and twenty felucche from Naples. Cost of the whole, fifteen thousand crowns - - - 15,000

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We require besides, two hundred boats to land the army. Cost, twenty-two thousand five hundred crowns - - 22,500

We calculate that we shall require fifty-five thousand men; including in this number the sick and the deserters, calculated at ten thousand, and those whom we must leave in charge of the Armada, calculated at another ten thousand; leaving us thirty-five thousand men to land.

Twenty-eight thousand Spaniards; cost, one million and forty-three thousand, one hundred and forty crowns - - 1,043,140

Fifteen thousand Italians under six colonels; cost, including officers, four hundred and fifty-six thousand, eight hundred and sixty crowns - - - - - - - - 456,860

Twelve thousand Germans, in three regiments; cost, four hundred and eighty thousand six hundred and twenty crowns - 480,620

One thousand two hundred horse; that is, four hundred men from the Castillian Guards, four hundred light-horse, two hundred Andalusian light horse, and two hundred harquebussiers on horse; cost, seventy-one thousand three hundred and thirty crowns 71,330

Further four hundred horse of the General's escort and private persons, and four hundred grooms. Adventurers and servants estimated at three thousand, for whom rations must be found.

Staff officers, engineers, artillery officers, sappers, and others, four thousand two hundred and ninety, the cost of which is not specified, but is reckoned in the total.

Sum total of paid troops, eighty-four thousand four hundred and twenty-two; unpaid, ten thousand. Sum total, ninety-four thousand four hundred and twenty-two.

For biscuits, salt meat, oil, vinegar, and other provisions, one million, five hundred and twenty-seven thousand, three hundred and forty crowns - - - - - 1,527,340

Cannon balls, eighteen thousand crowns - - 18,000

Powder, sixty-six thousand, eight hundred and fifty crowns 66,850

No sum is entered for artillery, muskets, cuirasses and pikes, as most of these are already in his Majesty's arsenals.

Sum total of all the munitions, except those which have been omitted, four million three hundred and seventy-three thousand, five hundred crowns - - - - - 4,373,500

From Naples it is possible to raise seven hundred and eighty thousand, seven hundred and twenty-five crowns - - - - - - 780,725

From Milan, two hundred and nine thousand, seven hundred and seventy-seven crowns - - - 209,777

From Sicily, two hundred and twenty-one thousand, two hundred and sixty-six crowns - - - 221,266

Total - - - - - 1,211,768

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The rest must be raised for the Crown from Castille and elsewhere, and amounts to 3,161,732.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

394. Giovanni Gritti, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

Between Sicily and the island of Pantalara, the galleys of Naples and of Sicily fell in with nine English galleys returning from Constantinople, full of merchandise, and although they attacked the English ships they failed to take them. The galleys have returned to Naples for reinforcements and will sail again to search for the English. They have sent news of these English to Genoa, so that they may be on the look out for them in the waters of Corsica and Sardinia.

Rome, 9th August 1586.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

395. Giovanni Gritti, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

His Holiness showed me letters from Constantinople, written by someone who is well acquainted with Cairo. They contained news that twenty-five Spanish galleys had penetrated into the Red Sea, conquered all that navigation, and that the price of pepper in Cairo had risen in consequence. His Holiness said that he did not place much reliance on the news, "for," he added, laughing, "as you know, the Spaniards are not so slow at praising themselves, that they would have said nothing about it, had it been true."

Rome, 9th August 1586.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

396. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

I reported in substance to your Serenity, the prudent and Christian answer sent by the King of Spain to the King of Denmark. I have now had an opportunity to secure a copy, which I enclose, translated into Italian, so that your Excellencies can see for yourselves every particular in an affair of such importance. I must further inform you that I learn from a Knight of Malta, who has arrived from Flanders, that a Secretary of the Queen of England has come to the Prince of Parma, with a view to negotiating about the terms of a peace. At their first interview the Secretary advanced no other proposals than those which the Agent of Denmark made when he was here. The Prince of Parma replied that he could not believe that the Catholic King would ever consent to the clause about freedom of conscience for his subjects. The Secretary then asked time to communicate with his mistress, saying that within fifteen days he hoped to have fresh instructions. Meantime the Prince urges that they should push on the preparations for war here with all vigour, as he considers that such conduct will be of incalculable value in any eventuality. It seems

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that the Council has accepted this advice, for all the preparations of which I have written to your Serenity are being pushed forward with energy. The King, not content with orders sent by letter, has despatched four of his principal nobles, one to Andalusia, one to Biscay, a third to Galicia, and a fourth to the two kingdoms of Castille, with instructions to call out all the cavalry and nobility who are bound to this service, allowing them three months in which to get ready to march where they may be ordered. Further, he is pushing forward six companies of men-at-arms under Don Bernardino de Velasco, towards the Portuguese frontier; each company numbers sixty men.

A courier has been sent to Recalde in Bilbao, with eight thousand crowns in cash, to arm the men who require them with harquebusses and pikes, and to embark them forthwith for Lisbon.

Cardinal de Granvelle is very ill; the doctors despair of saving him this autumn; at present they order him human milk, as he is in a terrible state of consumption. The King has written him a most gracious letter from the Escurial.

San Lorenzo in the Escurial has been consecrated.

Madrid, 12th August 1586.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

397. COPY of a LETTER from the King of Spain to the King of Denmark.

I will reply to the affection which your Highness has shown for me in your letter by a similar sentiment; and whatever may happen in the future I trust your Highness will continue, as I shall, to nourish the like feelings.

Your Highness is eminently worthy to learn the whole story of the troubles which I have suffered, and still suffer, in the Low Countries, at the hands of my rebellious subjects; for this rebellion affects all Kings and Princes, being the rising of vassalls against their lords; a thing abhorred, and of the worst example and consequence imaginable.

That I have given no just occasion for this rebellion is so clear that there is no need to raise the question. That unhappy people was led astray at first by some evil spirits who thought to gain their own ends. They are now sufficiently disabused of that error; and the clemency with which I have welcomed all who chose to return to their due obedience, and the loving treatment they have received at my hands, is proof conclusive for the others, if they wish to act in the same way.

As to liberty of conscience, which your Highness points out as a means for laying this trouble, it should never have been proposed to me; for it is clear that no Prince allows to his subjects any other religion than his own (*essendo chiaro che niun Principe permette altra religione a i sudditi che la sua*), first for religion's sake, and then for reasons of State as well. That being so, how can I act differently—I who hold the true religion—from those Princes who hold the false? For not merely would such action be contrary to the Holy Catholic Faith, and to the obedience which I, my heirs, and

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my subjects, owe and always will owe to the Holy Church, and our Father who presides over her as Christ's Vicar on earth, but we should have to answer to God for such laches. And so I would rather lose all my kingdoms than consent to this clause. But, I assure you there is nothing else that those people may ask from me, by way of benefaction, which I shall refuse them. Accordingly I am convinced that your Highness will admit that I am in the right when the question is considered from the point of view of what is just for each one to do in his own house, and will recognise that these misfortunes are not to be laid at my door, nor did it lie with me avoid them. And my poor deluded subjects, if they will only return to their true allegiance, will find pardon, clemency, pity, as all others have when they made their submission. As to the unneighbourly conduct of England, all the world knows whether that Queen had cause or no to treat me differently. Your Highness can see clearly how baseless are the reasons upon which she claims to act as she is doing. For whoever examines the ancient treaties will at once perceive that they are concluded between the Princes, not between the subjects of the contracting parties.

Nevertheless, as I recognise the kind intentions which have induced your Highness to attempt this reconciliation, I have determined not to shut the door where so good and brotherly a mediator intervenes, and so I have given orders to the Prince of Parma, my nephew and Governor-General in the Low Countries, that if the other party prepares negotiations he is not to retire from them.

But if England refuses this proposal, then your Highness will easily understand that she does not respect you as I do, nor bear you that love which will cause me on all occasions to be your perfect friend and brother.

Escurial, 28th July 1586.

Aug. 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

398. Giovanni Dolfin, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

News that Drake has returned to England from the Indies with twenty-two ships, laden with many precious goods. They say he has dismantled several strong places, with a view to being able to return there. They say the Queen sent to meet him in most honourable fashion.

Paris, 15th August 1586.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 19. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

399. Matheo Zane, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the Doge and Senate.

The meeting of the Protestant Princes in Luneburg is broken up. Neither has his Majesty been able as yet to discover the nature of their deliberations. Only this is stated that they were not in sitting more than three or four hours, all the rest of the time was spent in good cheer and company. They say that the Princes who were not present at the conference will hold a meeting in

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some city on the Rhine, in order to conform to the deliberations taken at Luneburg.

Prague, 19th August 1586.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

400. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The twenty-four ships which, as I wrote, were being armed in England, have already left London. Fifteen of them were seen off the Canaries on their way to carry men and ammunition to Drake. They say, though only in secret, that he has captured Panama, close to Nombre de Dios, fourteen leagues inland; a place to which the gold and silver of Peru are brought. All this is of the worst possible omen for the Indian fleet. The remaining nine ships by the Queen's orders, have taken to piracy off these coasts, in order to create a diversion and to work all the mischief they can. A thousand men were landed in Galicia, but were repulsed by the inhabitants. When the Marquis of Santa Cruz had news of this he sent out six great ships and four galleons, to fight the Englishmen, which are in fact very small ships. The King has sent couriers down the coast to warn the inhabitants to be on guard; and to Bilbao with orders to Recalde to sail at once; he is already on board and is hurrying up his troops and victuals. Fresh orders for biscuits, salt meat, &c. have been sent to Alicante, Cartagena, and other places; also to Milan for a large supply of rice. The Governor of Milan has orders to send off all his garrison to Flanders.

A memorial from Drake to the Queen of England is in circulation here. I enclose it. *But it is generally thought to be a forgery, designed to enrage his Majesty against the Queen of England. Although preparations are still going on actively, we must not believe in this expedition till we see troops being raised in Italy and Germany. Besides, as I have written, they are waiting to see what will be the upshot of the negotiations between the Prince of Parma and the Secretary sent by the Queen of England. Letters are expected from the Prince, with great impatience, as they will bring information about the new instructions sent from England to the Secretary.*

Experts hold that if Drake has not yet set sail to return home, he will not be able to do so this year, as he will have lost the trade winds. If he has returned they say that there is an end of his ravages, if he has not he will ruin and undo his whole fleet, as has always happened to the French in those parts, when they took New Cartagena and other towns, but found they could not stay there. *All the same a Spaniard of great importance said to me, while blaming their slowness here, and their remissness in allowing succours to slip through to Drake, that he greatly feared that this was an erroneous idea, which would only add to Drake's reputation, as they would find to their cost. Then, laughing, he said, how on earth could you Venetians blame us for being slack at the time of the league when we are much worse now in the conduct of our*

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own most vital affairs; and he added that the King had indeed every reason to make peace. In the house of the Nuncio, a Mantuan, said to be an English spy, has been arrested.

The Duke of Urbino, through his agent here, has offered his person on his Majesty's service, in England or in Flanders. So too has the Duke of Sabioneda.

Madrid, 20th August 1586.

[*Italian; the part in Italics deciphered.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

401. MEMORIAL and PETITION presented to Her Majesty the Queen of England on behalf of General Francis Drake; translated from English into Italian.

Drake declares that he has learned how King Philip has ordered an examination and search of all the officers who are charged with the administration of his revenues. That for this purpose he has appointed most rigorous commissioners who proceed with all severity and avaricousness, and that if such visitation were made of his estate he would suffer great loss as the success of such inquisition is highly dangerous. He therefore prays that Her Majesty order his exemption from such examination.

Let the Council read, study, and report its opinion to Her Majesty the Queen.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 24. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

402. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

There has been much talk about the question of the truce with the Turk, upon which subject Count Marigliani was called to advice. He is at the Escurial, seriously ill. I am informed from a good quarter that no resolution has been reached, as the King is by no means inclined that way; he says that even though the Queen of England uses all ill offices at the Porte, still the Persian is on the side of Christendom.

His Majesty has caused me to be sounded privately as to whether I have any information that the Sultan intends to give the command of the fleet to Ibrahim Pasha, his new son-in-law, and to transfer Uluge Pasha to the command of the African squadron. I replied that I had no news from Venice, but that the rumour was going the round of this Court; whereupon his Majesty's emissary said, "My Lord Ambassador, I believe that the King would be very well satisfied if the Serene Republic would sometimes use a little frankness with him on the subject of affairs in the Levant which concern the Crown of Spain. For though they are known here eventually it is not with that rapidity nor with that fulness of detail which is desirable in matters of State. Rapid information is productive of many good results, while delay in receiving it frequently causes serious inconvenience." I replied that your Excellencies always furnished news of moment, and recalled to mind that when I was in Portugal the King received from Venice very valuable information about Africa and the port of El Arisch,

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but that such events were not of daily occurrence; the emissary answered, "Yes, now more than ever, for the English Ambassador at the Porte leaves no stone unturned to injure Christendom, and in particular the King of Spain, and it would be very advisable to warn your Bailo at Constantinople against him." I replied that I knew his Majesty to be admirably informed, both about affairs in the Levant and elsewhere. This he did not deny, but he added that confirmation of news was always acceptable. He then asked me what was thought of a Jew, of the black bonnet, who some months ago, was in close *correspondence with your Serenity; endeavouring at the same time to make me understand that he was a bad character. I replied that I knew nothing about him, nor where he was; but I perceived quite well that he was alluding to that scoundrel who called himself Saul Cohen, and that they had been informed here of all our negotiations, as indeed they are informed of everything else.*

A nephew of the King of Poland is with the Prince of Parma as a private adventurer, and has been received into great favour by his Excellency, in return he has induced his King to write a very cordial letter to the Prince. He seized this opportunity to beg the King to prevent the export of corn from Danzig and other Polish ports into Holland and Zealand. The King has promised to do all he can, but he strongly advises the Prince to send to Holland and to buy up all the grain, in this way making sure that the rebels will not secure any. Furthermore the King of Poland recommends the King of Spain, if he makes an attack on England to do it seriously, first seizing Ireland and the Isle of Wight, as both of them will afford ports for the fleet. He adds that it would be better to take no steps at all than to take them insufficient to secure a victory. And such great preparations would have the additional advantage of destroying all hope that the Queen of England might indulge in her power to defend herself.

Orders have accordingly been sent to the Prince of Parma that he is to write and thank the King of Poland and to make him a present of horses, together with an offer of the Golden Fleece. The Duke of Cleves, the Duke of Brunswick and other German Catholics have offered to serve his Majesty, and to that number of troops which he may be pleased to order; accordingly Don Guglielmo de San Clemente, the King's Ambassador at the Imperial Court, has been instructed to enter into negotiations with them.

Negotiations are on foot, though of a most secret character, to inspire in the King of Scotland the hope of one day arriving at the throne of England, if he will consent to become a Catholic. The object of this is to traverse, if it be possible, the Queen of England's design of marrying the King to a daughter of Denmark. The Ministers here declare that this marriage is not yet concluded though the Queen has announced it publicly, in order to suit her own purposes. They are anxious about the conclusion of a peace in France which may result from the projected meeting of the Queen-Mother and Navarre, and are resolved to use secret means

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to upset it. They have news from Alvarez, Ambassador in Rome, that his Holiness is doing all he can to persuade the King of France at least to stand neutral, should the King of Spain attack England. But it is impossible to be sure of his Most Christian Majesty's intentions; from information forwarded by Don Bernardino de Mendoza, however, it is certain that France will allow Frenchmen to help England, all the more so as the King of France is absolutely convinced that the King of Spain has done all that he could to set France in a blaze and to feed the flame when once alight.

Two couriers have arrived from Seville, but their news is a profound secret. Still it is rumoured that they have been sent to announce that Drake, after capturing Panama, had gone to seize Nombre de Dios, and that he intends, if the Queen sends reinforcements, which are already on the road, and if he captures that town, to build a fort there. Experts declare this position to be very strong, and as the fleets all pass that way, great damage may be expected.

Madrid, 24th August 1586.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Aug. 26. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

403. MATHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Queen of England is raising three thousand horse in Brandenburg and the Mark. She was represented at the Conference of Luneburg by an agent.

Prague, 26th August 1586.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

404. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Yesterday a courier arrived from France with despatches of Don Bernardino de Mendoza announcing that Drake has returned to England. To-day the news is confirmed from Lisbon that he reached England with thirty ships and much booty.

Twenty-eight ships under Recalde have left Bilbao for Lisbon. They will act as guard, or will go to meet the India fleet which many expect to have sailed as soon as Drake left those waters.

Madrid, 28th August 1586.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

405. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Two days before the news of Drake's return to England arrived here, a spy in his Majesty's employ reached the Escurial with the information that the Queen of England had recalled Drake on account of the great mortality which existed in the fleet and threatened the safety of the whole squadron if it remained longer in those parts. Furthermore, she was afraid that she might lose Drake himself at the very moment when she most needed him. The

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spy declares that the Queen is really anxious for peace, both because she is afraid that the King of Spain will take some resolution against her, for she knows that she has most seriously provoked him, and because the maintenance of troops in Holland and Zealand is costing her very dear, while she is growing suspicious of the Earl of Leicester, whose popularity with the Dutch is on the increase. She is always anxious about the English, and, above all, about the Irish Catholics; and every precaution is employed to prevent anyone from entering the royal palace who has not taken the oath of allegiance. She has given letters of marque to a large number of English; and she, and private owners as well, are building vast numbers of ships. The ships of private owners are subsidised at the rate of one thousand crowns each, on condition that the Queen may call for them when she requires them. She has raised and paid for three months, eight hundred infantry, and is going to send them to Holland. Finally, while negotiating for a peace she does not cease to prepare for the defence of her kingdom. And although Drake, they say, has not brought home as much as the Queen hoped for at first, yet he has most assuredly advanced his reputation. Here the preparations for war continue, but they hold that Drake's return to England will render it more easy to conclude a treaty, without loss of honour, on the subject of Holland and Zealand. The Prince of Parma writes that everything can be arranged except the religious clauses, and he implores his Majesty to find out some means of toning these down; but here they consider that the King will not easily change upon this point.

The Spaniards are firmly convinced that the Republic is little pleased at their successes in Flanders, and still less with the projected attack on England.

Madrid, 6th September 1586.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Sept. 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

406. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

A squadron of seven Algerian ships, under Murad Rais, has reached the Canaries, and has seized four hundred souls. The commander of the galleys of Spain has gone to those parts, so, too, Recalde. It is said that all this fleet will make a descent on Ireland in order to arm the Catholic population. Others maintain that Drake's return will upset all that plan. Don Juan d'Idiaquez is in very poor health, and has almost lost his sight. Cardinal de Granvelle is growing worse and worse every day. The loss of two such ministers will be a most serious blow to this Court.

Madrid, 9th September 1586.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

407. Giovanni Dolfin, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Letters from London, dated the 30th August, reached here on the 6th. A conspiracy against the Queen's life has been brought to light.

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In order to discover the culprits no one was allowed to leave the kingdom for eighteen days. As rumours here vary very much I have learned from the English Ambassador, and from some large merchants who have correspondence from London, how the facts really stand. *They say that the plot was hatched in Paris, in the house of Don Bernardino de Mendoza, the Spanish Ambassador,* with the intervention and participation of one Charles Paget, an English exile, and brother of my Lord Paget who lately went to Spain, and also of a priest named Ballard, who is likewise an Englishman. This priest, though outlawed, volunteered to go to England, and to secure a rising of some of the principal Catholic gentlemen, who were, in a body, to slay the Queen as she was walking in a garden. The priest left, *with letters, so all say, from Don Bernardino and from Paget.* He won over six rich young men, between twenty and twenty-five years old, of whom one named Babington took the lead. Babington induced many others to join the plot, and the execution of the murder was fixed for the 28th of August. But while the conspirators were in treaty with others still, for the better securing of their intent, the priest Ballard was arrested, and condemned to death as an outlaw. To save himself he betrayed the plot, revealing the names not only of the conspirators in Paris, but also the names of those whom he himself had induced to join him in London. They were all instantly arrested, as were also two secretaries of the Queen of Scotland. All their papers were seized; and the English Ambassador tells me that it was understood from the examination of the prisoners that the Queen of Scotland had given her consent to the attempt; to clear up the whole affair arrests are being made every day. The English Ambassador has orders from his mistress to communicate these occurrences to his Most Christian Majesty, and to point out to him that in virtue of the good relations between the two Crowns it would be right and proper for him to refuse asylum in his kingdom to men of such quality. Further, the Ambassador is to beg for the arrest of Bodino, a literary person, who has written many books, and one on a republic; the charge is that several of his letters to his friends are dated "August 28th, last day of the Queen of England;" and they desire to receive from him an explanation of this date.

My informants are also advised that the Queen of England, although she has great influence in the affairs of Scotland, and makes use of many Scotch troops in her Flanders campaigns, has, nevertheless, concluded a formal treaty, offensive and defensive, with the King of Scotland, which was ratified on the borders with great pomp by three Ambassadors on each side.

Drake has presented himself to the Queen, and has been received most honourably. They say he brings back upwards of a million in gold, besides three hundred pieces of artillery.

Of one thousand three hundred who sailed with him only four hundred have come home.

Paris, 12th September 1586.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

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Sept. 16. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

408. Matheo Zane, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the Doge and Senate.

The cavalry levied for the Queen of England, after receiving their first pay, raised difficulties about marching unless the remainder is guaranteed by a Prince of the Empire, or by a Free City.

Prague, 16th September 1586.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 17. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

409. Lorenzo Bernardo, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

The English Ambassador has frequent audiences with the Grand Vizir, and endeavours to persuade the Sultan to make some warlike demonstration against his Catholic Majesty. The Ambassador is spoken fair, and caressed. An English ship was recently seized in Alexandria, and he has obtained the most ample orders for its release. (L'Ambasciatore d' Inighilterra si trova spesso all' audientia del Magnifico Bassà, et fa ogni opera per persuader questo Signor a far qualche moto di guerra contra S. Maestà Catholica, et vien trattenuto con bone parole et accarezzato; et ultimamente essendo stata ritenuta una nave inglese in Alexandria ha ottenuto un amplissimo commandamento per la liberatione sua.) The Capadun Pasha having taken full information on the question of the canal between our sea and the Red Sea finds that there are infinite difficulties and dangers in the project; for besides the damage it would inflict on Cairo and all the country that is inundated by the Nile, they say that the wind would easily fill up the canal with sand when it was made; and so the scheme has been abandoned.

Dalle Vigne de Pera, 17th September 1586.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Sept. 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

410. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

I informed the Secretary Zagias of the news that Uluge was out. He said that his Majesty would be very grateful for this news, and they were in doubt whether Uluge would not join the King of Algiers, whence during the last days they have had no news. This action of the Turks is the result of the Queen of England's diplomacy.

Madrid, 18th September 1586.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Sept. 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

411. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The ships which have reached Lisbon from Bilbao, and have joined the fleet of the Marquis of Santa Cruz, have on board five thousand troops, twelve thousand pikes, twelve thousand harquebusses, and two thousand muskets. All this armament was prepared by express and most secret orders of the King, who, as I wrote to your Serenity, has always been of opinion that an attack

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should be made on Ireland, where the population is largely Catholic and disaffected, and is only waiting for arms in order to rise. They have mountain fortresses in which they can hold out for long. The King has been all the more encouraged in this decision that an Irish Bishop, who is here in exile, but who preserves a great deal of authority in his native island, has never ceased to earnestly urge upon the King that such an expedition will certainly succeed to his honour and glory. But Drake's return has altered all these designs, both because he himself is now in England, and because of the troops and ships he has brought back with him. And so all these preparations are being relaxed or carried out so leisurely that the Queen can easily be warned of all that is going on in plenty of time. She will make vigorous preparations for the defence, above all by opposing Drake to his Majesty. Drake has done her a better service by returning home at this opportune moment than by all that he has effected in the Indies (haverà fatto piu servitio a ditta Regina con l'essere tornato a tempo cosi opportuno che di quanto ha operato nelle Indie contra Spagna). And so it is quite likely that nothing will be done just now; and that all these preparations will serve merely as defences for the coast of Spain, which is infested by a swarm of English corsairs, and to hold the Queen in anxiety about Holland and Zealand, which is his Majesty's chief object. He is wont to excuse the slowness of all these operations by saying, "the King and Time will do everything." Some of his Ministers urge that these troops which are now collected should be used in the East Indies to protect those parts against the Turks who are doing great mischief there, and to prevent the spice cargoes from being sent through Turkey; for which purpose the Portuguese Viceroy is building a very important fortress. Now we must wait to see what decision is reached by the Marquis of Santa Cruz, Captain-General in these waters, about the question of Ireland.

Four out of the five galleons which had been engaged with the galleys of Seville, sailed through the Straits of Gibraltar under a fresh wind, in sight of the galleys of Spain. It is supposed that the fifth galleon was so roughly handled that they found it necessary to tranship the men and cargo and then to sink her.

His Majesty has raised half a million in gold from the Fuggers. The French Agent here assures me that the King has lately sent, by way of Besançon, fifty thousand ducats to the Guise, and fifty thousand to Montmorency by another route. But his master thinks it wiser to ignore all this rather than come to an open rupture.

Madrid, 18th September 1586.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Sept. 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

412. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

To-day after mid-day Cardinal de Granvelle yielded up his soul to God, after receiving the sacraments.

Madrid, 20th September 1586.

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Sept. 23. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

413. Matheo Zane, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the Doge and Senate.

Six hundred of the horse raised for the Queen of England have marched into Flanders under the command of a bastard of Brunswick.

Prague, 23rd September 1586.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

414. Giovanni Dolfin, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Despatches from the French Ambassador in England announce that up to the tenth of the present month the Queen had imprisoned sixty-two gentlemen on the charge of being concerned in the conspiracy which I announced in my last. Their examination and the minutes of their depositions are being prepared with all diligence. He adds that the Queen of Scotland's jailer took her out hunting one day, when she was suddenly surrounded by a hundred horsemen who hurried her off to a strongly fortified castle near London, and at the same time all her belongings were seized, and her Majordomo imprisoned, but separately from the two secretaries.

The Ambassador writes that after these arrests the Queen of England sent for him, and said, "Well, what do you think of your Queen of Scotland? With black ingratitude and treachery she tries to kill me who so often saved her life. Now I am certain of her evil intent, and it may be she will not have another opportunity to behave like this." The Ambassador replied that it was difficult to believe that the Queen of Scotland, who was so closely guarded, could have had any share in this business; that she had many enemies whom he begged the Queen to distrust in a matter of such moment, as he also begged her to bear in mind the quality and greatness of the Queen of Scotland, the support she enjoyed from the Crown of France, the affection which his Most Christian Majesty felt for her, as in duty bound by relationship and alliance. That he would report the whole of her Majesty's communication to his master, and would at once inform her Majesty of the orders which he might receive. The Queen replied that she intended to inform his Majesty herself, either by means of her Ambassador or by means of a gentleman sent for the purpose; and that she would make it clear to him that the whole conspiracy was hatched *in France by the Spanish Ambassador and the Guises,* who have stirred up those English who were here, but who have now fled the Court. (*Replicò la Regina che ne haveria fatto dar conto al Re o per il suo Ambasciatore, o per un gentilhuomo che manderia per tal effetto, faccendole saper particolarmente che l'origine tutta di questa conspiratione viene di francia per opera dell' Ambasciatore di Spagna et di Signori di chisa, che hanno eccittato questi Inglesi che stavano qui li quali hora per timore d'esser dati nelle mani della Regina si sono assentati da questa corte.*) The Scotch Ambassador told me, when I was at his reception, that he is very anxious, and greatly fears that by this time his mistress may have

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been taken to the Tower of London, where, if once imprisoned, she will likely be put to death. He complains bitterly of the proceedings of those here, who gave him no information and acted with so little circumspection in an affair of such danger; he, too, fears *that Don Bernardino had a large share in the plot, as is rumoured, but that the Guise knew not a word of it.* The Ambassador has immediately made representations to the Ministers and Councillors of State (for he has never yet been able to obtain an audience of the King), that a person should be sent from France express to ensure the safety of the Queen's life; but all he has been able to obtain is that a courier should be sent express to the Ambassador of France with orders to say and do all he can, as though it were a question of his Most Christian Majesty's own life (*si duole infinitamente dei pensieri che hanno havuto questi, senza alcuna sua partecipazione et con poca circospettione di tanto pericolo, affermando egli ancora che teme che Don Bernardino habbia gran parte, come dice, che i Signori di Ghisa non ne hanno saputo parola. Ha subito esso Ambasciatore procurato con questi Segretarii di Stato et con questi Consiglieri (poiche mai ha potuto havere audienza dal Re) che sia mandata da qui persona expressa per fare ufficio per la sicurtà della Regina; ma ha obtenuto solamente che è stato commesso all' Ambasciatore residente per corriero expresso che parli et operi tutto quel più che sapia et potrà come se si trattasse della vita di S. M. Christianissima.*)

News from Antwerp that the Prince of Parma has cut to bits two thousand English who were endeavouring to relieve Bergen; and the Spanish Ambassador sent to confirm the news by one of his servants, although, this morning, he himself told me that, as no news has come from the camp, which is still under Bergen, he greatly fears that the report may be false. The Flemish here at Court are of the same opinion. The same letters announce that the Earl of Leicester is expecting four thousand German horse in his support.

Paris, 26th September 1586.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Sept. 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

415. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain to the Doge and Senate.

The Cardinal de Granvelle was buried on Monday with great honours. I was invited, but was prevented from attending by indisposition. As they were about to carry out the body a violent quarrel arose between the clergy of the cathedral and the brothers of S. Augustine's. The clergy declared that the office was theirs through usage, the friars that the Cardinal belonged to their order and therefore that duty rested with them. The President Barases sent his secretary to the Cardinal of Toledo to inquire what ought to be done; but in the meantime the uproar increased, and the Admiral of Castille, turning to the principal noblemen present, said "Sirs, let us finish this quarrel," then he and others, among them Don Pietro de'Medici, took up the coffin and bore it to the stairs

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other knights carried it down into the street, and there they found the answer from the Cardinal in favour of the cathedral chapter. The body is to be taken to his native place, Ornans in Burgundy, four leagues from Besançon.

A courier, sent from Flanders by the Prince of Parma, brings news that the Queen of England is raising a large number of cavalry in Germany with the help of the Protestant princes. Her intention is to increase as far as possible her forces in Holland and Zealand, with a view to diverting the King of Spain from any idea of an attack on England. She is convinced that the best way of preventing an attack on her kingdom is to harrass his Majesty as much as possible in as many places at once; a policy she has continually pursued. They say, moreover, that Drake is on the point of putting out with sixty ships and twelve galleons. And so everyone concludes that the idea of an attack on Ireland will be abandoned.

In spite of the rumours of Drake's enormous plunder which reach us from France and England, the truth is that he has not brought back more than the amount stated in the enclosed.

Madrid, 27th September 1586.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

416. The first news we had of Drake after his arrival in the Indies, was that he had captured the island of San Domingo, where he found sixty thousand ducats belonging to the King. He came to terms with the inhabitants that he would spare the churches and the principal buildings on payment of twenty-five thousand ducats. He seized all the artillery, including that belonging to ten ships and two galleys which were in the port.

From San Domingo he went to Porto Caballos in Honduras. There he seized the artillery and a certain amount of money, but not very much. Then he came to Cartagena. The terms he made with the inhabitants were for the payment of one hundred and twenty thousand ducats. There he stayed two months, careened his ships and rested his men. He discovered two hundred and fifty thousand crowns in bar gold, which had been buried, and he took it all away.

Coming away from Cartagena he went to the island of S. Agostino, which is Florida. He captured it and with it fifteen or twenty thousand ducats; others report a larger sum. He seized all the artillery he found both on land and in ships, and the number is reckoned at two hundred and fifty pieces, besides much merchandise and the metal of all the bells he could find. The opinion is that he will not have carried off more than seven or eight hundred thousand ducats in all.

From the Indies he went to Havana, but finding it garrisoned, he passed it by and set his sails for England with one thousand slaves on board.

[*Italian.*]

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Sept. 29. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

417. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The King is negotiating another loan in Germany for two millions of gold, to be paid at the rate of two hundred thousand crowns a month in Flanders. There is no difficulty in the way except the demand for eight or ten per cent., as the Fuggers have recently lent at seven.

Madrid, 29th September 1586.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 30. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

418. Lorenzo Bernardo, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

The Capadun Pasha in conversation with the Dragoman Mateca asked what the King of Spain was doing, Mateca answered that he was at war with England, whereupon the Capadun replied, "The King is very strong, and can easily capture that island."

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 30th September 1586.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Oct. 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

419. Giovanni Gritti, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

News of the conspiracy against the Queen of England received here. The event rouses the keenest interest, for the rumour (true or false) that Sovereign Princes have taken a share in it seems to render every Prince's life insecure, and as those who live without religion are naturally more wicked, so this fact constitutes a special threat to all Catholic Princes.

It is thought that this news must have reached Savoy many days ago, and this accounts for the disarmament of all those troops, which were destined for England had the plot succeeded.

Rome, 11th October 1586.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

420. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

Recalde has returned from the Azores with the thousand Spanish soldiers he went to take on board. On his way he captured two English ships, and sank one; they were corsairs. Since his return it has become more manifest than ever that any attempt to arm the population of Ireland must be put off to another time. Everyone knows that the caution in deliberating and the slowness in executing, which are habitual here, frequently causes the loss of valuable opportunities which cannot be recovered, as has happened in this case, for they have let slip the right moment to carry out this design on Ireland, when Drake was absent in the Indies. Had they struck swiftly the Queen could not have offered any resistance, and when once in possession of the ports of Ireland, they would have had leisure to make arrangements for larger operations. Some intelligent critics think that it has been of no real service to announce an intention to make a move, for it has

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only resulted, at present, in the measures which the Queen has adopted to secure Ireland by recalling Drake—who is reported to have expressed his surprise that so powerful a monarch has not yet taken any action—and in the steps which she has taken to secure herself at home, by threatening, as she does with her new German levies in Flanders, and thus preventing the King from concentrating his forces, by arming many more ships, and by her machinations in Portugal through the instrumentality of Don Antonio, which compel the King to keep large garrisons in the fortresses of that kingdom, by rousing the Schereef and the Turk, which compels his Majesty to keep an eye on Africa, and lastly by her relations with Protestant and heretic Princes. The Queen has sent an agent express to the King of Fez, who, in concert with a Chavass despatched from Constantinople at her request, has so managed that the truce with the Spanish crown has not only not been signed, but that the fortress commanding the port of El Arisch, is being strengthened and armed in all haste, and that fifty galleots of twenty-five benches apiece, are being manned with slaves requisitioned from private individuals. It is also expected that in spring Uluge will sail with fifty or sixty vessels to take some concerted action in Africa and to rouse the suspicions of the King and so to divert any intentions which his Majesty may nourish of attacking the Queen. And she, being thoroughly roused to indignation by the plot of Ballard and others against her life, who proposed to shoot her on S. Bartholomew's Day, will leave no stone unturned to keep his Majesty's kingdoms in confusion. I hear that Don Bernardo de Mendoza is the head and chief of this conspiracy, and has an understanding with the Guise. When he was in England as Ambassador he made a similar attempt. The Queen summoned Parliament to narrate the occurrence, and to discuss what should be done with the Queen of Scotland, who it seems is strongly indicated as an accomplice, on the confession of two of her secretaries and other servants of hers who are in prison. The Queen will appeal to Parliament for support, pointing out how serious is the danger of a rupture with Spain, all the more so as rumour declares that the King of France will request the removal of Don Bernardino as he cannot approve of Ambassadors who plot against the lives of Princes. M. de Longlé, the French King's agent here, tells me that he has orders from his master to reply to any remarks made by the Ministers on English affairs and the attack on that kingdom, that the King of France is not in a position to take any steps in the matter, nor even to prevent his subjects from going to aid whomsoever they choose. That amounts to the same thing as the answer which I have already reported, as being given by his Christian Majesty personally to Don Bernardino. He added that although money is sent from Spain to the Guise and to others to feed and maintain the blaze in France, still it is certain that the French recipients of this money use it for their own ends, but certainly not for the destruction of France. Some day, he said, his Catholic Majesty will regret having given such troubles to the Crown of France, as, for instance, he is doing at present by supplying Savoy with money in order to make

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himself master of Geneva and that not for love of religion, as he would have the Pope believe, but in order to shut the Italian passes against the French. Longlé concluded by saying that he was afraid that his master would be forced, by the action of Spain, to consent to any terms the Huguenots might demand.

Madrid, 11th October 1586.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Oct. 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

421. Giovanni Dolfin, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

By the last despatches from England we hear that the Queen has condemned to death seven gentlemen who were imprisoned for conspiracy, they are to be quartered to-day. Ten others, of the richest and most important, have been imprisoned in the Tower, where are the Queen of Scotland's two secretaries. Here they are expecting every day some emissary from the Queen of England. The Queen of Scotland is kept very close. News from Antwerp that the Prince of Parma, after building three forts under Bergen, has been forced to raise the siege, on account of the damage the English are doing all over the country.

The Loire is in great flood, in six hours it rose higher than was ever known, and has carried off houses, bridges, vineyards, and they say, drowned upwards of ten thousand persons.

Paris, 11th October 1586.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 14. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

422. Matheo Zane, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the Doge and Senate,

The Queen of England's horse levies will not march for want of money.

Prague, 14th October 1586.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

423. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The King is extremely sorry for the death of the Duke of Parma, both because he was his brother-in-law, and because he fears that the Prince of Parma will ask leave to go home to govern his state; they say this will be refused to him, as his Majesty knows how disastrous would be the departure of a general so fortunate and so experienced, so popular both with army and people; *above all now when negotiations for an accord with the Queen of England are at an end, which places his Majesty in a still greater need of a general who can and will take active steps, for though his Majesty is in the habit of saying that his father, Charles V., was accustomed to reach his objects by force, while he prefers diplomacy, nevertheless, in this case, he will require both one and the other. The attack on England is frequently under discussion, but besides the difficulties which I enumerated in my despatch of August 6th, there is this chief one that France may*

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quite possibly declare in favour of the Queen. Accordingly the question of endeavouring to secure a French alliance by offering terms which France could hardly refuse, was discussed in the cabinet; but finally this proposal was abandoned on the ground that the more important the matter in hand the more necessary to move with circumspection and to exercise a ripe judgment; that in this case there was a danger that a too violent desire for vengeance might hurry them into a course of action which would land them in a still more disagreeable position in the eyes of the world, to the greater regret of those who had recommended it; for it was extremely unlikely that a power which had already shown a disposition to assist England, to a certain extent, would all of a sudden turn round and attack her; nay, there was rather a danger that in the very heat of the enterprise France would not only withdraw from her Spanish alliance, but would go right over to the enemy; they concluded that it was much more prudent to act vigorously alone. (Considerando per principalissimo contrario sopra tutti che Francia possa scoprirsi apertamente a favore della Regina; onde era messo in consulta se si dovesse procurar qualche modo di farla in compagnia del Christianissimo Re, ponendo conditioni tali che havesse a contentarsi; ma in fine fu refutata questa opinione, essendosi detto che quanto più grave et più importante per le circostantie è la cosa che si tratta hora tanto più è necessaria una circospettione accompagnata da maturato consiglio; et però doversi avertire sopra tutto che per troppo desiderio della vendetta non si incorrere in risolutione che tornasse a maggior vergogna presso il mondo et a maggior pentimento ancora a quelli che ne havessero deliberato; ponderendo che era cosa molto falace a sperare, che chi si ha lasciato intendere in certo modo di volerla aiutare fosse hora per concorrere in offenderla; anzi convenir per più cause temere più tosto che quando fossero nell' ardor dell' impresa non solo per separarsi da Spagnoli ma di accordarsi ancora con Inghilterra contra di loro; concludendo in fine che miglior consiglio fusse il pensar di far gagliardamente da se solo.) They recommend the further attachment of the Guise by money and every possible means, for it is they who encourage these Ministers to hope that France will be kept in such a state of alarm as to be quite incapable of annoying his Catholic Majesty, and at the same time to prevent Navarre from making peace. The Marquis of Almazan, Viceroy on the Navarrese frontier, undertakes to accomplish this mission if he is allowed to give to the King of Navarre one hundred thousand crowns in cash, to be paid in two months, which will induce him to refuse any terms of an accord. But all these large schemes, which I assure your Serenity are not invented, only prove a great desire to act, while the preparations which are being made are of so feeble a nature that in face of the difficulties of the enterprise, it seems more likely that they are intended for defence rather than for offence. However, as his Majesty and his Ministers profess to act slowly and secretly, setting aside the numerous accidents which may arise, it is impossible to be sure of what will happen. Some say

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that as the fleets of both parties are now so large it is quite possible that a naval engagement may take place. Those who know best, however, being quite aware that it is almost impossible to force on an engagement between great sailing ships, especially upon the open seas, if one of the combatants does not desire it, conjecture that the Spanish will not risk an encounter until their fleet is more powerful than it is at present. (Ma li più intendenti, che sano che difficilmente due armate di vasselli grossi da vela possino esser necessitate a combattere, massime in questi mari aperti, quando una non voglia, fano giudicio ancora che questi da qua fino che non habbiano gionte insieme maggior forze non cercherano far occasione.) Nor will the Queen of England seek an engagement, for it is her policy to harry the King in as many places as possible, so as to prevent him from giving his attention to one sole object; and so, even if she believed herself sure of victory, it would not suit her to risk her fleet, which is the very kernel of her power and her reputation, on the hazard of a single encounter. (Et molto meno la Regina d'Inghilterra alla quale come torna commodo di mettere gelosia et sospetto l' andarsi trattenando et per molte vie travagliando le cose di questo Re perche non habbia a pensar ad una sola cosa, non le tornaria conto quando ben anco credesse haver vantaggio a metter in arbitrio di fortuna la sua Armata, che è il nervo della sue forze et della sua reputatione.)

A rumour was recently spread that Drake was off the coast of Galicia with forty sail. But it was discovered that the Governor had mistaken the sails of Recalde's squadron, returning from the Azores, for Englishmen, and had sent to Salamanca for support. All the same orders have been dispatched to the sea ports, warning them to be on guard; and the orders given at Seville for the sailing of the Indian and Peruvian fleets have been countermanded in dread of Drake's arrival. The news that he is out with sixty sail and twelve galleons is confirmed; his artillery is excellent, and so are his crews, as there was a rush to serve under him. It is said that after ravaging these shores he will sail to meet the Castillian fleet at Havana, where it has gone to join the twenty ships under Alvaro Flores, which sailed from here in May last. Four English galleons have sailed for the coast of Brazil, and intend to push on to the Straits of Magellan, and thence into the Pacific, where they can wroke all sorts of mischief in perfect security.

A Spanish nobleman of the house of Mendoza, who had been called on to justify some of his actions in the Indies, left Spain in great wrath, and has gone to England, where he promises to do all he can to help the Queen.

The King has raised another loan from the Fuggers, of five hundred thousand ducats, to be paid in Frankfort, half now and half in March; and a similar loan from Genoese bankers, payable half on December 10th in Milan, and half on the same date in Flanders.

He has also ordered the Hazienda to provide two millions of gold for this winter.

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Don Antonio de Ghevara, who is commissioned to supply the fleets has gone to Seville; and a Genoese merchant has been despatched to Genoa with a large letter of credit and instructions to buy salt meat, cheese, sardines, and other victuals in Genoa, along the Riviera and in Sardinia. In Spain they have bought seven hundred thousand fanneghe* of grain, a measure which weighs about one hundred and forty Venetian pounds apiece (*anneghe, et pesano intorno cento quaranta lire Venetiane l'una*), to make biscuits only, and this along with the dearth of corn, has sent up the price of grain. The fortresses which the King was building at the borders of Cochin and at Calicut to prevent the spice cargoes being diverted by the land route, are now in a state of defence; and the Viceroy now promises that the Turk shall be entirely excluded from that traffic.

Madrid, 18th October 1586.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Oct. 24. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

424. Giovanni Dolfin, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

On the 20th of this month Don Bernardino de Mendoza received letters from Lille, dated the 16th. They contained the news that the Duke of Parma, learning that German horse were on their way to support the English, and that they numbered one thousand five hundred, with thirty companies of English and Irish infantry, resolved to cross the Rhine on the sixth, and by forced marches, met, fought, and defeated them. The following day he marched upon the Earl of Leicester, who, with the rest of the army, was under Zutphen, in Guelderland. Both sides fought with great bravery for many hours, and the Earl was defeated, with the loss of almost all his chivalry, to the number of four hundred, and between seven and eight thousand men, as well as fifteen pieces of artillery and much ammunition. The Earl fled, but was followed up for six hours by the Duke. The Duke has lost the Governor of Guelderland, and two thousand men, partly Spanish, partly Flemish, and the Count d'Arenberg is seriously wounded. After this defeat the town of Lochen surrendered, and the Duke hoped to make more important acquisitions still.

This victory is considered of prime importance here, because it will embarrass the Queen of England to replace her army, and also because it may drive the Netherlands to seek the clemency of the King of Spain. The English here say the slaughter is exaggerated.

From London they write that other seven conspirators have been put to death; and the priest (Ballard) first of all. Each one before dying declared his willingness to suffer for the Catholic Faith.

The Queen of England learning that some French ships had left Britanny, sent Gianichi, a famous corsair, with twenty-two sail, to watch their movements, and to assure the safety of English shipping. But on learning that these French ships had put into Brouage, and that their object was to protect that place from the attacks of the

* See page 61.

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garrison of La Rochelle, she gave that corsair leave to go a bucaneering against Spanish shipping.

Paris, 24th October 1586.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

425. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King made his proposals to the Cortes in solemn form. In his speech, which he pronounced himself, he told them that he had summoned them in order to lay before them the needs of these kingdoms, and the necessity for granting him large assistance, as they would presently learn at greater length from the Secretary Vasquez; he added that he was sure that he could rely on their obedience and readiness to give him every satisfaction.

A report setting forth the urgent needs of the King on account of the excesses committed by the Queen of England in Flanders and the Indies was then read.

A member of the Cortes, representing Burgos, replied, in the name of all, that they would take the communication into consideration, and would endeavour to gratify his Majesty.

I understand that the President of the Great Council, the Count of Barases, has asked, in the King's name, besides the ordinary subsidies which bring in four hundred thousand crowns a year, the confirmation of the Alcavalla, which is a tax of ten per cent., yielding nearly three millions of gold a year. Further, he has asked leave to impose a grist tax of about one real for every Venetian stara.*

The deputies have shown every disposition to grant the ordinary subsidies and the Alcavalla; but on the question of the grist tax they show themselves stiff. They declare that the population is so burdened with taxes that ever so little more will drive them desperate, especially when the tax is of such a nature as the grist tax, which is always odious. That if his Majesty is really in earnest this time about attacking England, they hope to obtain leave from their constituents to impose a heavy poll tax for this one time only, under certain conditions that it is not to be erected into an ordinary tax.

The King has resolved to send an Ambassador to the Schereef to find out whether it is to be war or peace, and also to discover what the Chavass from Constantinople and the English Ambassador are about.

On the eighteenth of the present month a ship reached Seville from Honduras, which she left on September 1st, with news that the Castillian fleet had arrived and sailed from Havana twelve days before she did. It is bringing one million of gold for the King, and two millions for private merchants.

Santa Cruz has received orders to send out all the ships he has to meet the Peruvian fleet. And he is warned to keep an eye open for Drake's nephew, who is out with many English corsairs, bringing his fleet up to the number of twenty-four ships, as well as for

* A *stara* or *ster* = about 82 kilos.

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his uncle, who must now be cruising about after the other fleet, which is the richer, and of which we have no news as yet.

Four thousand men have been sent into Portugal, and six hundred *gianetarii*, or light cavalry.

The Marquis of Santa Cruz is afraid that Drake's nephew will make a descent on the coast of Spain, and he has collected two thousand men in Lisbon, and has then distributed them in garrisons along the shore.

The three Commissioners for the reform of morals and the enforcement of pious living at Court, have just issued an order which has been published in the churches. Under pain of excommunication anyone who is aware of the existence of a heretic, or a dweller in concubinage, or who keeps in his house gaming tables or casinos for loose women, is to denounce the same to the Cardinal of Toledo. Execution has already been given to the order by the outlawry of several widow ladies of high standing who kept casinos in their houses; and Don Alonso Manrique has been put in prison for living publicly in concubinage, in spite of his being one of the great knights, brother of the Count of Ponsalide, *major domo* to the King; there is no doubt but that this is entirely his Majesty's idea.

Madrid, 20th October 1586.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 28. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

426. Matheo Zane, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the Doge and Senate.

His Majesty has heard with satisfaction of the defeats inflicted on the English by the Duke of Parma once on the 3rd, when he routed a body of one thousand English, a second time on the 5th, when he routed three thousand landsknechts and two thousand horse, who, under a bastard of Brunswick, were on their way to join the English.

Prague, 28th October 1586.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

427. Giovanni Gritti, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

The Queen of England forbids anyone to cross the sea out of England; anyone is free to enter. The King of France has sent an agent to plead for the Queen of Scotland.

Rome, 1st November 1586.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 2. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

428. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate

News having spread that Don Antonio, in company with Drake, would arrive on board the English fleet, the Portuguese showed the greatest joy, and every mark of devotion towards Don Antonio, and some signs that they were ready to rise for him. They say that had the King used the rigour he employed upon Flanders in Portugal, and that clemency towards the Flemish which he

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showed to the Portuguese, he would now have the kingdom of Portugal in perfect obedience and Flanders quite pacified.

Madrid, 2nd November 1586.

[*Italian ; deciphered.*]

Nov. 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

429. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I have heard from a sure quarter that in all probability terms will be concluded between the Turks and the Persians ; and there is every prospect of the Turkish fleet taking the sea at the instance of England.

Madrid, 7th November 1586.

[*Italian ; deciphered.*]

Nov. 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

430. GIOVANNI DOLFIN, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On the 4th, Edward Otho, agent of the Queen of England, arrived in this city. His mission was to report the conspiracy of the Queen of Scotland against the life of his mistress, *with the knowledge and participation of Spain.* This gentleman has brought the minutes of the trial, with all the depositions, to prove to the King that the Queen of Scotland deserves to be put to death. In the meantime the Queen of England has summoned Parliament for the 5th of this month, and thirty-five of them have gone to take the Queen of Scotland's evidence ; it seems, however, that she declines to answer interrogatories. The above-named gentleman has not yet succeeded in obtaining an audience, though he and the Ambassador insist on it.

News from the Duke of Parma, of October, confirm his victory over the English, Irish, and Germans, but put the Spanish death roll higher. The Governor of Guelderland, who was reported dead, is alive. Don Bernardino has published an account of the engagement ; and for reply the English Ambassador has issued a letter, which puts a very different complexion on the victory. He says the army of the States is encamped at Haarlem. The Duke writes that he is at Venlo, near Zütphen, which he has provisioned. Learning that another detachment of German horse was on its way to support the English he called out his cavalry and went to meet them ; but they retired.

Paris, 7th November 1586.

[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Nov. 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

431. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

They have resolved to send a private person to the Schereef, not an Ambassador, for fear that a fully accredited agent might be insulted.

Madrid, 15th November 1586.

[*Italian ; deciphered.*]

1586. Nov. 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

432. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The news sent by Don Bernardino de Mendoza that the Prince of Parma has defeated the horse and foot which were raised in Germany by the Queen of England, has caused great joy here, for they feared that with the help of the Protestant Princes she might succeed in making herself mistress of the open country in Flanders. On the other hand, her persecution of the Catholics in England causes the greatest pain, which is augmented by the knowledge that the plot against her has failed, while she, taking that as an excuse, has put many Catholics to death, though innocent, with a view to destroying the leaders of that party, and also to strike terror into their followers. She also makes use of this plot to increase the hatred of Spain, for she declares that it was hatched by the Spanish Ministers. She has, furthermore, despatched an agent to France to rouse the animosity of that King against Spain, and to draw herself nearer to the French Crown.

The courier reports that twenty-five more English ships are out under the command of Giaches, (?) a famous corsair, and of Drake's nephew, to lie in wait for the fleet of Castille; but the King's good fortune has prevented their design, for the fleet has already reached Spain. Had it delayed much longer to arrive, they say that the Seville merchants would have failed every one of them. Nevertheless, although the fleet has reached home safely, the Marquis of Santa Cruz has been warned to prepare for an English descent on those coasts; for every one is convinced that the English fleet is not destined for the Indies, in spite of Don Bernardino's assurance; for there is no reason in the world why the Queen at this moment of peril should deprive herself of the help of such forces. They are inclined rather to believe that the English will attempt a surprise on some port, especially as in Lisbon and other Portuguese towns proclamations have been found which urge the people to be of good cheer for soon they will have a Portuguese King again, naming Don Antonio. With a view to reducing the Portuguese the King, besides ordering certain movements of troops, has reimposed the taxes which they used to pay, and above all a duty on the persons and the goods of Portuguese who enter Castille, which damages the Portuguese as much as it benefits this Crown. The Marquis of Santa Cruz has executed some of the leading Portuguese and put about twenty in prison. All these operations, and others, such as the despatch of agents to Constantinople to renew the truce, and to counteract the Queen of England's negotiations at the Porte, the encouragement given to the Persian to continue the war; the attempt to persuade the Schereef to sign the treaty already stipulated; the negotiations with Guise and Navarre; the accumulation of money, which now amounts to more than four millions laid by, all prove clearly that his Majesty is resolved to act in earnest for the preservation of his reputation and his kingdoms.

Madrid, 15th November 1586.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

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Nov. 19.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

433. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Some suppose that the English ships have returned to England when they found out that the Castillian fleet had reached Spain in safety; others say that they have gone to the Azores to wait for the Peruvian fleet.

Madrid, 19th November 1586.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Nov. 21.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

434. GIOVANNI DOLFIN, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The English Ambassador, on the tenth of this month, went to audience in company with that gentleman, who, as I lately wrote, has been sent expressly about the affair of the Queen of Scotland. After discoursing at length on the Queen's previous endeavours to bring about an invasion of England, and to compass the death of his mistress, the said gentleman made a detailed relation of the last treachery perpetrated by the Queen of Scotland, which seems to have been precisely of the nature that I have already described to your Serenity. After this he presented to the King the minutes of the trial of those who have been executed; and from their depositions the knowledge and participation of the Queen of Scotland is made quite clear (*venne dopo presentato al Re il processo formato contro quelli che furono fatti morire, per li constituti de' quali si scuopre manifestamente l' intelligenza e participazione di detta Regina*). Furthermore he handed to his Majesty many papers and letters which had been found in her house, which indicate still more clearly the nature of the affair; and among them was found a draft will in the Queen's own hand, by which she constitutes her son, James, heir to the Crown of England after her own demise, if by that time he shall have declared himself a Catholic; failing this the Crown is to pass to the King of Spain as the most zealous for religion and the most worthy prince in all the world; failing him or his heirs, to the Guise and their heirs (*et di più hanno dato alla Maestà Sua diverse scritture et lettere, trovateli nella sua casa, che notificano maggiormente il trattato, oltreche vi s' è trovato una cedula testamentaria di propria mano, nella quale instituisse herede del Regno d'Inghilterra dopo la sua morte il Re Giacomo suo figliuolo, se si sarà all' hora dechiarito Catolico, senon il Re di Spagna, come il più zelante della religione, et più degno Principe del mondo, et non vi essendo il Re di Spagna ne meno suoi figliuoli, che pervenghi in Duca di Ghisa et suoi heredi*).

I am informed that his most Christian Majesty has handled the subject with the Ambassador and that gentleman with great ability, declaring that he detested such actions and those who committed them; that the Queen had done quite rightly in making an example of those who were accomplices in the conspiracy; but that as regards the Queen of Scotland he desired first of all to examine the papers and letters which they had given to him, and would then return his answer.

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On the 12th despatches arrived from the French Ambassador in London, describing how, in the house where the Queen of Scotland is kept prisoner, three great rooms had been got ready with rich hangings, a canopy, and royal chairs. The Commissioners appointed to examine the Queen entered, and shortly afterwards the Queen herself; and when she made as though she would take her place under the canopy she was compelled to seat herself on a little stool beyond the canopy. She was questioned on many points which related to the recent affairs, but she declined to answer, although the Commissioners endeavoured to persuade her to do so, urging her not to irritate still more their mistress the Queen. To which she only answered that she was Queen of France, Queen of Scotland, and Queen of England after the death of the present Sovereign, and therefore it did not become her to render account of her actions to anyone but God. She held to this point for three days, always making the same reply, although she was urged to answer the questions addressed to her.

When the Queen of England heard of this constancy, three days later she sent a letter, without titles and without address, in which she declared that she had learned, with the greatest surprise, of the small account in which her orders and her Ministers were held, by this obstinate refusal to answer questions. She now informed her that if she would obey, as in duty bound, she would meet with mercy and pity, but that if she acted otherwise she should be tried by the law of the realm without any consideration, and that right quickly.

This intimation so alarmed the Queen of Scotland that she instantly resolved to answer all questions, to her great prejudice, as people think here, and in England; for besides stooping to a course of action which does not become her, it will damage her very much that she, with her own lips, has confessed to having had an understanding with Spain and with many Catholics in England, about her escape from prison; and this will minimise the value of her denial that she ever knew that there was a plot to kill the Queen; for an invasion of the country and the death of the Queen were the only means by which she could escape from prison (*con suo grandissimo pergiudicio, come vien discorso in questo et in quel Regno, perche dice ognuno, che oltre l' haver fatto cosa che non si conveniva, le nuocera assai l' haver confessato di propria bocca havere havuto parte et intelligenza con Spagna et con molti Catolici del Regno per esser liberata di pregione, dovendosi metter in poca consideratione che ella habbia negato haver mai saputo che si trattasse di far morir la Regina, poiche non può con mezzi tali uscir di prigionia senza invasione del Regno, et senza la morte della Regina d'Inghilterra*).

After these depositions she was declared by Parliament worthy of death on the charge of *læsa Majestas*, news which has greatly disturbed the Nuncio, the Queen of Scotland's Ambassador, and the Guises, and caused them to insist that the King should send an express, which he did; for on the 15th inst. he despatched M. de Bellievre, Councillor of State, with orders to make every possible

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representation to restrain the Queen of England from carrying out that sentence. Many here hope that the mission will succeed, especially at this juncture of affairs, for the Queen of England has every reason to desire to attach the King of France; at the same time they think that the Queen of Scotland cannot escape from a very close imprisonment (*cosi credono all' incontro, che non possi essa Regina di Scotia fuggire una vita molto ristretta et miserabile*).

Don Bernardino, as he himself told me, at once sent news to Spain of this Embassy to England, and says that it has been entrusted to a person of such importance in order that he may persuade the Queen of England to continue the war in the Low Countries, for which he is to promise much assistance from France.

Paris, 21st November 1586.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Nov. 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

435. Giovanni Dolfin, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

News from Antwerp that Drake has crossed over to Flushing in Zealand, with twelve ships, four large and eight medium size, having on board reinforcements for the Earl of Leicester; and that a ship with four hundred Scotch on board has gone down.

Paris, 22nd November 1586.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

436. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

A ship, master Nicolò of Melos, laden with muscats for England, ran into Lisbon on the 12th inst., under stress of weather as the master said. There is a great probability that the Marquis of Santa Cruz will seize and detain it on the ground that it is carrying provisions for his Majesty's foes. If I said anything about this I am certain that they would only be confirmed in their belief that any troubles of the Queen of England rouse displeasure in Venice, all the more so as in the case of the "Stella" which was chartered for Venice, the King gave orders to raise no difficulties.

Madrid, 27th November 1586.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Nov. 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

437. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

A courier has arrived at last from Flanders with confirmation of the news that the Duke of Parma has defeated the Queen of England's troops. The same courier brings information from Don Bernardino de Mendoza, that his most Christian Majesty is more than ever anxious to effect a peace; that the Guise, at a meeting of their party, have resolved to resist the reinforcements which the Protestant Princes of Germany have promised to send to the Huguenots; that the Guises have promised that if the King of Spain will attack England he shall have no trouble from France.

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The King of France has made most earnest entreaty with the Queen of England to spare the Queen of Scotland's life, on the grounds that she a Catholic, his own sister-in-law, and that the Scotch and French crowns have always been allied. The Queen of England answered that the trial had so clearly shown that the Scotch Queen's guilt that by the law of no country would she be allowed to live (*havendo il Re di Franza fatto ogni più efficace ufficio con la Regina di Inghilterra per la vita di quella di Scotia, si per esser Catholica et sua cognata, essendo stata moglie di suo fratello, come per la buona intelligentia che quella corona haveva havuto sempre con Scocessi; rispondeva detta Regina che il processo era cosi dichiarato, che le leggi di qualsivoglia natione non la lascierebbono viva*); *all the same, to show her goodwill towards his most Christian Majesty, she would send him the minutes of the trial so that he might see how she had been recompensed for sparing the Queen's life before, owing to a dislike of shedding royal blood; and that his Majesty might assure himself of the share which the Ministers of the Catholic King had taken in this plot* (*which is what stings them most here*); *and, lastly, that, relying on his Majesty's excellent disposition towards her, she chose him as a judge in this case, being well assured that when he had examined the crimes of the Queen of Scotland he, himself, would pass upon her the sentence which he now, in his want of information, begged her to quash.* (*Tuttavia, che ella per mostrar la stima che fa di Sua Maestà Christianissima, le manderebbe esso processo, si perche vedesse che maniera haveva tenuta colei in contracambio della vita che le haveva lassata, per metter mano nel sangue regale, et perche constasse ancora la parte che in questa conspiratione havevano i ministri del Re Catholico, che è quello che qui da molto fastidio, come perche, assicurandosi essa della buona et ottima mente della Maestà sua, la eleggeva per giudice di questo caso, sicura che essa, considerate le colpe di quella Regina farebbe ella medesima quella sententia che, come non informata del successo, pregava lei che non eseguisse.*) *From this reply the Spanish Ambassador concludes that the Queen of Scotland will not be put to death after all, but will be kept so close a prisoner that she will not be able to think of such undertakings any more; for the Queen of England will consent to spare her life both to please and attach the King of France, and to avoid more serious difficulties which would fall upon her; for if the Queen of Scotland is dead, the Prince, her son, succeeds to all her claims upon the English throne, which he cannot advance during his mother's lifetime, and thus England would create an enemy, free, well armed, and very likely more popular.*

Don Bernardino also declares that the anger of the King of France against his sister, the Queen of Navarre, is largely due to his conviction that she has received money from the Spanish Crown. Santa Cruz has been ordered to garrison the coast towns, and to fortify the port of Bayona in Galicia, which Drake once tried to seize when he was on his way to the Indies. The King has commanded that all the silver which has arrived in Seville with the fleet of New Spain shall be coined at once.

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The Grand Commendatore is dead, to his Majesty's great grief, for he was a man after the King's heart, and his Majesty is in grave doubts as to how he shall fill up the vacancies; he has sent orders that prayers shall be offered in all the churches of Spain for God's inspiration of his choice. *The Ambassadors of the Powers are not so sorry, for the Grand Commendatore treated every Prince as nothing in comparison with his Majesty the King.*

Madrid, 27th November 1586.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Dec. 2. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

438. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The Governor of Milan announces the departure of Ferrari for Constantinople to obtain a confirmation of the truce; but when he reached Venice he learned from the Secretary, Salazar, that the Turk was enraged at the damage inflicted on him in the Portuguese Indies. Ferrari accordingly took fright and returned to Milan. This displeased the King who sent off the same courier with letters from Marigliani to Ferrari, containing orders to set out for Constantinople at once, and to excuse the operation in the Indies.

Madrid, 2nd December 1586.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Dec. 3. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

439. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

I have frequently informed your Serenity of the consultations, and the advice both of the Council of State and of the Council of War upon the subject of the attack on England, how it ought to be attempted, and what difficulties lie in the way. I have also described the means which the King adopts to counteract these difficulties, and the preparations which he is making. I must now inform you of what a person of great importance said to me. He declares that both the King and his Ministers are extremely anxious to avenge themselves on the Queen of England, but two considerations of great weight present themselves, the questions of how and when. The French, from thinking too little, often fail; the Spanish, from thinking too much, often miss their opportunity, as, for example, when they failed to attack Ireland while Drake was away in the Indies. Had they succeeded in that there is no doubt but that the hour of punishment had rung for the Queen of England. Although the King has given orders to keep all the great ships that are in Spanish ports, and continues to carry out other preparations, still if he is really resolved to make the attack in spring, and is not playing the same game as that of twenty years ago, when he announced that he was going to Flanders, it is absolutely necessary that the Italian squadron should be already on its way, and that all the ships which the Marquis of Santa Cruz has asked for should be already at the ports where they are to receive their crews. Further, one must remember that in the

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expedition to the Azores, of two years ago, the eighteen ships of the Cadiz squadron missed the Marquis of Santa Cruz and his division of twenty-seven when he engaged Filippo Strozzi. The winter must be employed in careening and caulking the ships so that in February and March they may be ready to receive their stores; and to be in trim by April, which is the real time to make the passage. For if they miss the favourable winds which blow up to the beginning of May, they will have to put off the expedition till August, both on account of the north winds and of the strong tides which set in; otherwise the fleet will get scattered and will consume on the voyage the larger part of its provisions which should serve the armament when it has effected a landing. But if the expedition be delayed till August his Majesty runs the risk of sharing the fate of Charles V. on his Algerian expedition, which was ruined because he sailed at a bad season; a result which served as a warning to the whole world. After August north-east winds and high tides must be looked for. From all these considerations he drew this conclusion that his Majesty will not let himself be persuaded to embark on this enterprise at that season, which offers so few chances of success and so many obvious dangers, and risk of the utter loss of the whole Armada. Again if April be chosen as the month of departure, the Italian and German levies should have been got ready by this time, especially the German; and yet no one knows whether any orders about them have so much as been issued, except for a few Bavarian companies, who by now, must be in Flanders. For these recruits require to be acclimatized to the sea air by passing the winter on the coast, and by hardships they can be gradually disciplined to endurance; otherwise if they are embarked the moment they arrive the commander will hope to reach England with fifty thousand men, but will really find a far smaller number, as always happens with recruits. So that if they do not intend to give them a winter's hardening they must raise a great many more men than the number really required; and that will imply an increase in the number of the ships, therefore more expense and greater difficulty in preparing the fleet. And even supposing it were possible to overcome these difficulties the Spanish would never be the men to do so, for the reasons given above. Nor would it be possible to make use of the Flanders army as some suggest, leaving only the fortresses garrisoned; for such a scheme implies many objections. He added that it was not surprising that his Majesty had remained so passive up till now, for he forced to construct countermines to the mines which the Queen of England was directing against him from many quarters, alluding to the information in my despatch of the 15th of last month; and besides this he had to raise money, for his treasury was exhausted by the war in Flanders and other expenses. He repeated his conviction that an armament of the size required could not be ready by spring; but even if it were his Majesty's most advisable course of action would be to attack Ireland, nor could that be done without a large Armada for the Queen knows quite well that Ireland is the door of her kingdom; and if that

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was threatened by the King, the Queen would find it to her advantage to attack him at once rather than risk the probable loss of the island. He thought that his Majesty was well advised in carefully removing all difficulties from his path while continuing his preparations for war, whether the scene of that was to be England or Ireland, or, as others supposed, Holland and Zealand. For his Majesty is councilled to follow out Cardinal de Granvelle's policy, which was to direct all forces, both sea and land, to the recovery of those provinces, an achievement which would greatly assist the attack upon England. He added, however, that in his opinion all the present preparations are being made with the following objects in view, first to give satisfaction to all the world and to his own subjects, by proving that he does not intend to endure the Queen's conduct any longer; then to induce the representatives of Castille and the clergy to satisfy his demands; to hold the Portuguese in check, and to deprive them of all hopes of a successful rising by keeping large garrisons in that country, and thus taming a people who are now known to be his Majesty's most inveterate foes; to secure the safety of his Peruvian fleets and of the seaboard of Spain against a descent in force, and against pirates; finally to keep the Queen of England constantly in alarm and in expenses for the defence of her Kingdom and the maintenance of her fleet, which will consume a large part of her revenue, and will finally induce her to come to terms; and thus his Majesty will have gained a great victory without any bloodshed and without drawing his sword, by the shere ability of his diplomacy, which is what he really desires, as he is old, and his son and heir is still of tender years, and not to be left with the legacy of so difficult and dangerous a war." With that this gentleman took his leave. He is highly esteemed at Court for his prudence, and sometimes is called on to take part in the most important discussions. On the other hand, it is urged that the just indignation of his Majesty will force him to overcome all difficulties, and that we shall soon see the appointment of a commander-in-chief, the levy of troops in Italy and Germany, and all the preparations necessary for so arduous an enterprise; for there is money in abundance; his Majesty has close on six millions of gold laid by, he expects two millions more with the Peruvian fleet, and hopes for further assistance from other quarters.

Madrid, 3rd December 1586.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Dec. 5. Original Despatch, Venetian, Archives.

440. GIOVANNI DOLFIN, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The English gentleman was dismissed last week with a general answer; the King said that he would reserve his remarks on the Queen of Scotland's case till he has the report of Bellievre, who has been sent on purpose to draw up one. The gentleman received silver to the value of eight hundred crowns.

Paris, 5th December 1586.

[*Italian.*]

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Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

441. GIOVANNI DOLFIN, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The French Ambassador in England writes in his despatch of the last of November, that thirty of the leading members of Parliament went to announce to the Queen the sentence which they had pronounced against the Queen of Scotland, that she should lose her head for *læsa Majestas*. Thereupon the Queen of England sank upon her knees, and for the space of a quarter of an hour prayed to God that, inasmuch as the question was of such moment as was that of putting to death a woman, a Sovereign Queen like herself, relation of all the great Princes of the world, and closely allied to herself by blood, it would please Him to inspire her how to act for the greater glory of His name, the greater safety of her kingdom, the greater security for her person, for she found it too hard that she, a woman, and the most tender hearted on earth, should be called upon to take the life of her own kinswoman. Then, rising, she turned to the members of Parliament and said that she called down on them the wrath of heaven if they, in a matter of such moment, had allowed themselves to be influenced by supposing they were acting so as to please her, and had omitted any of those due considerations which justice requires. They replied that they had proceeded with all the circumspection which such a case demanded. The Queen added that before taking any steps she must wait the arrival of M. de Bellievre, Ambassador of France, who was on his way, and must hear the Ambassador of Scotland who had come to London on purpose. This delay increases the hope that the Queen of Scotland will not be put to death at present. Her Ambassador here told me yesterday that M. de Bellievre ought to have been in London on the 2nd, and that the Scotch Ambassador has orders to put himself in communication with Bellievre, and to act with him.

We hear from the camp of the Duke of Parma that a Genoese gentleman, called Agostin Grasigna, has arrived there from the Queen of England to treat of peace. Andrea dell Ho' has left for Spain on a similar mission. They say he carries many guineas, (*molte chinee*) to give to the Marquis of Santa Cruz.

Don Pedro Sermento, a Spanish gentleman of great importance, reached Paris last week. He has been a prisoner for four months in England, and has now been liberated without any ransom. They say he had long audiences of the Queen, and is armed with her passport, as he has to travel through Huguenot country; that he is charged by her to speak for the peace.

He stayed in Paris three days, and left on the 5th by post for Spain.

The other day, in the Church of S. François, a Parisian of good family was listening to mass. At the moment of consecration he rose to his feet, seized the Host, rushed round the church, and threw it to the ground, saying it was a vile thing to adore a piece of bread. The mob seized him, and he is now in prison. *Though*

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all cry out against him still nothing is done because of the influence of his family, which is of the long robe, who say he is mad.

Paris, 8th December 1586.

[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Dec. 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

442. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

A French gentleman has arrived here secretly from some of the Princes of France, and, they say, from Navarre as well; he has conferences with Don Juan d'Idiaquez by night, and remains shut up all day. They say that he is commissioned to inform the Spanish Ministers that the question of peace or war in France lies entirely in his Majesty's power by the expenditure of only one hundred thousand ducats.

The Guise give the King to understand that the Prince of Scotland, their nephew, will turn Catholic for sure, and will declare his submission to the Apostolic chair, but that it is necessary to support him, for he hesitates to declare himself partly from fear of his own subjects, partly from dread of the Queen of England. They have accordingly resolved to give him fair promises until he shows more determination, as they hold that good relations with Scotland and its detachment from England will prove of great service to this Crown and to religion. All this, however, is conducted with the utmost secresy, either on account of recent events, or because of the rumour that the Queen of England has brought the Queen of Scotland to the Tower of London, and is determined to put her to death. This, however, is not credited either by the King or by his Ministers, because there is no reason in the world why England should commit an act which would rouse all Christendom in wrath against her.

It is quite certain that she has sent a rich present to the King of Fez, which leads us to suspect some secret negotiations between them to the damage of this Crown. Accordingly they are hastening the despatch of ships from Lisbon with munitions for the African forts, especially those outside the Straits.

News has reached the King that at the Philippines the Spanish have discovered at least three hundred new islands, all full of precious products; and a kind of pepper and clove all in one grain; specimens have been sent here. I have some in my house; it is an exquisite and delicate thing.

Madrid, 15th December 1586.

[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Dec. 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

443. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The last courier express from Rome brings urgent incentives from the Pope to induce his Majesty to attempt something in earnest either against England or against Ireland. His Holiness promised to unlock the treasury of the Church, and also to supply men raised in Italy, and paid as far as Spain. The Grand Duke

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of Tuscany, through the Pope, renews his offer to lead the enterprise in person, and to furnish twelve thousand infantry.

His Majesty has replied that he desires above everything to chastise that woman, and that he is considering how to do it. He begged the Pope to secure the neutrality of France.

The Turkish Chavass is in treaty with the King of Fez for the port of El Arisch, and this negotiation is supported by the Queen of England's Ambassador.

Madrid, 16th December 1586.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Dec. 24. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

444. LORENZO BERNARDO, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Every day the dissatisfaction of the French Ambassador with the Grand Vizir grows greater, for the Ambassador thinks that the Vizir is entirely hostile to the interests of the King of France, having not only refused him satisfaction against Messer Paulo Mariani and the Chavass, who in his very presence beat his dragoman, but even threatens to send an envoy to France about the question of the Turks who were captured by the galleys of Malta, quite against the wish of the Ambassador.

On the top of all this comes another cause of quarrel, for while the Imperial Ambassador and I are allowed to land wine without paying duty, this privilege has not only been refused to the French Ambassador, but the boat containing the wine has, by order of the Vizir, been taken from before the Ambassador's house and carried off to the customs house, where the wine was unladen and sold by public auction. The Ambassador openly declares that he is subjected to all these insults because the Grand Vizir supports Spain against France on the advice of the Jew Benveniste, his familiar, who is in the pay of the King of Spain, and supplies the Vizir with much money from that King. He declares that the Sultan shall be informed of it all, and if he does not obtain justice he will most assuredly be recalled. The Ambassador takes advantage of the ill will between the Vizir and Ibrahim Pasha, to use the latter as the channel for this communication.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 24th December 1586.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

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1587. Jan. 2. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

445. GIOVANNI DOLFIN, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

A son of Secretary Bruslart has arrived from England. He has been sent by M. de Bellievre, who describes his arrival at that Court, and says that he has been very well received by the Queen, notwithstanding that the affair upon which he was sent to negotiate is

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most displeasing to the whole nation. He reports that he has had an interview with her Majesty, and, in obedience to his orders, he used every possible means to obtain the release of the Queen of Scotland. Her Majesty replied that she was greatly surprised to find that the King, who on so many occasions had proved his affection for her begotten by her natural regard for him, and his esteem for her produced by her constant deference to his Majesty's name, should now endeavour, by a special embassy, by such vehement insistance, by employing so trusted a servant, to save the life of one who had so iniquitously compassed hers. But still greater was her surprise at the mission of Bellievre, for the King might plead that he was forced, even against his will, to give satisfaction to those who little deserved it, but this journey of Bellievre was not consistent with the rôle of a good councillor, whose duty it could never be to advise his Prince to protect an unjust cause, above all the cause of one who had always lived to live ill and to do ill, and ill to her who had always been a benefactor. Bellievre left her Majesty unshaken in her resolve, by the many powerful arguments in favour of the Queen of Scotland; and the sentence was published condemning the Queen to death. The population of London wished to show their great contentment at this resolve by fireworks all over the city at night.

The sentence was read to the Queen of Scotland; by it she was deprived of the title of Queen, of the insignia of royalty, and of her servants, and condemned to death. The Queen of England's officers began at once to give effect to this sentence. A Minister of the Church went to the Queen of Scotland to do his business with many perverse arguments, to which the Queen replied as follows: that Catholic she had lived and Catholic she would die; from the Roman, the only true Church, she had instilled into her heart the holy faith, for which she would expose her blood and her life to a thousand deaths and to a thousand torments; that she marvelled at the presumption with which he ventured to execute his orders; and although these proofs of a mind inflamed against her without any just cause, were sufficient to disturb her as a woman, yet as a Catholic, as a Queen (which title God's grace and her own constancy would always preserve to her, which dignity no insolence on earth could filtch from her), laying aside all human passion, she prayed the Almighty to illumine, by His most holy favour, the mind of the Queen of England, and to guide her actions to better ends than she had pursued for years past (*avisa havere havuto audienza da Sua Maestà, colla quale, havendo fatto ogni possibile ufficio per la liberatione della Regina di Scotia, conforme alla commissione di Sua Maestà Christianissima, rispose essa, che restava veramente molto maravigliata, che il Re che in tante occasione haveva mostrato amarla et per l' amor che ella portava a lui per propria inclinatione singolare, et di stimarlo per quella osservanza che essa haveva continua al nome di Sua Maestà, volesse procurar con cosi espressa ambasciata, con ufficii tanto vehemente, et con mezzo d' un suo principalissimo Consigliero, di dar la vita a quella che cosi iniquamente haveva procurata a levarla a lei.*

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Che molto maggiore ancora era la meraviglia della partenza del esso Monsieur de Belleure, che dell' ufficio del Rè; perche sicome questo era appoggiato all' interesse, che ha il Rè in questi tempi di voler dare, anco contra sua voglia, sodisfattione a quelli che non la meritano, cosi quella non haveva riguardo all' ufficio d' un buon consigliero; poiche non era cosa giusta consigliare il suo Principe a protegger cause ingiuste, et d' una ch' è visuta sempre con fine di viver male, per far male, et sopra 'l tutto a quella che haveva fatto tanto bene. Partito Monsieur de Belleure dalla Regina con questa rissolutione, non ostante la replica di molte ragioni potenti a favor di quella di Scotia, fu publicata la sentenza, che fosse fatta morire; onde il popolo di Londra mostrando con moltiplici ragionamenti gran consolatione di questa rissolutione, volse far anco publici segni d' allegrezza con fuochi di notte per tutta la città. Fu letta la sentenza alla Regina di Scotia, che non dovesse esser più chiamata Regina ma Maria, che le fossero levati i baldachini; che il suo palazzo fosse spogliato delli addobbamenti regii, et coperto tutto di negro; che le fosse levata tutta la servitù, et mandatole un Ministro per essortarla a ben morire, et che dopo le fosse privata di vita. Le quali cose tutte sendo immediate principiate ad esseguirsi dalli Ufficiali regii, andò il Ministro per far ancor' egli l' ufficio suo con ragioni piene di perverse persuasioni, al qual, scriveno, che essa parlò in questa sostanza, che sendo visuta Catholica, Catholica voleva parimente morire, che dalla Romana, ch' è sola vera Chiesa, haveva impresso nel cuore la santa fede per la quale il sangue et la vita a mille tormenti et a mille morti voleva porre; che per tanto restava maravigliata della prosontione che insolentemente s' arrogava, per tentar d' esseguir la sua commissione; che seben tante dimostrationi d' un animo concitato verso di lei senza alcuna ragione, haveva forza di perturbarla assai come Donna, che però come Catholica, come Regina (il qual nome si come le sarà sempre preservato dalla bontà d'Iddio, et dalla sua constanza, cosi quella dignità non le potrà esser gia mai levata da alcuna insolenza) spogliatasi d' ogni passione humana, supplicava il Signor Dio con ogni humiltà che volesse con raggi della sua santissima gratia, rischiarar l' intelletto della Regina d'Inghilterra d' indirizzar le attioni sue a miglior fine di quello che operava tant' anni sono).

Monsieur de Bellievre, accurately informed of all that was going on, went once more to the Queen of England, to whom he made great complaint both of the sentence and the mode in which it was passed; he declared that, owing to its unwonted nature, it had greatly disturbed the King, who could not fail to feel deeply hurt by such treatment of the Queen of Scotland, so closely allied to him by blood and by affection. He further begged her Majesty to reconsider her decision, at which she had arrived when her mind was disturbed by her Councillors. The Queen replied that the wickedness of the Queen of Scotland was unwonted, and unwonted should be the example offered to the world as a warning to live well; on this point she had been admirably advised by her Councillors; that the King had no reason to complain for sound justice was being done, and as that

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was pleasing to God it ought to be pleasing to the King, for this justice was being done on a bad woman, protected by bad men, enemies of his Majesty and of the peace of France; and she added that it was absolutely necessary for Mary to die if Elizabeth was to live, or for Elizabeth to die if Mary was to live. She had on every occasion shown how great was the love she bore to the King, and now on this occasion as well she would give another proof by suspending execution for fifteen days, and thus would demonstrate to the King how just her claim and her resolve had been.

Monsieur de Bellievre writes, however, that although the Queen spoke so firmly to him, and though such steps had been taken against the Queen of Scotland, yet he did not despair completely, though he greatly feared that the rest of the Queen of Scotland's life could only be a miserable one, quite unsuited even to any ordinary woman, much less to one of royal blood.

The great variety of the reports which are circulating here has induced me to write at length to your Serenity so that you may be informed of the substance of Monsieur de Bellievre's despatches to the King, which has been communicated to me under cover of the greatest secrecy by a person of importance.

(*Monsieur de Belleure ottimamente informato di tutte queste cose andò di nuovo a trovar la Regina d'Inghilterra, colla quale fece gravissime querele et della sentenza et delle circonstanze sue, che sendo termini insoliti, haveriano havuto forza di perturbar grandemente l' animo del Re, il quale in cosi fatto cosa non poteva senon sentir molto male cosi fatta dimostratione verso la Regina di Scotia che non manco d' amore che d' affinità, li era strettamente congiunta; che per tanto fosse contenta la Maestà Sua pensar meglio alle risolutioni prese col consiglio d' un animo assai perturbato de suoi consiglieri. Rispose ella, che sendo insolita l'iniquità della Regina di Scotia, era ben conveniente con insolita dimostratione dar esempio al mondo del modo che si deve tener a viver bene, che per questo era stata ottimamente consigliata da suoi; et che manco se ne doveva dolere il Re poiche veniva esseguita una buona giustitia, la quale sendo tanto cara a Dio deve esser parimente cara a Sua Maestà, perche è esercitata verso una Donna cattiva, protetta da huomini cattivi et inimici particolari di Sua Maestà, et di tutta la quiete di Franza; soggiungendo che bisognava al tutto o che fosse fatta morir Maria perche vivesse Elisabet, o che Elisabet si contentasse di morire perche vivesse Maria; ma sia che sicome in tutte le occorenze haveva fatto conoscer al Re l' amor che li portava cosi anco in questa occasione li ne voleva dar quest' altro assaggio, commandando che per* 15 *giorni fosse sospesa la sentenza, che serveria a far conoscer al Re vivamente le giuste pretentioni et risolutioni sue. Scrive però Mons. de Belleure, che sebene la Regina li havea parlato sempre risolutamente, et che seben erano fatte quelle esecutioni contra la Regina di Scotia, che non desperava affatto; come temeva grandemente che viveria essa una vita molto lacrimabile et incompatibile ad una povera donnicciuola, non che ad una di sangue reale. Li ragionamenti varii mi han eccittato a scrivere a V. Serenità cosi diffusamente in*

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questo proposito; accioche ella sappia quello che scrive Mons. de Belleure al Re, che m' è poi stato communicato sotto molta secretezza da persona principale.)

Paris, 2nd January 1587.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 5. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

446. Giovanni Dolfin, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The King has recently despatched a member of the house of M. de L'Aubespine, his Ambassador in England, with all speed, to carry autograph letters addressed to the Queen; in these he makes most earnest appeals to her to spare the life of the Queen of Scotland; he recalls to her mind that Mary is not only a Queen and a great Queen, but she is intimately related to himself; he declares that he will take it as a supreme testimony of that affection which Elizabeth has so frequently protested for him, if Mary's life be spared, and promises to retain an eternal and grateful memory of that favour, whereas in any other case he cannot fail to be deeply offended.

(*Il Re ha ultimamente ispedito in molta diligenza uno della casa de Monsieur de Lubepine, suo Ambasciatore residente in Inghilterra, con lettere di proprio pugno a quella Regina, con le quali fa seco affettuosissimo ufficio accioche quella di Scotia non sia fatta morire, a ricordandole che oltre l' esser Regina et Regina grande, et congiunta seco d' affinità, esso ancora riceverà per supremo testimonio di quello amor ch' essa ha detto tante volte di portarli, se sara lasciata in vita, di che ne conserverà in ogni tempo et in ogni occasione gratissima memoria, come non potria in altro caso senon restarne gravamente offeso.*)

Paris, 5th January 1587.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 6. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

447. Matheo Zane, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the Doge and Senate.

A person of great authority declares that the King of Spain is in treaty with the Queen of England to recover Flanders on good terms.

Prague, 6th January 1586 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

448. Lorenzo Bernardo, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

Eighteen English, captured in Barbary, have been brought here. The English Ambassador does all he can to recover them.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 7th January 1586 [m.v.].

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

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Jan. 8.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

449. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Every day one hears of fresh preparations for war in various parts of Spain, and especially in Malaga, where forty ovens over and above the ordinary, are at work continually, preparing biscuits to last a year for a force of seventy thousand persons. Francesco Duartes has been charged with the contract for thirty thousand cantaras* of cheese, which cost one hundred and fifty thousand crowns, and were brought by the twenty Hamburg ships which reached Lisbon a few days ago. They use great diligence in buying and storing vinegar and wine, and owing to the great scarcity of them this year they have sent to the Canaries to laden, for there they are to be had cheap, as they have recently planted many vineyards in place of sugar. Two hundred and fifty thousand ducats have been paid in cash to Antonio da Gheuara, who has the contract for victualling the Armada, in order that he may the better be able to treat for the supply of meat and salt fish, and other provisions.

They are fitting up several ships at Saccaben in Portugal; they were taken from the Flemish two years ago, and were in a very bad state. Repeated orders have been sent to retain all the big ships in these ports. Seven companies of light cavalry of Castille and the Asturias have moved to the frontiers of Portugal.

The King has a list of forty captains drawn up from information furnished by the cities of Spain, and he is going to commission them for two hundred men apiece; some say they are to go at once to Lisbon, others that they are to sppply the place of the Italian reserves. Further, the Prince of Parma has received orders to send to Spain twenty of his bravest lieutenants to be commissioned as captains for the four thousand troops which are being raised in Castille. The Council of War meets every day to treat of these and similar secret preparations; *but as to the real intentions of his Majesty your Serenity will discover them more easily from the enclosed report furnished by the Marquis of Santa Cruz, which I have obtained in great secresy.*

The King kept the feast of the translation of S. James in his chapel. All the knights of the order were present, to the number, perhaps, of one hundred. The General of the Augustines, called Pinello, preached with great eloquence, exhorting the knights to spend their lives and their fortunes on the English expedition, and proving in a most beautiful way that it was impossible to do anything more acceptable to God than to punish the English heretics.

Don Juan de Gusman, commander of the fleet of New Spain, which has just arrived, has been arrested on the charge of having exceeded his orders, which were to wait for the Peruvian fleet; that fleet is expected in April, and is said to be very rich, some even declare that it brings eight millions in gold. It is held certain that the King will send out a fleet to meet it, especially as many English

* Cantara = 16 lbs. *See* Martini, *Manuale di Metrologia*, p. 322.

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ships are known to be cruising about, and Drake is getting ready the rest of his squadron; *he says that nothing would be so serviceable for the Queen as to seize a Spanish fleet, by which she would acquire reputation, and would throw Spanish affairs into confusion.*

The French Agent, who was here on behalf of several great nobles of France, has left without obtaining any result. His object was to secure one hundred thousand crowns from the King on condition that peace was not concluded in France.

They have other means, however, to attain this end, chiefly through Savoy, Montmorency, and Guise.

Madrid, 8th January 1586 [m.v.].

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

450. REPORT by the MARQUIS OF SANTA CRUZ, setting forth what must be done to counteract the mischief wrought by the ENGLISH.

Learning that many ships have already sailed from England, and that others are about to sail, making a total of eighty, his Majesty should put together a fleet, and should send it out to seek and fight the English. The galleons of his Majesty in Portugal, and those in the river at Seville, should be got ready, careening and caulking them, so that they may be fit for any voyage, however long; also a galleon of the Grand Duke, which is very well armed, should be put in commission. Further, forty-five great ships which are now lying in Biscay and Guipusca must be refitted, armed, commissioned, and victualled for eight months; and a thousand sailors must be levied in Catalonia and Barbary, and divided among the ships, as was done in the case of the fleet for the Azores. Six thousand troops must be raised, and the order should issue for more than that number so that it may not fall short. From Biscay we must have twenty transports. Supplies of artillery, powder, cordage, lead, harquebusses, muskets, pikes in reserve, must be collected.

We also require another squadron of ten ships, two of four hundred tons, four of two hundred tons, and four transports; also one thousand men besides the crews.

Considering that the English have done so much damage in so short a time to the merchant men trading in these waters it is likely that they will do the same to the India fleets; accordingly it would be as well to give orders that at least two more ships besides the Captain and the Admiral, should be armed in each fleet; but this is not a reason to stop the escort.

All these preparations are directed solely against the English fleet and English corsairs. But if Don Antonio is on board the English fleet, and if he attempts a landing on the coast of Portugal then the following provisions would be required. The fleet and army, which I have indicated above, should be kept to deal with the enemy on this coast; and the Castillian guard should be called out, as well as six hundred light horse; half should be disposed between the Douro and the Miño on the Portuguese borders, ready

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to go where required, while the other half should be employed to garrison Lisbon.

It will be necessary to raise other four thousand men to be furnished by the Counts of Benevento, Altamira, Monterey, and the Marquises of Saria and Seralva, and other nobles and gentlemen of this district, who are to hold these troops in readiness against the time when his Majesty comes to Portugal. The Militia of Toro, Zamora, Salamanca, and Trissiglia are to support the district between the Douro and Miño, and that of Estremadura and Seville to support Lisbon and its district. The forts of this city, on the river and in the district should be provided with victuals and ammunition, and all that is required in the way of artillery, as I requested in other reports which I submitted to your Majesty. The troops must be equipped for a four months' campaign. Six thousand reserves should be ready to march down to the Tagus, should the English fleet not continue its route to the Indies.

I hold that all the above provisions are required for your Majesty's service, and should be got ready with all speed; that the money should be held in readiness to furnish these supplies, each of them separately without considering the others, and all should be done promptly.

Submitting myself to better judgment.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Jan. 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

451. Giovanni Gritti, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

His Holiness said to me: "They would not attack the Turk while he was engaged with Persia; they would not attack England, which, after all, is only half of an island, and has frequently been taken before by Britons and Saxons; Spain should have attacked England at once; that would have cut off the supplies to Flanders; instead of which much money has been wasted uselessly. We will grant ecclesiastical subsidies of two millions to the King of Spain."

Rome, 10th January 1586 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

452. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The agent sent to the Schereef, whose name is Marino, writes that the King treats him with courtesy, entertains him, and uses him well, but that he can get nothing from the King but words. Further, the English Agent comes and goes constantly, and the Queen of England has sent a large number of shipbuilders to make galleys and galleons, but the Schereef has not slaves enough to man them. The Turkish Agent is still in Morocco, and the Schereef intercepts all letters and messengers for Spain, and it requires the greatest astuteness to get them through. These despatches are eagerly looked for here in order to penetrate the designs of the Turks and the Queen of England.

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Two deputies from the Province of Biscay are now at Court; the King has contracted with them for the building of one hundred and twenty ships in four years. His Majesty will employ this fleet for six months, April to September, of each year, at a rate of two hundred and seventy-six thousand ducats, and will spend two thousand ducats a year on their up keep; and should he not require all he will use only a part. They are bound to serve in European and all other waters. If the King desires to employ them all the year they will be paid for the extra time, and when not in his Majesty's service they are to be favoured above all other shipping in respect of chartering.

In this way they hope to have a navy which will free the seas from pirates.

This idea was proposed by the Cardinal de Granvelle.

Some English goods which arrived at Cadiz, under the name of French firms, have been seized. Longle, the French Ambassador, makes representations for their release, but it is thought that he will not succeed.

Madrid, 11th January 1586 [m.v.].

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Jan. 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

453. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Don Juan d'Idiaquez came to-day to visit me, which he said he did also in the King's name. Among other points he said that his Majesty was glad to learn that the Marquis of Santa Cruz had obeyed his orders, and had set the *Stella* at liberty for Venice, and the other Venetian ship for England, although he knew that it was carrying goods for his enemies.

I thought it advisable to say nothing about the second ship, for here they are convinced that Venice does not wish well to the attack on England.

Don Juan d'Idiaquez talked of many subjects; among others he said that the Queen of England made a poor return to his Catholic Majesty for having freed her from prison. The King was resolved to keep up a large fleet to clear the ocean of pirates, and one day or other the Queen would receive her punishment, which would be all the severer the longer it was delayed. As these words were used by a Minister of such importance, who may be said to do everything, they were as though spoken by the voice of the King, and so I have not hesitated to report them to your Serenity. He also told me that although the King has been living in retirement during Christmas, and attending to his devotions, yet he has not omitted to make various provisions for the Armada. It is indeed a miracle to see how he governs this great machine without any Council of State, and almost, one might say, without Ministers; but his long experience, and his singular prudence, joined to his great power, easily point out to him alone sound and excellent lines of action more easily than they could occur to many, however wise they might be (et è cosa veramente incredibile il considerare come

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si governa hora questa gran machina senza consiglio di Stato et si puo dire senza Ministri, ma la longa pratica et la singolar prudenza di questo serenissimo Re congionta con una tanta potentia dimostranno a lui solo più facile le vere et buone deliberationi che a molte altri uniti insieme, per savii che si fussero).

All the same, considering his Majesty's age, we must hold that he will not be able to support these long fatigues entailed on him by his desire to examine and to know about every detail; and as his son is so young he will be forced soon to elect Ministers of experience so that after his death a young Prince and inexperienced Ministers may not be left to the government of so many Kingdoms and States.

Madrid, 12th January 1586 [m.v.].

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Jan. 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

454. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

There is a fresh attempt to arrive at an accord with England. An English merchant, resident in Lisbon under safe conduct, is in treaty on this subject with the Secretary Michiel de Mora, who, in his turn, refers everything to Don Pedro Sermento. It seems that the Queen is in some alarm at the last conspiracies, and because she finds out every day that the number of Catholics in her kingdom is greater than she supposed; moreover her continual and unfruitful expenses in Flanders, which expose her to some ruinous reverses, all incline her to yield Holland and Zealand to his Majesty, without insisting, as she did at first, on the clauses securing liberty of conscience. The whole affair is kept a profound secret, and it is not impossible that it may prove to be an artifice of that exceedingly clever woman to throw things out of gear, and to cause the heat of armament to cool (et potrebbe esser ancora come qui dubitano, che fusse artificio di quella accortissima donna, per sturbar che di qua si cessi dall' ardor di far Armada); all the more so as it is announced that the Queen, with a view to securing herself against the communications which pass between the Prince of Scotland and this Crown, and also in order to execute the Queen of Scotland in greater safety, has attempted to seize the Prince by an ambuscade while he was out hunting. The design failed, and the Queen then announced that she had sent those people merely to attend and serve the Prince.

Don Bernardino de Mendoza writes from France that the pacification of that kingdom will not take place, in his opinion, or if it does it will last a shorter time than the last. He endeavours to persuade his Majesty that now is the time to avenge herself on that woman; he adduces many reasons in support of his view, and, above all, the fact that after this fresh injury Scotland will openly declare himself against the Queen of England (cerca di persuadere a questo Serenissimo Re esser hora il tempo di vendicarsi di quella Donna, adducendo molte ragioni a favor dell' impresa et massime che Scotia per questa nuova ingiuria si mostrerà apertamente

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contra quella Regina). *I shall watch whether the agreement with England progresses or not, and hope to have information from a sound source.*

The Schereef has replied in general terms from which nothing can be gathered. The Spanish, who return from Flanders, complain loudly of the Duke of Parma, declaring that they are very badly treated, and the Italians always favoured; but the King pays no heed.

Madrid, 14th January 1586 [m.v.].

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Jan. 17. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

455. GIOVANNI GRITTI, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Queen of England after condemning the Queen of Scotland to death has pardoned her at the instance of the King of France.

Rome, 17th January 1587.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 17. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

456. GIOVANNI GRITTI, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

His Holiness then said to me that the Queen of England, in alarm at the preparations in Spain, had recalled her troops from Flanders, and was urging the Turk to send out a fleet, in order to divert the King of Spain from his enterprise against England. For this purpose she kept an Agent at Constantinople who was negotiating this affair. The Emperor furnished this news to his Holiness.

Rome, 17th January 1586 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Jan 21. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

457. GIOVANNI DOLFIN, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Three days ago, while making the usual visit to the English Ambassador, M. de Dereaux was announced; he is the Agent sent by Navarre to his Majesty. He entered on a long explanation of the causes of the present war in France, laying all the blame on the house of Guise, who rendered it impossible for his master to conclude terms of peace.

Paris, 21st January 1587.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in Despatch from Constantinople, Jan. 21.

458. COPY of the LETTER written by the GRAND SIGNOR to the QUEEN OF ENGLAND.

Your Ambassador here resident has presented a memorial to my sublime Porte, setting forth your great and true fidelity, and how that you are at war with Spain, and have captured many provinces, forts, and cities which now are subject unto you; and how that you have made provision for a great Armada to oppose the Armada of Spain which was sent to the Gidé (*sic*) Sea, and that you have

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hopes that by this time it is captured. The memorial also states that you have so reduced the Spanish army in Flanders for want of provisions that a large part of it has been captured. For these reasons the enmity of the Spanish has been so much increased that they have more than twice sent desperate harquebrusseirs to assault you, but by the help of the Lord God no harm has been done. Accordingly my Imperial Majesty is convinced that you are right faithful to my sublime Porte, and it is therefore necessary for you to observe all the terms of the various obligations which bind both parties. And do not fail to write to me of your health, and to tell me what happens in your part of the world; and as for your complaint against Hassan Aga on account of some slaves he has been degraded, and when he comes here we will speak and act as becomes our good friendship.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 24. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

459. GIOVANNI GRITTI, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The preparations in Naples, Sicily, and Milan, as well as in Spain, make people say that the King of Spain is about to attack Geneva or England. As regards England it is argued that France will never allow Spain to become mistress of that island; and so it will be too dangerous for the Spaniards to attack England with a hostile France on their flanks.

Rome, 24th January 1586 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

460. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

As I wrote before, the Council of War meets every day, morning and evening, to attend to the armament of the fleet. Along the coast of Spain, and chiefly at Seville and Cadiz, as many as one hundred and twenty ships, chiefly Flemish, have been impounded. It would seem that his Majesty has resolved to cut off the trade of Holland and Zealand, a step which he could never be induced to take before. It is held for certain that the English fleet will be out long before the Catholic armada, which will be under the command of the Marquis of Santa Cruz.

English corsairs have captured, off Cape St. Vincent, two ships coming from Brazil, and six other ships which were carrying ammunition from Castille off to Lisbon. In that city a Portuguese friar, a spy of Don Antonio, has been arrested; he was carrying many letters to Don Antonio, urging him to come to Portugal as soon as possible, and containing other news of the highest importance. He is a friar of the order of Saint Francis, of noble blood, brother to Count Bridiguerre; he has already once before been a prisoner for a year in the Castle of Belem; but was subsequently liberated and sent to a monastery in Castille on parole that he would mix no more in such affairs; now he will pay the penalty with eighteen others who up to the present have been arrested.

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The Queen of England sent here to treat of an accord, a Spaniard called Don Sermento di Gamboa, whom Drake had captured in the Indies. She says, however, that she intends to hold the sword in hand. But about this, and about the poor Queen of Scotland, your Serenity will have received much earlier news from France. I must tell you, however, that the said Gamboa on his way from England to Spain, was seized by the Huguenots of Bordeaux, who demanded a ransome of several thousand ducats, which were paid by the King of Spain.

Madrid, 26th January 1586 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 30. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

461. GIOVANNI DOLFIN, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Monsieur de Bellievre told me that the Queen of England, after the many representations reiterated in the King's name, has finally resolved to remove the black hangings from the Queen of Scotland's rooms, and to give her some waiting women, without making any other promises about sparing her life; but always declaring that she must take the steps necessary for her own safety, which she believed was no less dear to the King than the life of "Mary," so she now calls the Queen of Scotland. The Queen of Scotland, besides the obvious danger she is in owing to her religion, which will always be a source of movements and tumults, is also exposed to this further risk that Elizabeth has compelled all her great nobles to sign a paper declaring Mary to be worthy of death, and these will now, all of them, urge her execution, out of regard for their own safety and from fear of what she would do to them if she came to the throne.

Paris, 30th January 1587.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 31. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

462. GIOVANNI GRITTI, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

All the preparations which are going on cause people to think that the attack on England is settled. The Pope will give seven hundred thousand crowns, which he wishes to pay out at the rate of fifty thousand a month. A Cardinal of importance speaking to me, said, "I fear that it may not please everyone to see the Pope laying by so much money," and the general opinion is that the attack on England is a very difficult affair.

Rome, 31st January 1586 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 3. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

463. MATHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The journey of the Archduke Mathias is towards England where they say he has been invited. The Emperor is very displeased.

Prague, 3rd February 1586 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

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Feb. 6.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

464. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Last Monday the King celebrated the Purification of the Virgin (*nostra Donna delle Candelle*) with great pomp. He desired that the Prince should be seen in public, and the joy of all was extreme when they saw how well he looked, and with what a gracious manner he walked before his father in the procession. The King could not hide his delight.

Orders have been sent to the Duke of Medina Sidonia to examine the ships which have been impounded in Cadiz and in Seville, and to sequestrate goods found on board, whether they belong to English or Dutchmen. The crews are to be placed in chains; he is ordered, however, to use all gentleness with those who are neither enemies nor rebels. Some of the master mariners have received three months' pay as an inducement to them to serve willingly. On board they say they have found eight hundred pieces of artillery.

Among other provisions for the Armada they have contracted with the Prince of Salerno for seventy thousand iron cannon balls, and with others for eight thousand cantara* of coarse powder. They say we shall soon see eight captains commissioned to raise ten thousand troops.

Madrid, 6th February 1586 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 9.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

465. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain to the DOGE and SENATE.

They are attending to those provisions for the Armada which I have already described, and various are the comments thereon; some say the Armada is destined for England, others for Ireland, many for Zealand and Holland, nor are there wanting those who maintain that the whole force may be suddenly turned upon Africa at El Arisch. At all events we hear for certain that only Spanish troops will be embarked for the present, and that leads one to conjecture that no important expedition will be undertaken this year unless some unforeseen event should arise; it may be, however, that in accordance with the memorial presented by the Marquis of Santa Cruz, which I sent to your Serenity, the whole fleet may put out to search for and engage the English navy; but this is considered unlikely for various reasons, and chiefly because Drake can always avoid an engagement thanks to the swiftness of his ships, unless he finds himself in a very advantageous position (massime sapendosi che Draco per l'agilità delle sue navi, può fuggire la giornata sempre che non si cognosca con grande avantaggio) Everything here is conducted with such secrecy that it is not merely difficult but impossible to be sure of the truth. All the same I consider it my duty to report the remarks of important personages.

Three hundred thousand ducats have been sent in cash to the Marquis of Santa Cruz, with orders to despatch Recalde as soon as possible, in command of twenty fully armed ships, to meet the

* *See* Martini, *Manuale di Metrologia*, p. 322.

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Peruvian squadron and secure its safety. One thousand troops for the Azores are to be sent along with Recalde, as they are not without a suspicion that if Drake has Don Antonio on board he may make an attempt on those islands which are of such importance for the fleets that go and come from those parts. They are going to borrow one million and a half of gold in Genoa for use in Italy and Flanders, and offer as a security the last subsidy raised in the kingdom of Naples. The negotiations for an accord which that English merchant in Lisbon was conducting with the Secretary de Mora have been suspended until they hear what proposals Gamboa has to make; he has come from England more recently. By this time he ought to have been set at liberty by the Huguenots of Bordeaux on the ransom of his Majesty. The King is informed for certain that the Queen of England is thoroughly alarmed for her own life and for the safety of her kingdom, both on account of the conspiracies which are constantly coming to light, and on account of the great preparations of war which rumour pictures as being made in Spain. In order to secure the support of France she has offered to give his Most Christian Majesty certain of the strong places in Holland and Zealand; Drake, however, encourages her, assuring her that the Spanish noises are only salvoes of blank cartridge, which make a rumpus but break no bones, adding that the Spaniards cannot send out a strong fleet this year. There is here a certain Francis Englefield, a person of importance, and ex-Councillor of State in England, who has fled his country because he is a Catholic; he is sometimes in long and secret conference with Idiaquez, and though it is impossible to discover the gist of their business, yet it is easy to see that the Spanish are moving towards their great object in various ways and from many sides, no less by diplomacy than by preparations for war, and even by a union of the two (qui anco si attrova un Signor Francesco Englefin, persona principale, et vecchio consigliere di quel regno, ma fuggito di là per esser Catholico, che tratta alcune volte lungamente in secreto con Idiaquez, et se ben non si può penetrare nella trattatione, si comprende però, che procurano qui in molte maniere et in molti parte di fare strada a suoi gran pensieri, non meno con negocio che la preparatione delle armi, anzi con tutte doi unitamente).

Madrid, 9th February 1586 [m.v.].

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Feb. 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

466. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I am informed that the Duke of Medina Sidonia has ordered in Seville many tents, twelve thousand pair of shoes, twelve thousand leather canteens, and twelve thousand leather knapsacks, and other things needful for an army that wishes to effect a landing. The Governor of Giupusca has orders to send into Lisbon all the sailors and all the ships he can; and a contract for a larger quantity of biscuits has been signed. The Marquis of Santa Cruz is to send ships to block the passage of the Straits of Gibraltar against the English and against the ships of the King of Morocco. A courier

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has left to summon the troops from Italy; and so it seems that the affair grows warmer every day.

Madrid, 10th February 1586 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 13. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

467. GIOVANNI DOLFIN, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

We have heard that Don Pedro Sermento, that Spaniard who, as I informed you, was set at liberty in England, has been captured in Guienne by an officer of Navarre while he was on his way by post into Spain. Whenever Don Bernardino heard this news he made strong representations to his Majesty that Sermento should be released, declaring that the subjects of his Catholic Majesty ought to enjoy security in France. His Majesty replied that he regretted his inability to gratify Don Bernardino at once, but he offered to write to the Queen-Mother begging her to ask for Don Sermento's liberty. Don Bernardino answered, that if his Majesty was unable to command Navarre he should like to have that stated in writing, so that the King of Spain might legitimately proceed against Navarre and his belongings in Flanders and in Bearn. The King instructed Villeroy to manage this affair. Villeroy has told Don Bernardino quite frankly that the matter is of such moment that it will take days and months of consideration before an answer can be returned.

In the meantime, the English Ambassador having informed his Queen, she sent a gentleman named Rayleigh (Rali), the man who procured Don Sermento's liberty in England, to Navarre to beg for his release, as she was grieved at this arrest taking place when Sermento was travelling under her passports; *but I hear on the best authority that the French, the more they see that Spain and England desire to procure Sermento's liberty the more will they throw obstacles in the way, with a view to using this to forward their treaty of peace and to exchange Sermento for the son of Lanua.*

Paris, 13th February 1587.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Feb. 13. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

468. GIOVANNI DOLFIN, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Some days ago Stafford, brother of the English Ambassador at this Court, informed the Queen of England that Monsieur de L'Aubespine, French Ambassador at her Court, was in communication with certain English prisoners with a view to assassinating her; their instrument was to be a certain Monsieur Detrapes, one of L'Aubespine's household; he further declared that as he had frequently to go to the Embassy on business he himself had been sounded as to whether he would join the plot. The Queen decided to arrest Stafford at once, and to send after Mons. Detrapes, who had set out for France with despatches of the Ambassador de L'Aubespine. He was overtaken at Dover, and brought a prisoner to the Queen. She then sent orders to her Ambassador here to inform his Majesty that as it was a question affecting her very

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life she had been obliged to adopt such measures, but she entreated his Majesty to suspend his judgment until she had been able to examine the prisoners, and to arrive at the bottom of this business, when she would not fail to send an express to render an account to his Majesty. The King, however, was verbally assured by the secretary of his Ambassador that this Stafford was the same man as the one who was in prison with Moody (Modi), and that both of them had asked de L'Aubespine to give them money to get out of prison, promising to kill the Queen; when the Ambassador refused to listen to this proposal, and even forbade them the Embassy, Stafford made up his mind to go to the Queen, and to say whatever seemed good to him.

The King then resolved, in deliberation with his Council, to send a courier express to all the ports on the 6th of this month, with orders that all English shipping and English goods should be seized. Such a course of action was dictated by resentment at the conduct of the Queen of England who had proceeded without any regard for the dignity of the French Crown, and also by the wish to secure for themselves an advantage should the strained relations continue. At the same time French subjects and French ships were forbidden to go to England.

After these orders had been issued M. Wade (Oad) arrived here from the Queen of England. He was the bearer of the prisoners' depositions, which were sent in order to convince his Majesty that the Queen had been justified in her procedure, and also to demonstrate her great regard for his Most Christian Majesty in having refrained from taking any steps against the person of the Ambassador de L'Aubespine, though he was an accomplice in the plot; she earnestly entreated that he might be recalled, and his place taken by a person of a good character, who was a dependant of his Majesty, and not of the League, as de L'Aubespine was. Here they were in doubt for some days whether to admit this gentleman to an audience or not; some held that his Majesty could not do so with dignity to himself. At last, however, he was received, and spoke at length in accordance with his instructions; the King replied that the matter was of the highest importance for his honour, which the Queen of England treated too lightly, but, all the same, he would look at the papers, take council, and make a reply. *I am well informed that his Majesty is aware that his Ambassador had carelessly lent an ear to such suggestions, and so it is likely that the affair may blow over; but the Ministers will insist upon not giving way, so as to maintain the royal dignity, and Villeroy is doing all he can to influence his Majesty by this argument to support the Ambassador, who is Villeroy's brother-in-law.*

Wade asserts everywhere in public that the Queen cannot receive de L'Aubespine in audience, as his life would be in danger from the populace, which is fully convinced that he is the prime mover in the plot; and that it is impossible for de L'Aubespine to remain in England without great danger and inconveniences.

I will inform your Serenity of events as they occur, and you must know that after this last disturbance Parliament has made

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most earnest request that the Queen will carry out the sentence against the Queen of Scotland; they give her to understand that if she does not they will not vote supply; they have presented a memorial setting forth that the kingdom will always be in danger, and her Majesty's life insecure. (*Essendo stato riferito alla Regina d'Inghilterra li ultimi giorni del mese passato da Monsieur Stofort, fratello dell' Ambasciatore suo residente a questa Corte, come Monsieur Delubepina, Ambasciatore di Francia residente appresso di Lei, haveva trattatione con alcuni Inglesi prigioni, per farla ammazzar, servendosi per instrumento d'un Monsieur Detrapes, gentilhuomo Francese della casa sua, et che esso ancora, mentre che andava spesso a vederlo per termine d'ufficio, era stato ricercato ad interponersi in tale operatione, divenne essa in rissolutione di far carcerar subito il Stofort, et ispedir dietro a Monsieur Detrapes che era partito per Francia con lettere dell' Ambasciatore Delubepina, il quale fu giunto a Doure prima che s' imbarcasse, et fu condotto pregione alla Regina. Ispedi essa subito lettere al suo Ambasciatore perche facesse sapere al Re, che trattandosi della sua vita in questi tempi, era astretta per necessità a proceder di quella maniera; che per tanto pregava S. M. a suspender il suo giudicio, fino ch'ella potesse esaminar li pregioni, et intender con fondamanto quello ch' era di questa prattica, perche non haveria mancato subito per persona expressa a dar conto di tutto a sua Maestà Christianissima, la quale dopo esser stata informata dalla viva voce del Secretario del suo Ambasciatore che Stofort è stato quello che con Modi Cavalarizzo che era pregione, haveano ricercato l'Ambasciatore a darli certi danari perche uscisse di pregione, promettendoli che tutti due erano risoluti di voler ammazzar la Regina ad ogni modo, et che non havendo voluto l'Ambasciatore prestar orecchie a tal propositione, anzi havendo prohibito la prattica della casa sua a detto Stofort, per le reiterate instanze che li faceva, s'era esso mosso d'andar alla Regina et dir quel che li era parso.*

Deliberò Sua Maesta Christianissima, col consiglio di mandar subito ordine per corrieri espressi in tutti li Porti di Francia, come fece ai' 6 di questo, perche fossero ritenuti tutti li navilii, et tutte le robbe Inglesi, stimando conveniente proceder di tal maniera et per risentimento dell' operationi, della Regina fatte senza riguardo della dignità di questa corona, et per avvantaggiarsi in ogni evento che li dispareri andassero piu avanti, commandando parimente che non fosse lasciato passar in Inghilterra de navilii ne persone Francesi. Dopo queste ispeditione è arrivato qui Mons. Oad, mandato dalla Regina colli constituti dei prigioni per mostrare al Re la giusta causa che l' ha mossa a proceder di quella maniera, et il rispetto grande che ha havuto verso sua Maestà Christianissima di non passar piu avanti nella persona dell' Ambasciatore Delubepina, seben partecipe di tal colpa, facendo ufficio effecacissimo che sia levata di quella carica et mandatone un altro di buona mente, che dipendi dalla sua Maestà Christianissima et non dalla legha, come fa questo. Qui sono stati alquanti giorni in dubbio se dovevano ametter all' audienza questo gentilhuomo,

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parendo ad alcuni che Sua Maestà non potesse farlo con sua dignità, ma in fin l'han ammesso ; et havendo egli parlato lungamente, conforme alla sua commissione, il Re li ha detto che il negocio presente è di estrema consideratione per l'interesse della sua dignità, poco stimata dalla Regina, che però vederia le scritture, saria col consiglio di Stato, et li daria risposta. Mi vien detto da buona parte che conosce Sua Maestà la leggerezza dell' Ambasciator in haver prestato orecchie a chi li ha parlato di cosa tale, et che per ciò sarà facil cosa che si acquiettino delle cose passate, ma che staranno in opinione di non volerlo mutar in alcuna maniera per interesse della dignità sua, affatticandosi Villeroe di persuader sua Maestà con questo pretesto per sustentar l'Ambasciatore che è suo cognato ; seben afferma questo Oad publicamente in ogni luoco che non è in poter della Regina ammetter l'Ambasciatore alla sua audienza con sicurtà della vita di quello, per l'odio del popolo, ch'è impresso ch' egli sia stato promotor di quella trattatione, et che non è possible ch' egli si trattenghi in quelle parti senza gran pericolo di grandissimo inconveniente. Quanto seguirà ne darò conto alla Serenità Vostra con ogni diligenza, la qual saprà che dopo questo nuovo tumulto li stati han rinovato l'instanza con ufficii efficacissimi perche sia eseguita la sentenza contra la Regina di Scotia, lasciandosi intender, che non lo facendo, non vogliono più contribuire ai susidii ordinarii, mostrando in scrittura chel Regno starà di continuo in simile rivolutioni, et la Maestà Sua in continuo pericolo della vita.)

Paris, 13th February 1587.

[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Feb. 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

469. Giovanni Gritti, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

Despatches from Spain, dated the 16th of last month, arrived this morning. They announce the continuance of the preparations for war ; but the French here think that the sole object of these preparations is to protect Spanish dominions, and to secure the safety of the Spanish flotillas, which are said to be very rich this year, without any design to attack England. The richer the fleet the more pains Drake will give to its capture, and therefore the more reason why the Spaniards should make themselves strong at sea.

Rome, 14th February 1586 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

470. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

Rumour says that some English corsairs have captured a ship on its way from Peru, and many think that it may be the carvel which was bringing news of the Peruvian fleet ; and if that be so then the fleet itself will run great risk, for the enemy will have been informed of the latitude in which its course is laid out, and will be able to lie in wait for it ; still they trust that the good luck of his Majesty will escape any such terrible disaster.

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The ships of M. de Lansac, which were set at liberty, are still in these waters, and it seems are chasing not only the English but the French as well. The French Agent is disgusted at this, and has sought an audience in order to complain, as he is convinced that Lansac is supported here in Spain.

Madrid, 15th February 1586 [m.v.].

[*Italian ; deciphered.*]

Feb. 17. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

471. MATHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Archduke Mathias is still in Lubeck or Hamburg, waiting for fine weather to sail for England. Others think he is waiting to see what the English Parliament will decide.

Prague, 17th February 1586 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

472. LORENZO BERNARDNO, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Capadun Pasha sent to summon my dragoman, and asked how long it was since I had despatches from Venice, the cause of this delay, the truth about the Spanish Armada ; adding that he knew it was directed against England, but still he would like some details. I hear that he has made a like representation to the French Ambassador.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 19th February 1586 [m.v.].

[*Italian ; deciphered.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

473. LIST of the NUMBER and DESCRIPTION of the SHIPS in the TURKISH ARSENALS.

New galley of the Grand Signor	-	1
New galley of the Capadun Pasha, of 35 benches	-	1
Old galleys of the Capadun Pasha	-	3
Galley of Sinan Pasha, of 32 benches	-	6
Galley of Piali Pasha, of 32 benches	-	1
*Maone	-	7
Old maone	-	3
Galleys	-	73
Galliots	-	22
Total	-	230 (*sic*)
Galleys and galliots in Barbary	-	12
Galleys and galliots in the White Sea	-	22
Galleys, and one maone in dock in Black Sea	-	10
In Barbary waters	-	20
In all	-	296 (*sic*)

[*Italian ; deciphered.*]

* *See* Rezasco *Diz. d. Linguaggio Italiano.* Jal, *Archeologie navale.* Saverien, *Dizionario dell' arte navale.*

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Feb. 21. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

474. Giovanni Gritti, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

We hear of negotiations for a truce between the King of Spain and the Queen of England; and it is thought that it may easily be effected.

They fear for the Queen of Scotland. The next news is expected to be bad.

Rome, 21st February 1586 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

475. Giovanni Dolfin, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Mr. Wade, who, as I informed your Serenity, was sent by the Queen of England about the beginning of this month to deal with the affair of the Ambassador L'Aubespine, presses for an answer from the King, but cannot get one, as his Majesty has despatched a chamberlain to the Ambassador with credentials authorising L'Aubespine to give his answer to the Queen; they hope in this way to induce her Majesty to admit L'Aubespine to an audience. Meantime the English Ambassador and the English Agent are amazed that his Most Christian Majesty should insist that his Ambassador, who is lying under such grave accusations, is to treat with their mistress upon the subject of his own misdeeds. Advices from England say that the Queen will not allow L'Aubespine to leave his house, and has placed a strong guard at the doors under colour of protecting him from the insults which he might receive from the populace, and she has publicly declared that she will never admit him to her presence. The Ambassador of England and the Agent, Wade, further complain that their couriers, travelling under passport, have been intercepted, and their despatches opened, with no consideration for their character. A Greek merchant, subject of your Serenity, has just come from England. He says that when the Queen heard of the embargo laid on English ships and goods in the French ports she at once ordered similar steps to be taken against the French in England. She has also concentrated all her ships of war, which may number twenty-five in all, and has ordered the commissioning of every ship in the kingdom, amounting to one hundred and fifty, without counting those that are abroad. She has sent to Holland and Zealand to beg for ships to increase her fleet as much as she can; the States have sent two Ambassadors to inform the Queen that if she desires help she must observe the terms of her treaty with them, namely, that wars must be not defensive merely but also offensive; they also point out that this course of action, supported by insufficient forces, will only serve to increase the reputation and to favour the designs of Spain, while leaving them in misery and destroying their commerce. The rumour runs in England that all these preparations are due to information that the Spanish are arming a powerful fleet, and that the King of Spain will take some steps to the damage of England.

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The return of the chamberlain is eagerly awaited here, as he will bring news whether the Queen has received the Ambassador L'Aubespine, and how the preparations for the armament go on.

The Duke of Parma has recovered his health, and has had this further good fortune that Colonel Stanley, an Englishman of high nobility, belonging to the house of Derby, has surrendered Deventer spontaneously. Deventer is the capital of Oberyssel, between Guelderland and Frisia. Stanley says he came to this resolve upon conscientious grounds, as he knew how just were his Catholic Majesty's claims upon that place. The Duke of Parma sent Colonel Tassis to assume possession; and of many Irish companies in the town only three marched out, the rest declared themselves Catholics, and remained with the army. This event is considered of the highest importance both on account of the nature of the place itself and because it is expected to lead to the fall of many others. Near Zutphen an Englishman surrendered to the Duke a fort of great importance; this he did out of gratitude to the Duke, who a year before had spared his life.

Paris, 27th February 1587.

[*Italian.*]

March 2. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

476. Giovanni Dolfin, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The population of Holland and Zealand have sent orders to their Ambassadors in England to offer to the Queen the same oath of allegiance as that which they took to Charles the Fifth, if she will undertake an offensive as well as a defensive alliance with them. In which case they await a person of authority and birth to govern the country as the Queen may think best, so that it may not fall into the hands of other Princes.

Paris, 2nd March 1587.

[*Italian.*]

March 2. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

477. Giovanni Dolfin, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Yesterday a courier arrived. He was sent by the Queen of England to her Ambassador and to Mr. Wade, with instructions to inform his Majesty as soon as possible that for the safety of her own life she had at last been forced to cut off the head of the Queen of Scotland. Although the Ambassador and that gentleman have pressed for an audience, his Majesty has always refused to listen to them; not because he knew anything of this business, but in order to use the same method as that adopted by the Queen herself, who will not receive the Ambassador L'Aubespine. Accordingly the above-named gentlemen spread a report that the Queen of Scotland, disguised as a sailor, had fled from her palace, which was twenty leagues from London, and had reac hed Anton (?) port, in the hope of being able to cross over into Brittany, but while waiting her opportunity she was captured and made a prisoner. Three great English Lords who had aided her to fly were also imprisoned. The probability that she would be put to death grew greater every day, for

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new proofs of her conspiracy came to light. This rumour has been spread abroad with a view to lessening the effect of so violent a resolve.

When the English Ambassador and Mr. Wade found that they could not obtain an audience of the King they went to Mons. de Bellievre and to the Secretary Bruslart to explain the whole matter, and to beg them to inform his Most Christian Majesty, for they had received express orders to explain to the King *vivâ voce*, the true reasons which had rendered this step necessary. Bellievre and Bruslart replied that the deed was an impious one and inhuman; and the King and all France will be obliged to show their displeasure. All the Court deplores this miserable event, both because she was a Queen of France, and also because all the Catholic hopes in England are dashed.

The Queen was beheaded in her own rooms without being granted an hour's grace. They say that one of the chief reasons for her death, which took place in the forty-fifth year of her age and the nineteenth of her imprisonment, was that the Treasurer of England, a person of the highest authority, who had always favoured her cause, has now fallen from the Queen's favour; while the Earl of Leicester and the Councillor Walsingham, her chief councillors, enemies of the Queen of Scotland, have urged their mistress to grant to her subjects that satisfaction which they had so often demanded, and at the same time to secure herself against those treacheries which were every day spread about her own person.

Paris, 2nd March 1587.

[*Italian.*]

March 3. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

478. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

It is true that corsairs from England and la Rochelle have captured one despatch boat on its way from Peru. Its companion escaped into port Setubal in Portugal. This despatch boat brings news that the fleet will not sail till the beginning of March, and that it will bring ten millions in gold, half of which is for the King. In Florida there are some English ships, and it seems that at the extremity of the island (*che al capo dell' Isola*), where there is a narrow strait, the enemy intend to build a fort. If they make themselves masters of this position, and plant themselves there, it will be a very severe blow to this Crown, which will be obliged to send out a fleet to destroy them, so as to avoid leaving the Peruvian and New Spanish fleets exposed to so manifest a danger in their usual passage through that strait.

This news has given serious anxiety here; and all the more as the population of those countries has risen in revolt against the Alcavalla,* a tax of ten per cent. upon purchase and sale, which the Viceroy has attempted to impose, as ordered by the King. The Viceroy has suspended the order, and at the same time has reported on this disaffection, urging his Majesty to defer his attempt to a

* Scilicet *Alcabala.*

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more opportune occasion. In answer to this orders have been sent from here that the Viceroy is to defer all action till further instructions.

The English have seized another ship which, as I wrote, had gone to get ammunition at Oran in Africa. The Duke of Medina Sidonia has been ordered to supply its place immediately, and to despatch it under escort so as to avoid all dangers. On the other hand the King is delighted at the news of the fall of Deventer and Zutphen in Flanders, which have been given into his hands by the English themselves who were bribed (*dateli in mano da medesimi Inglesi per denari*). He hopes that this event will enrage the Hollanders still more, as they are already dissatisfied with the Queen of England, and will induce them to come to terms with his Majesty; the more so as they quite understand that all the terms which the Queen daily proposes to the King, are merely intended to drive them into accepting every one of his conditions. The Ministers here place much more reliance on these negotiations, which are being conducted in secret by the Duke of Parma, than in the offers made by the agent of the King of Denmark, who is now with the Duke for the purpose of arranging a peace (*et in questa negotiatione che tratta secretamente il Duca di Parma, pongono qui molto maggior speranza, che nell' offerta che fa il gentiluomo del Re di Danimarca che si trova presso il detto Duca per trattar la pace*). This Agent says that the Queen will consent to place the fortresses in the hands of the natives without raising the clause as to freedom of conscience; but with this proviso, that no question of restitution of the booty seized by Drake is to be brought up, and that she receives guarantees that she shall not be disturbed in England by operations from the Flemish ports. This seems to be the most difficult point, for the Spanish Ministers think that whatever guarantees may be proposed the Queen will accept none. She has lately sent Drake into Flanders to confirm those people in their resolve. The Ministers here quite understand that she is employing her usual artifices to keep the King in uncertainty as to whether he should prepare an Armada or not; and to give him to understand that if peace is concluded between the Turk and Persia he will have to think of something quite different from attacking her; and also, if the Spanish fleet is not sent out she will then be able to send Drake off to meet the Peruvian fleet with less anxiety as to the result. The King is anxious to understand more fully the designs of the Queen, and to learn what new terms she offers; accordingly he has sent orders to pay the two thousand crowns' ransom for Don Sermento di Gamboa, who, as I wrote, has been seized by the Huguenots of Bordeaux; but as Gamboa had publicly declared that he was employed on a mission of importance,—a fact which the Huguenots themselves understood in part from letters and papers found on him, and from a despatch of Don Bernardino de Mendoza which he was carrying, all of which they have seized and sent to the King of Navarre, who has replied that Gamboa should not be set at liberty till he himself had interviewed the prisoner,—they greatly fear that Gamboa will be sent to the King of Navarre; and at present they demand twenty thousand ducats of ransome. But in

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spite of all these negotiations for peace with England, and for an accord with Holland, all the same the preparations for the Armada are not relaxed, for they consider that such preparations will facilitate the conclusion of the business. They also hope that the peace will be more easily concluded now owing to the ill feeling between England and France, which has been caused by the affair of the Ambassador L'Aubespine, and by the embargo on merchandise imposed by each nation against the other.

Madrid, 3rd March 1587.

[*Italian.*]

March 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

479. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Huguenots of France have robbed two couriers, one, going to Italy, they slew; the other was on his way here. If your Serenity sent any instructions by this courier please repeat them; *especially if they contained information from the Levant. His Majesty has asked me if I had any news, and I had to reply "No." They believe that Ferrari must be in Constantinople by this time; but they are greatly afraid that the English and the French, for their own purposes, will succeed in upsetting the negotiations for a truce; and, what is worse, they know that if the affair miscarries in the hands of Ferrari, they will not be able to order Marigliano to go again on that mission, as the King hoped to be able to do should Ferrari fail, for he is seriously ill, and will probably be confined to his bed for a long time.*

Madrid, 7th March 1587.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

March 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

480. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Owing to the quarrel between France and England on the subject of the Ambassador L'Aubespine, and the embargo imposed by both parties, many of the principal noblemen here at Court believe that the moment for punishing the Queen of England has arrived, for she, by her own action, has served the cause of the King of Spain by making France hostile to herself, a result which has hitherto seemed most difficult of attainment. They say that this is a matter for his Holiness, as head of Christendom, and that he should endeavour to unite these two sovereigns to avenge the injuries they have both suffered, by depriving that Queen of her kingdom. They cite the example of the union of Ferdinand the Catholic and Lewis XII., who took the kingdom of Naples from Frederick of Aragon, and received investiture from Alexander VI.; and they now suggest that, to obviate all subsequent difficulties, his Holiness should propose to both these sovereigns the name of some person who should receive the kingdom of England when it has been conquered, for they are certain that if the kingdom be conquered by the arms of both sovereigns neither will yield it to the other; while a division of it would probably cause new quarrels. In considering who this

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person might be, the Prince of Scotland, if he will declare himself a Catholic as he promises to do, seems to have the best chance of being accepted by both parties, and of being received by the English themselves. They think that the Pope, now that he understands the difficulties of the situation, will not insist on the idea which he entertained at the beginning of this reign, and which he shared with Gregory XIII., that England should be attacked and conquered for the Church.

In spite of all this the negotiations for peace are going forward actively here; and they say that they are advanced so far that the King has given Parma leave to send M. de Champigny, brother of the late Cardinal de Granvelle, to England to discover the true mind of the Queen on this subject. Some who understand say that the Queen now uses the question of L'Aubespine to make the Spanish think that she desires to draw towards them, just as she used the affair of Mendoza and the conspiracy to make Alençon believe that she was completely allied to France. (Vien ragionato dalli piu principali Duchi di corte che possa esser venuto il tempo del castigo di detta Regina poiche ella medesima ha operato in servitio di questo Serenissimo Re col inimicarsi Francia, quello che pareva difficile che con qualsi voglia industria et negotio potesse succeder; onde aggiongono li medesimi che sarebbe ufficio della molta autorità della Sua Beatitudine, trattandosi maggiormente di causa della quale la Santità Sua come capo della Christianità è tanto interresata, di accendere et unire questi doi Re a rissentirsi delle communi offese con cercar di togliere quel Regno a detta Regina, origine et causa di tanti mali in Christianità; et come adducono l' esempio et l' unione di Ferdinando il Cattolico et Lodovico XII., quando tolsero a Federico di Aragona il Regno di Napoli con l' investitara di Alessandro Sesto, cosi desidererebbono che et per accomodar questo concerto et per rimediar alli disordini che potessero seguir da poi, il Papa proponessi a tutti doi questi Principi persona confidente nella quale essi conferisse quel Regno doppo conquistato, tenendosi di certo che guadagnandosi con communi forze l' uno non vorebbe cederlo all' altro; et il dividerlo causarebbe facilmente novi romori et nove discordie; et tra quanti che cascano in consideratione, si tiene finalmente che il Principe di Scotia, dichiaratosi Cattolico, come promette di fare, potesse piu di tutti esser accetto all' una et all' altra parte, et alli medesimi Inglesi ancora; non volendo persuadersi alcuno, che il Pontefice fatto già certo per tanti contrarii si dell' allontananza et della inclinatione de popoli, come delle tante difficoltà che trovarebbe in reggerli, persista in quel pensiero che teneva nel principio del suo Pontificato come haveva ancora Gregorio XIII., suo pedecessore cioè che si facesse l' impresa et l' acquisto di detto Regno per la chiesa. Ma con tutto ciò si attende hora di quà con tutto spirito alle trattationi di pace, le quali par che siano tanto innanci che hanno indotto il Rea dar licenza al Duca di Parma di mandar a detta Regina Mons. di Ciampagnè fratello del già Cardinale de Granvelle, per chiarirsi del vero s' ella vuol questo accordo; discorendosi pure da qualche, persona intendente che siccome la predetta Regina quando successe

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li romori di Don Bernardino di Mendoza per la congiura che si scoperse all hora si prevalse di far credere ad Alanson che volesse del tutto unirsi con Francia cosi hora si serva delli accidenti del detto Ambasciatore lobepina per dar ad intender quà di voler tornar in buona amicitia con la Corona di Spagna.)

In short, here they would hold that they had completely succeeded if an accord with England or with Holland could be effected; and for that purpose preparations of the fleet are kept alive as the King thinks they are most useful for the accomplishment of this end.

Accordingly the Marquis of Santa Cruz is using all diligence in Lisbon for the preparation of many ships and galleons, and the same is taking place in Seville, Biscay, and other parts of Spain. Other ships are expected from Italy. The ten thousand troops which are to be raised from eighty cities and districts of these kingdoms of Castille are said to be actually ready, and the men have received money to buy arms. Their up-keep is costing about a real and a half a day until the King appoint a place of muster, and issue officers' commissions; to some he has already given a retaining fee of twenty crowns a month. His Majesty has also sent fifty thousand ducats to Cartagena with orders to give two rates of payment to the soldiers and sailors of the great galleys, and to send them on to Lisbon as soon as possible. In this way they are getting together an armada of seventy or eighty great ships, thoroughly well found, to fight the English. But before the Catholic Armada takes the sea, Recalde is to be sent with twelve ships and as many galleons to meet the Peruvian fleet, which is sailing in a latitude of which they are aware, and has for escort twenty ships which were sent out, time ago, under Alvaro Flores.

They have news here that a chavass has arrived at Tripoli. He is said to be the bearer of letters and orders from the Turk to the Schereef; this is causing alarm to these Ministers.

A Scotch gentleman is here with letters from his King to this King; his mission is said to be the liberation of some Scotch ships laden with wine, which are detained in Seville, but it is thought that he has some other secret commission. He has had one interview with his Majesty, and then has been referred, as usual, to Don Juan d'Idiaquez.

The King is determined to put down gambling, and to insist upon a moral life at Court, and so has sent out an admonition to the Princes, knights, and gentlemen. And having heard that the Marquis Pignatel, son of the Duke of Ossuna, had won in a single night fourteen thousand ducats from Signor Giulio Spinola, who was the Genoese Ambassador here; he has ordered the imprisonment of the Marquis, and the sequestration of all the money found in his house, and he has required Spinola to leave the Court in four days, and to live twenty leagues away from Madrid. He has also secretly ordered the Prior Don Hernando, son of the Duke of Alva to go to his Commenda. The Marquis of Mondeggiar, on some mere suspicion of homicide, has been confined for six years in Oran in Africa. And if matters go on at this rate the Court will

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be emptied of grandees, whose loose life is little pleasing to the King.

Madrid, 7th March 1587.

[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*]

March 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

481. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

I hear from a good source that the security demanded by the Queen of England as a guarantee that she will not be disturbed in her kingdom if she surrenders the ports of Holland and Zealand to the natives, is the possession of Flushing, and that the Kings of Sweden and Denmark, and the heretic Princes of Germany should pledge themselves to secure the observance of the accord ; also that no question about the restitution of Drake's booty should be raised. Here they will accept all these terms except to leave Flushing in the Queen's hands. She is suspected of double dealing; but on Champigny's return everything will be cleared up.

A carvel from New Spain brings news that the fleet which sailed last October reached New Cartagena on December 15th; but in a storm it had left five ships behind, and they fear that they are lost. They fell in with some English corsairs, and sank one, and recovered a Spanish ship which had previously been lost.

The Friar who plotted for Don Antonio in Lisbon has been taken to Castille, where he is to be imprisoned for life.

A league out of Seville they have discovered a great vein of silver.

Madrid, 12th March 1587.

[*Italian.*]

March 13. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

482. Giovanni Dolfin, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Navarre is not likely to come to terms with the King, for he has received one hundred and twenty thousand ducats from the Queen of England. A Minister told me that in this way that woman will accomplish two of her objects with only one expense; she will cause the terms of agreement in France to be favourable to Navarre, and she will benefit herself in the Low Countries.

Paris, 13th March 1587.

[*Italian.*]

March 13. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

483. Giovanni Dolfin, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Ambassador of England and the English Agent, the day when they went to Bellievre to give an account of the death of the Queen of Scotland, being unable to obtain an audience of the King, presented to the Secretary a letter from the Queen addressed to his Majesty ; in this letter the Queen laments bitterly that, after having signed the warrant, and given it to Davison to keep merely because she intended in this way to satisfy the demands of her subjects, but not

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to make use of it, he was so rash as to have overstepped his commission. She shows herself very sorry for the result, and would make public demonstration of that grief. The Ambassador declared that the Queen had caused Davison to be arrested, and had deprived him of his office; while she herself had taken to her bed owing to the great grief she suffered through this untoward event.

Letters have also arrived from the Ambassador L'Aubespine, which contain a full account of the unhappy deed; and I enclose a copy which I procured from a person of great consideration. L'Aubespine also reports that the Londoners sent to request him to give them wood for a bonfire to be lit in sign of joy. When he refused they made a great bonfire in front of his door which lasted more than two hours. As this has caused great irritation here the English Ambassador has declared that all the bonfires and bell ringing took place on a sudden, when Lord Shrewsbury's son passed through with news of the execution, and that the Queen knew nothing about it, as she was three leagues out of London at her usual palace.

When the King received this news he ordered the English Ambassador to be warned against leaving his house, for he ran the risk of receiving some great affront to his honour and peril to his life from the people of Paris, which is greatly incensed at this occurrence in England. Accordingly the Ambassador has not left his residence. no more has the English Agent. The action of the French is intended as an equivalent to the Queen's action towards L'Aubespine, to whom she has always refused an audience, as likewise to the King's chamberlain, who was sent to England with orders to speak to the Queen if L'Aubespine was unable to do so. He has frequently attempted to fulfil his mission, but without success; for the Queen declares that it does not comport with her dignity to receive a chamberlain, and puts off the whole question by pleading her present occupation; she has referred him to the Council of State, but he declines to deal with it, or with any but the Queen, and is awaiting fresh instructions from Paris. L'Aubespine writes that the Queen is thinking of sending a nobleman here to explain all these events to the King, and to make an end of these differences.

Three days ago the King invited all the Ambassadors to assist at the funeral service for the Queen of Scotland in mourning; and yesterday we attended vespers, and mass this morning. The ceremony was truly regal. The funeral oration was delivered in French by the Bishop of Bruges, a most learned and eloquent prelate. The Queen was present, so, too, the Cardinals, Bishops, Princes, and nobles. The King does not usually appear in public, but incognito, in a certain tribune.

Paris, 13th March 1587.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

484. EXTRACT of a LETTER from MONS. DE L'AUBESPINE, Ambassador of his Most Christian Majesty to the QUEEN OF ENGLAND.

The Queen of England at last made up her mind to put the unfortunate Queen of Scotland to death, owing to the continual and

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vehement representations of the Earl of Leicester and of the Chief Secretary Walsingham. Accordingly on Saturday, the 14th February, Beale, Walsingham's brother-in-law, was despatched in secret with orders signed by her for the decapitation of the Queen. She commanded the Earls of Shrewsbury, Kent, and Rutland, and many other noblemen and gentlemen of Fotheringham and other neighbouring places to be present at the execution, and the headsman of London, dressed in black velvet, was sent to carry it out.

Beale and the Earl arrived at Fotheringham on Monday evening, and on Tuesday morning they summoned Paulet, the jailer of the Queen of Scotland, and sheriff of the county, who is the judge in each bailiwick, to assemble the neighbouring gentry, and all together they went towards nightfall to the said lady. To her they signified that the Queen of England, their mistress, in the discharge of that prerogative of justice which belonged to her as ruler of that kingdom and servant of God's will, was bound to execute the sentence passed by Parliament. The Queen made answer with a countenance and with words which showed her intrepidity, that she had never been able to bring herself to believe that the Queen, her sister, was of so cruel a mind as to come to so unjust a resolution. All the same, after the misery of the past three weeks she welcomed a speedy death, and was ready to accept it as a singular gift from heaven, for she felt that she was dying chiefly for the Catholic cause, than which nothing is more glorious. Beale answered that the Queen had sent her an English Bishop to exhort her to a becoming end, for there could be no greater consolation at the close of life than to have made one's peace with God; and that they would come to-morrow morning to carry out the sentence. The Queen inquired if the Bishop were a Catholic; the answer was that he was a man of holy life and a servant of God. Thereupon the Queen declined his services, announcing that neither sword nor fire, nor any other peril could shake her courage, and that had she a thousand resurrections she would continue to die for the Holy Roman Catholic Faith; for such a death secured to her eternal life for her soul. She then retired into a little chamber, where she kneeled before the Holy Sacrament, which she secretly kept there by a dispensation from the Pope. She continued to pray till nine in the morning, with two intervals of half an hour when she lay down on her bed at the forcible insistance of her ladies. That same day, which was the 18th, Beale, the Earl, and her jailer came to her and led her into the great hall, which was hung round with black cloth. A lofty scaffold was raised in the middle, covered also with black cloth, and having a velvet cushion upon it. She was followed by her master of the household and another of her intimate servants; the rest of her attendants were not allowed to leave their rooms. The Queen, when she saw the hall filled with upwards of three hundred persons, begged for the company of her ladies, which request was granted. On mounting the scaffold she turned to Paulet and requested his aid, declaring that it was the last trouble she would give him. She then kneeled down, and raising her eyes to heaven she said that a Catholic she was born and a Catholic she

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would die; and if her life had not been such as it should have been, she believed that by God's mercy she was allowed to baptise herself now with her own blood, and thus to become worthy of everlasting life. Then, turning to the bystanders, she said that she was entirely innocent of the charge of having plotted in thought or in deed against the life of the Queen, her sister; she implored God in his mercy not to lay this injustice to the account of the Queen of England, nor to punish her for this evil deed. She made mention of Nau, Curl, and Pasquier, her secretaries, who are in prison, declaring that they never had hurt, nor ever thought of hurting the Queen of England, but were innocent like her, and she pleaded for their life and liberty. To her master of the household she spoke for long, urging him to go as soon as possible to the King, her son, and to serve him; and she was certain that he would do so with all loyalty, and that the King would reward him better than she had been able to do. She charged him to take to the King her benediction, which she herself gave with the sign of the cross; in return for which she begged him to pardon the Queen of England, and to maintain his alliance with her. She asked Paulet if the Queen of England would accept her Will made fifteen days previously in favour of her poor servants. They answered "Yes," and added that the Will would be faithfully executed as far as her bequests were concerned, which amount to about seventeen thousand crowns.

She comforted her women, who were all weeping bitterly, declaring that she was not sorry to die, but very sorry to be unable to reward each one of them according to the merits of their faithful service. She then prayed to God for her own soul, and then caused one of her waiting women to bind her eyes with a black band; she prayed again for a little space, and then, of her own accord, laid her neck upon the block, and the executioner struck off her head with an axe according to the custom of the country; he seized the head and held it up in sight of all, and showed it also out of the window to the great crowd that was assembled in the lower yard. The body was immediately wrapped in a black cloth, and carried to her chamber where it was opened and embalmed. That same hour the Earl of Shrewsbury sent his son with the news to the Queen of England. The lad on his way passed through London, and published the sad tidings; instantly all the bells were rung, guns discharged, fires lighted in all the streets, and feasting and banquets, and every sign of joy.

[*Italian.*]

March 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

485. Giovanni Gritti, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

On the first day of February the Spanish Ambassador demanded in the King's name, a subsidy from the Spanish clergy. He was promised a tithe on the clergy. Now it seems that the promise has been recalled as it was given on the understanding that the money was to be expended for an attack on England.

Rome, 14th March 1587.

[*Italian.*]

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March 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

486. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain to the Doge and Senate.

A gentleman is expected to arrive here from the Duke of Parma to give a detailed account of the negotiations with England. It is quite possible that an accord would check the preparation of the Armada, but the news from Constantinople, which relieves them of much anxiety, will cause them really to continue those preparations actively.

Twenty-five officers have been commissioned at forty crowns a month each, and each company numbers two hundred infantry. Those officers who have left their companies in Portugal have been ordered to return at once under severe penalties.

Madrid, 15th March 1587.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

March 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

487. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The greater their hopes of peace with England the more active their preparations for the Armada with a view to driving the Queen to come to some determination. The King is raising troops and money.

Madrid, 18th March 1587.

[*Italian.*]

March 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

488. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

We hear that the King of Denmark is arming ten galleons to succour the English in case of need. There is a great mortality among Recalde's men on board his Biscayans, and among those who are in Lisbon waiting to embark; and as summer comes on worse is feared.

Madrid, 23rd March 1587.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

March 24. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

489. Matheo Zane, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the Doge and Senate.

News from Denmark of naval preparations, supposed to be intended in support of the Queen of England; although she continues her negotiations for an accord with Parma and has recently sent two of her nobles to the Duke.

Prague, 24th March 1587.

[*Italian.*]

March 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

490. Giovanni Dolfin, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

On the 20th the King's chamberlain, who had been sent to England about the affair of the Ambassador L'Aubespine, arrived in Paris. He reports that he twice spoke to the Queen in justification of the Ambassador, as commissioned by his Majesty. He always had for answer the statement that the Ambassador was a

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man of evil nature and dangerous, and for this reason unfit for his post, both for the sake of the King his master and the Queen herself, as she intends to write at length to the King with her own hand. She desires to prove with what circumspection she has conducted herself owing to her desire to retain the friendship and good understanding with this Crown.

I have since heard that the said chamberlain has brought the letter referred to, which declares that L'Aubespine is a creature of the Guises, and was the chief cause of the Queen of Scotland's death. The Queen of England had resolved to send a great nobleman here to endeavour to accomodate these affairs, for she is much alarmed at the prospect of an embargo; but on hearing from her Ambassador resident here the envoy that would not be received, she suspended his departure.

The Queen of England wears mourning for the Queen of Scotland; she has liberated the Queen of Scotland's two secretaries, and they were present at the funeral of their mistress, which was celebrated with all pomp according to the usage of the country, or, as they say, for the consolation of the living, not for the benefit of the dead.

Parliament has made strong representations to the Queen to set Davison free, declaring that he acted for the benefit of the kingdom, and so deserves to be rewarded rather than punished. They have been partially satisfied, for Davison has been removed to a freer prison where all may see and talk to him, and he will soon be set free altogether.

Paris, 27th March 1587.

[*Italian.*]

March 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

491. Giovanni Gritti, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

News of the tragical end of the Queen of Scotland has been received here by way of France; she was put to death in execution of the sentence pronounced upon her by judges appointed by the Queen of England. The Pope shows great grief, for the Catholic cause has lost a chief support; and the Queen's son, if he succeeds, will without doubt be a heretic. The Pope finds some consolation in the hope that the King of France will desire to avenge this deep injury, or will not, at least, oppose others if they desire to attack England.

Rome, 28th March 1587.

[*Italian.*]

March 30. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

492. Giovanni Dolfin, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Three days ago after a long conference with the Queen, his mother, the King has sent off his chamberlain, who has recently returned from England, to the King of Navarre. Rumour says that his commission is to inform Navarre about the death of the Queen of Scotland and the treatment of L'Aubespine; but it is generally suspected that there are other and more secret objects.

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Mr. Wade (Oad), who was sent here by the Queen of England some months ago, is demanding his passports for his return, but he cannot obtain them; and he is told quite frankly not to think of it. The resident Ambassador is making continual efforts to secure the re-opening of communications, declaring that all other difficulties would then be rapidly resolved.

Letters from Scotland of the 10th of last month give news that the Earl of Morton, one of the leading Catholics in that kingdom, had placed himself at the head of six thousand infantry, and had penetrated into England, putting to fire and sword everything that came in his way. They say he was in relation with the houses of Arundel and Westmoreland, English Catholics, either that they would assist him or make a rising on their own account. When this was reported to King James, with a request that he would order Morton to lay down his arms, the King replied that he was deeply grieved that Morton had forestalled him in so pious a venture.

Paris, 30th March 1587.

[*Italian.*]

April 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

493. Lorenzo Bernardo, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

The question of a truce with Spain is completely suspended at present; the method of dealing with it has been changed; it is taken out of the hands of the secretary, and entrusted to the Capadun Pasha. The English Ambassador, being afraid that the secretary might be persuaded by the arguments of the agents of Spain, presented a further memorial to his Majesty; in this memorial the Ambassador made a violent attack on Beneviste, a Jew, who is in the pay of Spain, and receives numerous gifts from that quarter, and insinuated that the Grand Vizir acts and advises under the influence of Beneviste. He spoke violently against the Spanish as a shifty, haughty, and deceitful race, whom his Majesty should not trust. He added (though I do not guarantee the accuracy of this), that his Majesty should not rely on the word of Papist Sovereigns, for the Pope permits them to perjure themselves with mussulmans when it suits their convenience. This memorial the Sultan has sent to the Grand Vizir, and while the substance of it caused the Vizir grave anxiety he was somewhat consoled by the fact that it had been handed to him. He has endeavoured to justify himself and Beneviste, swearing that he has counselled only that which he thought to be serviceable to the empire, and begs the Sultan to refer the matter to others who have fuller knowledge on this subject. The Sultan has placed the matter in the hands of the Capadun Pasha, who has had long interviews with Signor Giovanni Steffano, who informs me that he finds the Pasha most favourable; the only difficulty which is raised is the question of the Ambassador, as the Turks hold that his Catholic Majesty should not conduct his negotiations with the Porte through a private individual. The affair will quiet down, for although the Capadun desires, for private

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reasons, an excuse for arming the fleet, yet the Sultan is so set on the Persian war that he will postpone every other consideration until that is finished. Besides the Capadun does not wish to injure the Grand Vizir, and he thoroughly hates the English, and therefore he will be all the more disposed to counsel a course of action which is, in fact, almost inevitable. And so Ferrari is confident of reaching a satisfactory conclusion, though he begs me to show myself opposed to him when discussing this point, in order to avoid more serious contradiction. If the truce is concluded I will send an express to your Serenity. The English Ambassador does all he can to upset this negotiation. He has spread a report that eight English galleons are on their way here with an Ambassador on board, while he is getting his carriages ready for his return home through Poland; his object is to gain time by inducing the Turks to defer the conclusion of the business until this new Ambassador has arrived. Furthermore, he has informed the Grand Vizir that his mistress intends to restore certain Turks, captured on board the Spanish galleys in the Canaries by Drake. Three of these Turks were disembarked at Lepanto, and came here, where the Capadun took them for spies and put them in the hulks, from which they were released on the representations of the Ambassador to the Grand Vizir.

The French Ambassador has presented memorials to the Sultan through the secretary and through the master of the household, but to neither has he received any reply. He will now wait till his Majesty goes out riding, and will present a memorial in person; after which he says he will remain quiet, waiting orders from his Sovereign, as he can do no more to obtain satisfaction against that Chavass, who, in his very presence, thrashed one of his dragomans, and against the Jew custom-house officer who sold his wine and casks by public auction; for which insults he feels that he can no longer represent his Sovereign with dignity at the Porte; and so he has learned at last to his cost that diplomacy here requires dexterity, and the cultivation of friendly relations through the channels which are usual in this country, not bragadoccio and insolence.

It is rumoured that Messer Paulo Mariani is about to return as English consul to Alexandria; accordingly the French Ambassador has informed the English Ambassador that if this be the case his master will consider himself insulted, for Mariani is an enemy to France. The English Ambassador, however, paid no attention to his remonstrance.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 1st April 1587.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

April 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

494. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The King, as usual, attends with intrepid spirit to the affairs of State, and to the preparations for the Armada. He desires to secure these shores of Spain from incursions by corsairs, and to be ready in case an accord with England is reached. That is now thought to

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be very likely now on account of the execution of the Queen of Scotland. This news has caused an impression here all the more painful that they believed that her life would be spared.

They write from Lisbon that many ships have left that port to go in search of English and French corsairs, and to practice the crews.

Madrid, 1st April 1587.

[*Italian.*]

April 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

495. Giovanni Gritti, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

The French say that a certain Don Pedro Sermento, a Spaniard, who was captured by Drake and taken to England, has been caught by the Huguenots near the Spanish borders on his return home. Letters and papers found on him reveal negotiations for a peace between England and Spain. The Pope declares that it is impossible that this should be true. If the Spanish preparations for war are not intended for England they may be directed to El Arisch.

Rome, 4th April 1587.

[*Italian.*]

April 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

496. Lorenzo Bernardo, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

The Capadun Pasha, who has been entrusted with the affair of the truce to treat with the Spanish Agents, retired to Sweet Waters in company with the Grand Vizir and the Secretary, and after long debates together he has presented his opinion to his Majesty. Three days ago the Sultan published his reply, which, however, was issued through the Grand Vizir. The substance of the reply is this, that the Sultan will always welcome the alliance of the King of Spain, but if he desires to treat of a truce he must send an Ambassador, who would be well received. This answer of the Sultan has caused little satisfaction to the Grand Vizir, and has greatly diminished his reputation at Court. There is no doubt but that the Capadun Pasha has been the chief cause of this reply, for he desired to hold the Spanish in check by giving some satisfaction to the English, and at the same time to maintain the dignity of this Crown. The Spanish Agents are surprised, for they did not expect such an issue, relying as they did on the authority of the Grand Vizir and the apparent good will of the Capadun Pasha. But now that they see that the affair is over, and as they have no authority to make any further move in the matter, they have resolved to leave to-day.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 4th April 1587.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

April 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

497. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

I sent to call Francesco Idiaquez, his Majesty's secretary, and conveyed to him, on your Serenity's orders, the news from Constantinople to be imparted to his Majesty. The Turks are said to

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be turning their attention to Fez, and the Queen of England is mixed up with this business.

His Majesty intends to establish the Council of State.

He is very suspicious that the Queen of England is playing false, and so he continues the preparations for war, and has told the Nuncio, who has offered in his Holiness' name one million two hundred thousand ducats to the King if he will attack the Queen of England in earnest, that at the right time he will prove to the Pope and the whole world how anxious he is, for the service of Christendom and for the peace of the world, to undertake this expedition. But I hear that the Nuncio is not satisfied with this general answer.

His Majesty has resolved to construct the port of Malaga, which will be large enough to hold one hundred ships and as many galleys. It will be very fine, as I gather from the plans. The King gives twelve thousand crowns, and the city as much again. He has also paid out twenty-five thousand crowns to the Biscayan contractors in order that they may begin to build the ships they are under contract to furnish. He has ordered other thirty towers along the coast of Spain.

Madrid, 4th April 1587.

[*Italian.*]

April 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

498. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Prince, praised be God, is out of danger, although for a whole day the doctors thought he was a gone man. They began by bleeding him twice; then, as a last resort, they gave him wine, which made him so violently sick that he came to life again.

I hear from a good source that some days ago the King sent bills of exchange to the value of forty thousand ducats to Don Bernardino de Mendoza to be applied to his usual methods for disturbing the peace of France; and a like sum has been sent to Montmorency, through the Duke of Savoy, with an addition to the four thousand ducats, which are paid to him with great regularity. Don Bernardino writes that his Most Christian Majesty has given orders to his Agent in Spain and his Ambassador in Rome to lend an ear to any remarks which may be made them on the subject of England; the Pope will have to find out some way of uniting the two Sovereigns. I am also informed that M. de Longlé, the French Agent here, has let it be understood that if his master was seriously assisted against the Huguenots he would subsequently proceed against England with such vigour as to prove his excellent intentions towards Christendom. The King of Spain has been moved by his confessor, who has great weight with him, and has raised a case of conscience during holy week, because his Majesty has failed to avenge the wrongs done to God and to the world by that woman, above all in the execution of the Queen of Scotland; and so his Majesty despatched yesterday a courier express to the Count Olivarez in Rome, instructing him that, should the Pope suggest any steps towards attacking England in conjunction with

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France, Olivarez is to reply that his Majesty is ready, and if the Pope does not broach the subject, Olivarez is to find a suitable occasion to let his Holiness see how prepared the King is. The King of France considers himself deeply injured by the execution of the Queen of Scotland, by the affair of L'Aubespine, by the embargo on French ships, and the hundred thousand ducats sent from England to Navarre with promise of much more.

News is looked for from the Duke of Parma reporting what has done by Champigny, who was sent to England to negotiate with the Queen for an accord, and so to prevent her sending out her fleet before the Peruvian flotilla sails in; here they also say that Champigny was charged to soften the Queen's mind towards the Queen of Scotland. Some imagine that Champigny's journey to England is connected with some new conspiracy against the Queen's life. Time will show. The Scotch Agent who was here has left very well content with the offers, and the courteous words which he has received. I have not been able to discover the roots of his business, as he conducted it with the King and Idiaquez alone.

Madrid, 9th April 1587.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

April 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

499. Giovanni Gritti, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

A person who, thanks to his intimate relations with the principal Ministers of France, has opportunity of being well informed, has declared that the anger of the King of France against the Queen of England gives rise to rumours of an alliance between France and Spain against the Queen. The Pope is paying serious attention to this point, and has had a long secret conference with Cardinal Rusticuccio. He has determined to appoint no new Nuncio to France until he has information which of the possible candidates would be most acceptable there. The choice is sure to fall on some of the Venetian Prelates, for these alone are considered to be in favour with his Most Christian Majesty, while rousing no suspicions in any of the other parties concerned.

It is true that the formation of the league will present many difficulties, and the Pope in conversation with me yesterday said, "The Turks in all their enterprises have merely to consult their own interests, which are of one nature only, but Christians have so many and so various interests to consider that one hinders the other. France would like the league, but is afraid of the aggrandisement of Spain; Spain does not wish to see Venice any stronger; Venice entertains like feelings towards other powers; and so individual passions and enmities outweigh considerations of the general good, all falls to the ground, and the enemy surely triumphs."

Rome, 11th April 1587.

[*Italian.*]

April 13. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

500. Giovanni Dolfin, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Earl of Morton after penetrating some way into England, and burning and plundering a little, has returned to Scotland,

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seeing that there was no assistance to be got from the people of the country such as he had been led to expect.

Notice from England that the Queen has sent two Ambassadors to the King of Scotland to inform him of the just reasons which compelled her to put his mother to death. They waited on the borders for passports from the King, and there they were told to return at once for the fullest safe conducts would not prove sufficient to protect them from the fury of the people. Accordingly on the first of this month they returned to London. We hear, too, that the High Treasurer has been restored to greater favour than ever with the Queen, as she sees now every day more clearly how good was his council not to put the Queen of Scotland to death, for not only are the Catholics not repressed as was expected, but, on the contrary, they are more than ever excited. Many who were in the habit of assembling in the heart of a forest, where they had built a chapel and celebrated mass, and afterwards discussed financial affairs, have been arrested.

All relations between the crowns of England and of France have been suspended. The Queen's Agent here has been informed that they will never grant him a passport till Detrapes, of the Ambassador L'Aubespine's household, has been set free. The English, on the other hand, refuse to liberate Detrapes until the French have handed over to them Morgan, who is in the Bastille, a prisoner at the request of England, for his share in the first conspiracies.

Paris, 13th April 1587.

[*Italian.*]

April 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

501. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

His Majesty, praised be God, is in good health, and attends assiduously to affairs, though he gladly avoids seeing many people, and is averse from public audiences. I am informed by one who is always in his private apartments that he is never idle, for besides his desire to read himself all the correspondence which passes between his Ambassadors and Governors in all parts of his great dominions, and besides the prayers which he says, he writes every day with his own hand, more than a quinternion of paper between minutes, opinions, and orders, which are transmitted to his councillors, judges, secretaries, and ministers in this way; and it is hardly to be believed how much time he spends in signing letters, licenses, patents, and other affairs of grace and justice, which on certain days amount to two thousand; and he always insists upon being informed, at least in substance, of the contents of these papers, and frequently he rejects them if he thinks them unjust. I must add that notwithstanding this mass of work he does not omit to attend to the minutest details, such as his household accounts, the expenses of the Escurial, Madrid, Aranjuez, and Pardo.

The day after to-morrow his Majesty will come here, and will stay for four days; he will grant audience to Ambassadors, and then retire to Aranjuez. From thence he will go to Toledo, and, they say, to Portugal. *But on this point, on the question of peace*

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with England and the marriage of the Infanta, I think it better to wait the issue before giving credence, for in all three affairs the greatest difficulties are coming to light.

Yesterday the Prior Don Hernando, son of the Duke of Alva, came to my reception. He made use of most courteous expressions towards your Serenity, to which I replied in suitable terms. He told me that every means was being taken to prepare the Armada. *But, discussing at length this enterprise, he said they would wait to see what the Queen of England did, though he assured me that the King will despatch a most powerful armament to frighten his enemies and protect his subjects. He said he had news that Don Antonio of Portugal had left London on board a man-of-war for Constantinople. Some say he will go all the way by sea, others that he will land at Hamburg and go through Germany to Venice and thence to Ragusa. He also informed me that on the French frontier a youth who gives himself out as the son of the Queen of England, but in disgrace with her because he is a Catholic, has been arrested. He had been in Italy, but now desired to go to France. His Majesty is in great doubt whether to keep him prisoner or to let him go.*

Madrid, 14th April 1587.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

April 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

502. Lorenzo Bernardo, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

After the departure of the Spanish Agents I have had occasion to learn from Orembey, the dragoman, all the particulars about the truce, which was first concluded and then broken off. The affair took place precisely as I have described in my previous despatches. The Spaniards brought as presents to the Magnificent Pasha two splendid pieces of cloth of gold, a gilt ewer and basin jewelled in the Turkish fashion; these, in addition to a promissory note for ten thousand crowns if the truce was concluded. The Pasha has presented to Signor Giovanni Marigliani balsam, Armenian bolus (terra sigilata*), *and other similar ingredients in so many silver vases. The Pasha desired to prevent the Spanish Agents from visiting and making presents to Ibrahim Pasha as they were commissioned to do, for he considered that this would constitute a diminution of his own honour. But when he saw that his own orders were traversed and upset by the Sultan's Secretary he advised them to make use of the favour of Ibrahim and also of the Beglierbey of Greece; he also persuaded them to give two thousand sequins to the Secretary, and a like sum to the Capadun Pasha to buy their support for the maintenance of the truce which he himself had concluded. The Agents, however, had no authority to do as he desired; nor were there wanting those who did the Grand Vizir very evil offices with the Sultan; the Beglierbey of Greece told the Pasha that his Majesty had received information that the Grand Vizir had been promised two hundred thousand sequins for the*

* A clay used in medicine; *sealed* as a guarantee of genuineness.

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conclusion of the truce, but that he (the Beglierbey) had reassured his Majesty on this point. Ibrahim Pasha, however, did not fail to attack the Vizir in public divan, by saying, "I have received a jewelled mirror for this business of the truce; I do not know what others have had." The moment the truce was concluded the Spanish Agents handed to Benveniste the notes for ten thousand ducats for the Vizir, and of one thousand for himself; but when the whole affair was upset they demanded them back again, and although Benveniste made some difficulty at first he eventually restored them.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 16th April 1587.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

April 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

503. Giovanni Gritti, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

They have resolved to send a Cardinal Legate to France and one to Spain for the English question.

Rome, 18th April 1587.

[*Italian.*]

April 21. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

504. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

His Majesty has been in doubt for some days whether he should order the funeral services for the Queen of Scotland; he thought that it was not necessary as she had died a martyr. He desired the views of his confessor and of other theologians. All have declared themselves of opinion that, as the Queen has not yet been declared a martyr by the Church, it was not merely possible but desirable to complete the funeral ceremonies, and thus to pay honour to that blessed soul. Accordingly his Majesty has gone into mourning, and has in person honoured the funeral, showing his sincere sorrow for that unhappy Princess (*è stato dubioso alcuni giorni questo Serenissimo Re se doveva far fare l' esequie alla Regina di Scotia, stimando che non fosse necessario poiche teneva che fosse morta martire; et havendo voluto il parere del suo confessore et d' altri teologhi, tutti si sono conformati che non essendo essa ancora stata dechiarata dalla chiesa per tale, non solo potesse ma dovesse compire a questa ceremonia, et far quest' honore a quella benedetta anima. Cosi Sua Maestà, vestita di duolo, ha honorato con la sua persona il Funerale et ha mostrato in vero molto dolore di quella povera Principessa*).

These last few days many couriers have both gone to and come from France and Flanders, and it seems that with England and Holland there is again hope of an accord. But many do not believe it possible, unless the great suspicion which the Dutch entertain of the England produces some combination on their part against the Queen of England. Here they do everything to foster the belief that they are willing to act with the King of France in the attacks on England; but at the same time they maintain continuous and secret dealings with the Guises and Montmorencys, while waiting to see how events will turn out. Those who under-

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stand say that the Most Christian King is compelled by the circumstances to dissimulate for fear lest the Queen of England, alarmed at these rumours of union between France and Spain, should lend greater assistance to the King of Navarre. This prospect of alliance with France causes the Spaniards to hope for a more certain revenge on the Queen, and therefore less likely to accept terms with England; while the dread of a union between France and Spain will cause the Queen of England to keep her forces at home, and will allow the Peruvian fleet to reach Spain in safety. It is said to be very rich.

This union between the two Crowns is thought to be helpful for both, but a treaty is very improbable owing to the many difficulties I have pointed out.

Madrid, 21st April 1587.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

April 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

505. GIOVANNI DOLFIN, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Rolé, one of Villeroy's under Secretaries, has been sent to L'Aubespine in England, and they have hopes of an understanding. Drake is out with thirty-five ships all well armed; among these are ten very large and fine vessels.

Lord Buckhurst, a gentleman of great importance, has arrived in Holland. He is considered a good officer considering the small experience which the English have of war.

Paris, 23rd April 1587.

[*Italian.*]

April 25. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

506. GIOVANNI GRITTI, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

They are doing all they can to urge Spain on to the enterprise against England, making large promises on the subject. But I learn from a person well acquainted with Spain that the idea of supporting the King of Scotland in an attack on England finds more favour with the Spanish, because the enterprise, if made from that quarter, would not rouse the jealousy of France, and would have the sympathy of all who recognise the King of Scotland as real heir, and justified in avenging his mother's death.

Rome, 25th April 1587.

[*Italian.*]

May 2. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

507. GIOVANNI GRITTI, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

News from Spain that they are continuing the preparations for war, but at the same time M. de Granvelle is conducting negotiations for an accord between Spain and England. If the Queen will remove the troops which she sent and still sends into Holland and Zealand, the King will abstain from attacking her.

Rome, 2nd May 1587.

[*Italian.*]

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May 2.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

508. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

At the ceremony of translating the body of Santa Leucadia to Toledo the King refused to allow any bull fights or tourneys, both because he thought the occasion unfit, and because he wished to express his mourning for the Queen of Scotland.

Madrid, 2nd May 1587.

[*Italian.*]

May 2.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

509. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

A few days ago the Viscount of Caux (?) *arrived here on behalf of the King of Navarre with all secrecy. After treating with Don Juan d'Idiaquez he withdrew to Alcala, about four leagues off, and now conducts all business through a brother-in-law, a Spaniard, who passes backwards and forwards as required. There is also here a M. de la Motte, agent of the Guises, on the pretence of buying horses. Although it is difficult to find out the details of their negotiations, yet everyone knows that both of them are here to draw money for the continuance of the war in France. It is not possible to discover what this King's action may be, especially with regard to Navarre, but M. de Longlè, who resides here for the King of France, let it be known that this is not the way to unite these two Crowns against England; and that his Majesty, as one of the principle defenders of the Catholic faith, should extinguish rather than fan that fire which may one day work great mischief to the Christian community; and he complains that the Duke of Savoy has taken a part in this affair by sending his Agent to Montmorency. But the Ministers reply that these gentlemen are here on private business of their own, and declare that the King of Spain is a true friend to the King of France, and desires a union against England.*

The King is occupied in raising money, and has written an order to the President of the Public Revenue to see that he has three millions of gold ready this year. The President had already guaranteed two millions, and there is now a question of a loan of another million for Flanders; *this makes many imagine that the King intends to bribe the English commanders to surrender the forts of Holland and Zealand as was done at Zutphen and Deventer. The Duke of Parma represents this as possible* (*onde molti discorreno che si habbia pensiero di guadaguar con denari li capitani inglesi per la restitutione delle piazze d' Ollanda et Zelanda, secondo che fu fatto di Zutfen et Deventer, come ne da speranza il Duca di Parma*).

Six Scotch and English Bishops are here; they have been deprived of their revenues, and are in straits; his Majesty accordingly has resolved to assign them to the six richest Bishops in Spain to be maintained in this way till further provision. One of those Bishops has printed a book to prove that, after the King of Scotland, the King of Spain is the real heir to the English throne, which he does by the help of a genealogical tree showing the

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descendants of two English Princes, one married in Portugal, the other in Castille. They say the King is much pleased with the book.

The postmaster of Ayron, on the French frontier, sends word that the Huguenots towards Bordeaux have seized and robbed many couriers; and should the King think of changing the route and sending them through Provence, that district will be found to be infected no less by Huguenots than by the plague.

Madrid, 2nd May 1586 (*sic* 7 ?).

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Postscript.—After having written the above, couriers arrived almost simultaneously from various quarters with two sets of news; one that Drake had left London for Plymouth to gather a powerful fleet with a view to meeting and fighting the Peruvian flotilla, and to go to the Azores with Don Antonio of Portugal, while the Queen of England spread the report that he had left for Constantinople; the other, that the commander of the galleys of Spain had fought seven English ships which were on their way to the Levant. Four saved themselves, thanks to a favourable wind, while three went to the bottom with everybody on board. The galleys of Spain, however, suffered much, losing many lives. The commander had his squadron of twenty-five reinforced by twelve other ships, and went after the Englishmen, who appeared to be becalmed. *Accordingly it is absolutely necessary that the Spanish should look to their preparations for war, and carry them out vigorously, for, as a rule, these officials are slow in following the King's orders, owing to their expectation of an accord. Indeed it is the general opinion that the Catholic Armada cannot be ready for two months to come, which will give Drake more opportunities to work mischief.*

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

May 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

510. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

I have frequently informed your Serenity that the King will not undertake any expedition this year, and that all the preparations for an Armada are constructed merely with a view to frightening the Queen of England, and to divert her attention from operations against Spain; while, on the other hand, all that woman's negotiations for an accord are merely a ruse to keep the minds of the Spanish in uncertainty, and to throw them into confusion as has happened; for the news that Drake was preparing an armament in Plymouth had hardly reached Spain when it was followed by the news that he was here, off the coast, with forty-two sail; that he had gone to Cadiz, a city of great wealth in merchandise, and had destroyed the stone bridge that joined that island to the mainland, burned or taken several ships which were lying in harbour, retained some Dutch ships which had been pressed into the service of the Catholic fleet, and were laden with wine and

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biscuits for Lisbon. He also assaulted the city in the hope of sacking it, though the Duke of Medina Sidonia and the neighbouring cities sent large reinforcements. This bad news has caused great annoyance for many reasons; the King and his Council feel the indignity and the loss, but more than that, they fear lest, as Drake is master of the sea, and as they cannot at once send out a fleet strong enough to fight him, or even to keep him in check, he will have every facility for working havoc on the coast, for preventing the junction of the squadrons of Seville and Biscay with that which is lying in Lisbon, and for harassing the galleys that are coming from Italy. He will also be able to keep an eye on the movements in Portugal, and can go to the Azores to await the Peruvian fleet. Everyone here expresses his own opinion, and the Spaniards themselves blame the sluggishness which has been displayed in all this affair; and the exaggerated hopes of an accord with the Queen of England, who, they say, is in relations with Matthias and with the Turk to the great embarrassment of this Crown. There are many other remarks current, such as that this woman has shown the world how they can strike at the Spaniard in Flanders, in the Indies, and in his own house; and that these injuries inflicted by Drake will raise many considerations in the minds of other Princes, and also of the King's own subjects.

I had got so far when other couriers arrived from Cadiz, which they left on the 2nd and 3rd inst., with news that Drake had been vigorously repulsed by the Duke of Medina Sidonia who had arrived from San Lucar, by forced marches, with three thousand soldiers; and that from other quarters one thousand horse and five or six thousand infantry had also arrived, so that Drake had put out to sea again, not, however, without having wrought great damage; for after sacking twenty-two ships, and taking their artillery and cargoes of wine and biscuits he burned them, carrying off three of the biggest. They estimate the damage at more than two hundred thousand ducats. The Spanish commander followed up the enemy, but the issue is unknown. Santa Cruz, in Lisbon, is getting everything ready, but calls for aid.

Madrid, 6th May 1587.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Postscript.—Last night the King received news at Aranjuez that Drake had fallen in with his reinforcements, and had returned to Cadiz. His Majesty accordingly despatched Don Francesco Bobadiglia, Adjutant-General, to those parts with various orders; meantime another courier has arrived with information that the news was not true, but that the alarm was spread by the sight of various merchantmen which sailed into the port of Cadiz. I am informed that many of the masters of the Flemish ships which were seized some months back in Spain, have fled to England, and that it was they who brought Drake into Cadiz, as they promised the Queen great booty. *Also that M. de Champagny is in London, and everyone is amazed to see how cleverly that woman manages in everything; the King endeavours to conceal all this, and his Ministers do their best to excuse him (et che tuttavia sta Mons. di*

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Sciampagni in Londra, il qual fà stuppire ogn' uno come quella donna opera tanto astutamente in tutte le cose, et vorrebbe il Re dissimulare tutto questo fatto, et procurano li suoi Ministri di escusarlo più che si può).

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

May 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

511. GIOVANNI DOLFIN, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Count of Altapena, Governor of Guelderland, has captured a town called Carcova, belonging to the Duke of Cleves, which was surprised two months ago by Martin Schenk, an Englishman.

The King of Scotland has granted to the Archbishop of Glasgow, who was Ambassador here for the Queen of Scotland, twenty-two years' income of his see, which is from six to seven thousand ducats, and to the Bishop of Rothesay a similar twenty-two years' income of his see, which amounts to three thousand ducats. They say the King will continue to employ the Archbishop at this Court.

Paris, 8th May 1587.

[*Italian.*]

May 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

512. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King and all Spain are most disturbed by Drake's action at Cadiz. His Majesty it seems has resolved to collect, as soon as possible, as large a fleet as he can, in order to oppose this corsair in the best way he is able. They fear that Drake and his reinforcements are about to sail for the Azores to fight the fleet that is coming with great riches from New Spain. They have sent off two carvels with orders to detain the fleet in the port of Havana, or at least to alter its course so as to avoid the Azores; and they are thinking of sending on an escort to meet it. Another carvel has been despatched to keep Drake under observation.

Orders have been sent to Biscay, where are, perhaps, some twenty men-of-war, and to Naples and Sicily, that all these squadrons are to come to Lisbon as soon as possible to join the fleet under the Marquis of Santa Cruz. The thirty lieutenants who have recently come from Flanders have each been commissioned for a company apiece. Fresh supplies of wine and biscuits, in place of those seized by Drake in Cadiz, have been ordered. All the same everyone thinks that all these preparations will be too late, and only the good fortune of the King can pull him through at a pinch.

The King is very well pleased with the Duke of Medina Sidonia, and to give a conspicuous proof of it he has created the Duke Captain-General of Andalusia, Granada, and Murcia, an honourable office which the Duke has long desired; but the fact will greatly annoy the Duke of Ossuna, his rival.

News from Ceuta that Murad Rays has sailed with eighteen ships to go buccaneering towards the Canaries, as he did last year; and some suppose that he is acting in concert with the Queen of England to annoy the King, as, indeed, they hold for sure that

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certain movements on the Bearn frontier of upwards of a thousand Huguenots are to be attributed to that cause.

They have learned from five English prisoners, captured at Cadiz, that Drake has vast designs against the King of Spain, and often discusses them with great warmth. And that your Excellencies may see how important may be the rage of a man, even though of low extraction, when roused against even a Prince. I must tell you that Drake was a favourite page of his Majesty when he was in England. He was then sent to the Indies on a mission by which he became creditor of Spain for nine thousand ducats. He stayed at Court for a whole year without being able to get his money owing to the remissness of officials, and was finally obliged to sell his claim for three thousand ducats. He returned to England, and swore that his own right hand should avenge him his wrongs. He received leave from the Queen, and sailed with five ships to the Indies, and arrived at the Straits of Magellan, where he seized a ship laden with gold. Not content with that he returned a second time, and now is working all this mischief in Spain.

As a counterbalance to these misfortunes the King's good luck has brought him the discovery of a mountain twenty miles long, all full of veins of purest silver. They are short of workmen, and orders have been given to send out a large number of Moorish slaves.

Enclosed is an account of Drake's operations.

Madrid, 9th May 1587.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

513. Report of Drake's Operations in the Port of Cadiz.

On Wednesday, the 29th of April, about five in the afternoon, Drake sailed into the port with a fleet of about forty-two sail, that is to say, five great ships of five hundred tons each, two galleasses of two hundred tons, six ships of one hundred tons, thirteen frigates of sixty tons, and the rest light vessels. Don Pedro de Acugna was in the port near the city with seven galleys and one galleon. He opened fire on the enemy, and so the engagement began. The city, too, did what it could, but the populace was terror stricken. The women and children were placed in the castle, but so great was the pressure of the crowd on entering that twenty-five persons were suffocated. The Governor Juan de Vega and other knights reinforced the guards and the sentinels at the most dangerous points by placing their best troops there, and sent notice at once to Xeres and other neighbouring cities. They then went down to the bridge, which the enemy had begun to break up; they sent word to the Duke of Medina Sidonia, who arrived during the night with three thousand troops.

The moment the enemy entered the port they sank one great Genoese ship, laden with merchandise of value, and burned other ships which were laden and ready to sail for New Spain. They took a Biscayan of seven hundred tons, intending to carry her off with them, but they afterwards sank her.

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Don Pedro de Acugna with his galleys took one of the enemy's frigates which lagged behind, and he sent the five English who survived into the city, that they might furnish information as to the forces and designs of the enemy, who was able to keep the Spanish galleys at a distance as their artillery had a longer range than ours (*i suoi pezzi tiravano più da lontano delli nostri*).

During that night nothing more took place, as Drake did not venture to land, which was a mercy vouchsafed by God, for he sacked the city with a slaughter of fifty men only.

At dawn many cavalry and infantry arrived in addition to that which the Duke of Medina Sidonia had introduced into the city. As soon as day had dawned Don Pedro, with his galleys, endeavoured to annoy the enemy, and thought he did them some damage, but the enemy's ships compelled him eventually to retire under the fort, and their frigates began to burn the shipping in harbour; the first ship they fired was one belonging to the Marquis of Santa Cruz of eight hundred tons, after taking out the wine and biscuits she had on board. They then turned to five Biscayans which were lying in the port, and set them on fire, as well as to twenty-two others laden, some with salt, some with raisins, some with grain. As two galleys were anchored at the entrance to the harbour by the bridge, the frigates could not enter to fire the ships which were lying alongside the bridge, and those were the ships destined for the fleet of New Spain. At midday, with a west wind blowing in their teeth, the enemy tried to clear the port, but could not, and sailed up the channel in very good order. At midnight, the wind serving, they set sail and put out to the open sea, followed by the twenty-two galleys which had arrived. Francis Drake's fleet is of forty-two sail, twenty-six ships besides frigates and galliots. It is manned by four thousand men, as the English prisoners report. The corsair has captured two thousand nine hundred hogsheads of wine, and ten thousand quintals of biscuits, and ten thousand aneghe* of corn; he burned nineteen great ships and three little ones. He has two captain ships of at least five hundred tons each, and two admiral ships of the same burden, and another of the like build. Two galleasses of extreme beauty, two hundred tons each, and seven ships of one hundred and fifty tons; thirteen large frigates of fifty or sixty tons. Every ship carries boats capable of holding forty men.

[*Italian.*]

May 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

514. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The King is much better. The gout has gone into his knee, and, although he is in bed, he continues to transact business.

Drake, in passing along the coast of Portugal, attempted a landing at Lagos, but the weather was too stormy, and he could not succeed; he merely took in some supplies of meat. It is thought that he has gone on to make a junction with other English ships, for a carvel from St. Michel's, one of the Azores, reports it fell in with

* *See* page 61.

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twenty-four great ships and two transports sailing towards Cape St. Vincent. They took them for English and Dutch, cruising about to fall in with Drake. He is quite sure to be heard of again soon, and the King grows keener every day for his revenge.

They are thinking of raising twelve thousand infantry, six thousand in Naples and Milan, three thousand in Romagna, and three thousand in Tuscany; and for this last six thousand they hope to get half the pay from the Pope and half from the Grand Duke. They intend to raise other troops in Germany, and wish to have them all here by the first of August, to use them at once if certain secret designs go forward, if not to put them into winter quarters. It seems that all Spain is in earnest, and ready to grant every assistance, for they declare that the Queen of England and Drake are obscuring the grandeur of this Crown and the valour of the Spanish nation; and that Drake can no longer be considered a buccaneer, for he holds the commission of Captain-General from his mistress. The city of Seville, in particular, has offered to furnish, at its own charges, twenty-four ships, and to pay them for a year (*par che tutta la Spagna si lasci intendere di voler far dovero, et dar ogni aiuto; dicendo che questa Regina d' Inghilterra et Draco vanno oscurando la grandezza di questo Serenissimo Re, et il valor della nation Spagnuola; et che costui non si puo dir corsaro poiche tiene patente della sua Patrona di Capitano Generale del Mare. Et la città di Siviglia particolarmente offerisse di armar a sue spese, 24 navi pagate per un' anno*).

For the command of the expedition, it seems that the King thinks of sending the Duke of Parma, and supplying his place in Flanders by the Duke of Savoy.

Of the French gentlemen here it seems that Navarre's will get kind words and Guise's kind deeds.

Madrid, 16th May 1587.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

May 17. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

515. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The King has the gout in his feet and both his hands; the doctors have bled him twice, and now wish to purge him. Business accordingly is somewhat at a standstill. We hear, however, that the Marquis of Santa Cruz is getting the Armada in order with all speed, and intends to take the sea in person. In Galicia 20 English ships have effected a landing, and have sacked Corunna, and then followed on Drake's route.

Madrid, 17th May 1587.

[*Italian.*]

May 21. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

516. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

We hear that some hundred ships, divided into several squadrons, are out. They are chiefly English, and a few Bretons. A nephew of Drake, in command of twenty-five of them, is at the Straits of Gibraltar, lying in wait for the ships which are bringing troops

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from Sicily, and which have already reached Cartagena on their way to Lisbon. Orders have been sent to them to remain in some port or other. Others of the enemy's fleet are off Cape St. Vincent, and let no ships pass without boarding them, chiefly to get information of the Spanish fleet with a view to effecting a junction against it. They say that Murad Rays has joined Drake. These news have induced the King to order the Marquis of Santa Cruz to take the sea in force, and to effect a junction as soon as he can with the Biscayan ships; but they think that this cannot take place before the end of next month. Meantime the English are masters of the sea, and hold it at their discretion. Lisbon and the whole coast is, as it were, blockaded. *And so the Spanish say that the King thinks and plans while the Queen of England acts, and that in earnest (onde Spagnuoli dicono che il Re pensa et negotia, et la Regina d'Inghilterra opera et fa da vero). The Frenchmen who are here have very serious business on hand. They ask for money, and Navarre, on the one hand, promises that he will never make peace with the King of France, but will always keep him fully occupied; while the Guise, on the other, make similar promises against Navarre. Don Juan d'Idiaquez gives more ear to the Guise than to Navarre in whom he has little confidence. All, however, is suspended at present owing to the indisposition of the King.*

Madrid, 21st May 1587.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

May 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

517. Giovanni Dolfin, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

De L'Aubespine writes that the Queen of England has liberated Destrapes, and that twenty-three ships laden with grain, which had been seized by pirates when on their way to France, and brought into London, had by her severe orders been left untouched, as she said she desired to restore them to her good brother, the King of France, if he would restore English goods and vessels now detained in his realms. On receipt of the news the English Ambassador resident here and Sig. Oad (Wade) demanded an audience in order to obtain the liberation of English men and goods in France, and for the re-establishment of commercial relations. The Agent further desired to take his leave on his return home. But they were continually put off by the Secretaries of State, who said that they must wait till Destrapes returned to France, and then all difficulties would be ended to the common satisfaction.

News from Antwerp to private merchants, that on the 26th a meeting between the representatives of the Duke of Parma and the representatives of the States is to take place somewhere between Brussels and Berghen to consider the question of an accord. Also that serious differences had arisen between the English and Count Maurice's people, and that they came near to cutting each other to bits. The Queen's Ministers, however, say that all discords are at an end, and that the Earl of Leicester will be back there in a day or two.

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We hear that at many places in Scotland they have begun to say the mass, but the party of the Queen of England who are about the King made a great uproar on this point, and his Majesty was obliged to issue orders that this should cease, and that the gentlemen who caused the mass to be said, and the priests who said it, should all be arrested. But as there was great delay in the execution of this order both priests and gentlemen were able to save themselves. Everyone recognises the good intentions of the King as regards religion; and they say that he is strongly urged to restore the Catholic faith with a view to settling the affairs of Scotland, and also with a view to the question of England, especially as many books are at present in circulation which insist on the Spanish claims to England, excluding Scotland because he is not a Catholic.

The King of Scotland has written to the King of France announcing that, as he desires to continue the friendly relations of his predecessors with the French Crown, he has ordered the Archbishop of Glasgow to reside here as his Ambassador. He has written in the same sense to the Archbishop, and has sent him his credentials. But rumour here said that the Archbishop would decline the post. Thereupon the King sent for him last week, and declared that it gave him the greatest pleasure to learn that he had been named to this place, and begged him to accept at once, and to continue in the discharge of his duties with that prudence and goodness which he had hitherto displayed. The Archbishop replied that while he would remain eternally grateful to his Majesty for his great kindness and favour, yet, to his chagrin, he was unable to obey his Majesty for two reasons, first, because he had filled the office for twenty-two years continuously, and though he had done his best to discharge his duty to the satisfaction of his Majesty, yet he had never received any of those small signs of gratification which Ambassadors of only two years' standing were accustomed to receive, and so he was obliged to conclude that his services were in no way acceptable to his Most Christian Majesty; and being unable to do more than he had done he deemed it expedient to retire. Secondly, and of far greater importance, as an Archbishop he was unable to serve at the Court of a King who had refused obedience to the Apostolic See. As a private individual he would ever be willing to render any service in his power, officially as Ambassador he could not do so. The King made answer that as to the first objection he was eminently satisfied with the conduct of the Archbishop, and that if any delay had taken place in the public demonstration of this regard it was due to the King's desire to consult his mother, so that they might devise some special mark of favour distinct from that bestowed on all other Ambassadors, as, indeed, had just been determined. For the second, the Archbishop's objection was most just, but the King would himself write to the Pontiff to secure his permission for the Archbishop to accept the post; and he was convinced that his Holiness would be highly pleased, and would approve.

Paris, 22nd May 1587.

[*Italian.*]

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May 24.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

518. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I have recently sent despatches relating the damage done by Drake in the port of Cadiz, the preparations and intentions here, and the indisposition of the King, who has the gout and fever. Now, thanks be to God, his Majesty is better, and is beginning to get up; but he is still greatly disturbed by the mischief Drake is doing. For it seems that though he made a ruse of sailing off to the Azores he simply waited a fitting time and place to make a descent on the coast of Portugal, and to work the havoc which the enclosed will explain. I have just this moment received it, and it is a copy of the report furnished to the King himself, It would appear that as Drake's audacity goes on increasing his Majesty will at last resolve to act in earnest, and to take that vengeance which all Spain desires. Besides the offers from Seville, already reported, the kingdom of Valencia, though only a poor province, has offered to furnish two hundred thousand crowns, half at once and half at the end of a year, towards the maintenance of the Armada, and the other maritime cities and provinces are expected to make other offers. All the same they think that for this year they will not be able to make any other use of the Armada than to secure the safety of the fleets, and to put a stop to the ravages of Drake.

A courier from Turin brings news that *Ferrari has been able to effect nothing at Constantinople in the matter of the truce, as the Grand Vizir has insisted in including the Queen of England at the request of her Ambassador resident at the Porte. As Ferrari had no orders to accept this proposal he has to wait instructions from Spain (il Ferrari a Constantinopoli non haveva potuto concluder alcuna cosa intorno alla tregua volendo il Bassà includervi la Regina d' Inghilterra per ufficii fatti dall' Ambasciatore suo residente a quella Porta; ache non havendo ordine il Ferrari di consentire, aspettava commissione de quà). Uluge Pasha has said that if Spain excludes England the Porte will exclude a Christian Prince, meaning either the Emperor or the Republic. The King has sent to summons Marigliani, who, though ill of the quartain fever, has set out for Court. I hope to be able to discover the issue; as far as I understand at present the King will insist on the exclusion of England and the inclusion of all other Christian Princes, and rather than give way he will leave the question of a truce in suspense.*

They have sent off four carvels, each by a different route, so that some of them may reach their destination in safety, with orders to stop the fleet at Havana until an escort can be despatched. The Sicilian squadron has returned to the port of Cartagena, as they heard that many English were lying off the Straits of Gibraltar.

Madrid, 24th May 1587.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

519. In Lisbon, 23rd May 1587.

Francis Drake, the Englishman, having done whatever he liked, appeared at Setimbra (Cezimbra). A large number of troops came

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to the rescue, and he, without doing anything, passed on to Cascaes, where, had he not found the galleys, he was resolved to land eighteen companies, and to sack and burn the place. His plan was upset by the sight of the galleys and the troops which Don Alonso de Bazan disembarked for the defence of the place. Drake made several feints, but not trusting the great calm, that same night he weighed anchor and drew out to the open sea. He sailed before a north breeze, which sprang up yesterday after midnight, and they think he is gone to Cape St. Vincent again for shelter.

Yesterday, before daybreak, they came to wake me with letters and news that a fleet of two hundred sail was coming up from the south-east to join Drake. Then we heard that these were one hundred and fifty French ships coming into Setubal for salt. Drake seized two, and sailed with the north wind. It is to be feared that he will land at some place in Algarve, for nothing more has been seen of him here. Here every preparation has been made and at Setimbra; also at Cascaes, where there are many foot soldiers and cavalry.

[*Spanish.*]

May 30. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

520. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

Ferrari writes that after having settled the question of the truce in a very few days the Grand Vizir sent to say that the Sultan desired to include the Queen of England as his ally. To which Ferrari replied that he had no orders, and could not depart from the terms which had already been concluded. Ferrari reports that the Grand Vizir and the Beglierbey of Greece are anxious to conduct the affair, but the Secretary, who is the Sultan's conscience, and Uluge Pasha are opposed. He hopes with the help of the Pashas to overcome the difficulties, and if he succeeds he will leave at once, but as he has no orders on this point, and the Turk may stand firm, he begs for instruction. I hear that an answer has been sent by courier despatched to Milan, that as the Grand Vizir will not abide by the terms of the previous truces Ferrari is to take his leave, and to come away without mentioning the Queen of England, for it is possible that her Ambassador has acted on his own authority in this matter, without being able to show orders from his mistress. If they produce such orders Ferrari is to say that they are forged by the Ambassador, and is to stand as firm as he can without, however, giving any other reason why the King refuses to accept the inclusion of the Queen of England.

Ferrari writes that the Grand Vizir said to him that England (sic. Spain?) was right in refusing to consent to this clause, for that woman captured his kingdoms and sent Drake into the Indies to work him mischief (il Bassà gli ha detto che Inghilterra haverà ragione di non assentir a questa dimanda poiche quella donna li prende i stadi et li manda il Draco fin nelle indie a far tanti danni).

Madrid, 30th May 1587.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

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May 30.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

521. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

At Lisbon they have been in great alarm lest Drake should enter the port in spite of the fortifications, and should burn the shipping as he did at Cadiz. He very likely would have done so had not the wind failed him, which God caused to fall as he desired not such great evils. They are also alarmed by the dread that Drake may have secret understandings in the town, and that a rising may take place; and so their dread of the foe outside is equalled by their suspicion of the people within. Nor are they yet out of danger, for Drake has not left those waters, and another Drake, his nephew, is buccaneering on the open sea, and has captured three Spanish ships, to the grievous loss of some private merchants.

These continual troubles stir up the Spaniards to attend to the Armada; and these last few days large sums of money have been paid out to soldiers and sailors, and for the purchase of all necessaries. Large quantities of corn have been bought to make biscuits. The universal belief is that the Marquis of Santa Cruz will take the sea as soon as possible, and with as large a fleet, in order to effect a junction with the Biscayan squadron if he is not prevented by Drake, and with the Seville and Sicilian squadrons as well; he will then offer battle, and with such forces he is confident of victory, for he will have ten thousand men on board his ships, and should Drake decline an engagement, as is thought very likely, for he has orders from the Queen not to run the risk of one encounter, but only to do as much damage as he can, then the Spanish will claim the honours, and will also secure the safety of the fleet, of the Spanish and the Portuguese coasts, and the Azores and Canaries as well.

The members of the Cortes, which are now assembled, exhort the King to revenge, and show that all Spain is acutely hurt; to which his Majesty has replied that he will act all in good time, and that they must see to it that they do not fail to support him.

Among the many difficulties in way of resolving on and carrying out this enterprise against England next year, it seems that the most important is the question of finding a ground of accord with France, which is occupying them at this very moment; they are endeavouring to secure his word that if a person can be agreed upon, with whom his Most Christian Majesty will be content as sovereign of England, should the conquest of that island be effected, he will at least remain neutral, and will not help the Queen of England in any way, for which promise the Pope shall go surety. Accordingly, with this object in view, in addition to the other suggestions which I have reported, there are those who propose to his Majesty to name to the chief command the Archduke Ernst, as there is little to be expected from the King of Poland, and to establish that if England is conquered the Archduke shall be master of it, and shall marry a daughter of the Duke of Loraine, nephew of his Most Christian Majesty. On the other hand the Guises propose the Prince of Scotland, affirming, as usual, that he will declare himself a Catholic, which would be pleasing to his Most Christian Majesty, and will marry the said daughter of Loraine. This does not give complete satisfaction to the King

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of Spain, who urges that France will thus in a certain way gain all the fruits of the victory, for there is no doubt that by this new combination the Prince of Scotland will be entirely dependent on France (oltre gli altri molti contrarii che concorrono nel deliberar et esseguire l' impresa d' Inghilterra per l' anno venturo, pare che principalissimo sia il trovar modo di farla unitamente con Francia, come pur si negotia tuttavia, almeno che, con proponer al X^mo^ suggetto del quale havesse a satisfari quando seguisse l' acquisto di quell' isola, dia parola con sicurtà del Papa di non sturbar essa impresa et di non favorir quella Regina in modo alcuno, et per ciò, son fatto certo, oltra i pensieri gia scritti da me, che vien da qualcheduno posto in considerationе a Sua M^ta^ che sarà ben di proponer per Generale dell' impresa l' arciduca Ernesto, poiche di Re di Pollonia non se ne ha molta speranza, et in caso che si acquisti quel regno che ne resti l' arciduca patrone, con maritarsi in una figliulo del Duca di Lorena, nipote di Sua M^ta^ X^ma^; all incontro i Ghisi metteno inanti il Principe di Scotia, affermando al solito che si dechiarirà Catholico, et che questo sara caro al Re X^mo^, facendosi il matrimonio con la medesima figliuola di Lorena; ma a ciò non inclina compitamente questo Serenissimo Re, ponendoseli inanzi che Francia goderia in certo modo tutto il frutto della vittoria; poiche non è dubbio che con questa nuova congiontione anco quel Principe non dipendesse del tutto da Francia).

All these questions present in their very essence so many difficulties that if a resolution is to be awaited nothing will be done. The chief point, however, is that this King shows a determination to act in earnest next year whatever happens. And as he believes that it is to his interest to draw close to the Guise he has given most secret orders to pay them other five hundred thousand ducats in Besançon on their promise to fan the civil war in France.

Madrid, 30th May 1587.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

522. Lisbon, 21st May 1587.

The English fleet has been ten days at Cape St. Vincent. At the end of that period they resolved to land two thousand men, well armed, and fine troops.

They formed in squadron in excellent order, and marched in companies of harquebusiers (*con sus mangas de archbuseria*) to the great noise of drums, and with seventeen flags flying, half a league towards Lagos.

The garrison of the city was drawn up on the walls, though few in numbers and ill armed.

The Governor of Algarve marched out with, perhaps, two hundred horse.

The squadron approached the city, but did not show a disposition to do anything else than reconnoitre, and immediately returned in the same good order. The Governor followed them up, but neither did he attack.

Next day troops landed from the fleet, and attacked the castle of Sagrez, which is on the cape, assaulting it with ladders, and captured

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it without any defence being offered by the garrison of one hundred and fifty Portuguese.

The English burned the castle and the convent, and the images, and the monks fled away.

They took the castle of Valliera, putting the garrison to flight, and they did the same with Bolich, which they burned. All the artillery and arms they found they seized.

The following day the fleet sailed away, and came to the river at Lisbon, which they entered on the 20th of May at seven in the morning; they got as far as the Castles of Cascaes and San Juan, when it fell calm, and they could go no further.

Don Alonso de Bazzan, brother of the Marquis of Santa Cruz, put out at once with seven galleys, and having got the enemy within range he opened fire, but he could do no damage for the English pieces had a wider range than his, and were also heavier. This continued till seven in the evening, when the English fleet resolved to put out to the open sea.

The night passed in great confusion in Lisbon.

[*Spanish.*]

May 31. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

523. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

News from Lisbon that Drake is patrolling those waters with a view to preventing the junction of the Catholic squadrons, and to damage the coasts of Portugal.

Madrid, 31st May 1587.

[*Italian.*]

June 3. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

524. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

Drake is buccaneering in these waters, and has seized upwards of twenty-five ships, among them one great Spanish galleon on its way from Flanders, laden with goods to the value of over sixty thousand crowns, and two other smaller ships with a cargo of oars for the galleys of Spain. He has had an engagement with twelve of these galleys at Lagos; it lasted all day with a heavy cannonade, which, however, produced little effect, and they were parted by a storm.

Santa Cruz writes to the King that everything is ready except the men, and that he will take the sea as soon as they arrive. His squadron consists of forty ships, and he will go to meet the galleys which have come from Italy, and which he hopes to find at Gibraltar. Accordingly orders have been given that the troops which were raised in the various cities are to march for Lisbon, so that the fleet may sail as soon as possible to rout Drake, and to secure the safety of the flotilla from New Spain.

It is thought that Drake has intelligence with some of the cities of Portugal. The truth is that he has done so much damage along these shores that even if the King won a signal victory he would not recoup himself for half the losses he has suffered (*la verità è che fin hora ha fatto tanto danno in queste rive di Spagna solamente che quando ben il Re ottenesse una signalissima vittoria*

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contra di lui, non rifarebbe per la metà alla perdita). Should the flotilla fall into Drake's hands that would mean the ruin of half Spain, as, indeed, will happen if the fleet does not arrive this year; for they say that a mere delay will cause the failure of many merchants in Seville. (*Et se per caso andasse in sua mano la flotta sarebbe la rovina di meza Spagna, come anco se non venisse quest' anno, poiche col tardare solamente vogliono che sia per fallir molti mercanti di Siviglia.*) They have resolved to employ in the Armada the galleons which were intended to sail for New Spain; and so next year they will not be able to have a flotilla from the Indies of Castille, which will imply a loss of a million of gold to the King, and another million to private speculators. Orders have been issued that no ships are to sail from the ports of Spain till the Catholic Armada has taken the sea, which causes extreme mischief to the poor subjects.

The Council of War has commissioned fourteen more officers. The King has sent an engineer to fortify the town of Cadiz as fast as possible. He has learned a lesson from Drake's attack, and everyone considers Cadiz as the true seaport of Spain. The inhabitants offer to bear all the charges.

A courier has arrived express from the Spanish Ambassador in Rome; he brings despatches on the subject of England. They prove that France is very ready to take a part in the common revenge upon the Queen of England in the coming year, on the condition that the expedition be undertaken in favour of a third party, neither Spanish nor French. They say that this view is shared here. The Grand Duke of Tuscany, through Don Pietro de Medici, makes great offers for the English enterprise; he promises two millions in cash, troops, ships, and his own person. D' Idiaquez has replied, asking that the offers should be put on paper.

Madrid, 3rd June 1587.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

June 5. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

525. Giovanni Dolfin, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

His Majesty has resolved to send the Duke of Joyeuse into Poitu to prevent Navarre from making headway by his gentle treatment of everyone. There is a great lack of money, and so his Majesty has determined to sell the late Queen of Scotland's dower.

Paris, 5th June 1587.

[*Italian.*]

June 5. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

526. Giovanni Dolfin, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Letters from England with news that on the 30th April Drake was off the port of Cadiz with about forty ships, having left the rest of his fleet behind him so as to push on. He did not succeed in landing as he intended owing to an unfavourable wind, but he sacked and burned about thirty ships in those waters, capturing their boats, their cargoes, and great quantities of biscuits and wine

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intended for the Catholic Armada; and what is of more importance still, a great quantity of sails and ropes.

The Deputies of the States in conference with the Duke of Parma have refused to grant free trade in necessaries as the Duke desired; and he declined to continue the discussion until that point was resolved. For this purpose Andrea dell' Ho, a merchant, who had been in Spain previously on this subject, has now gone to England.

The King of Denmark has seized seventy Dutch ships which were in his ports, because in April last an Ambassador of his was detained, a chain taken from him, his letters opened, and sent into England.

Paris, 5th June 1587.

[*Italian.*]

June 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

527. GIOVANNI DOLFIN, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Destrapes has come to Paris; he went first to the Queen-Mother on his release from England. Thereupon his Majesty gave an audience to the English Ambassador and to Signor Oad (Wade). The Ambassador assured the King of the Queen of England's excellent disposition, and Wade took his leave.

Paris, 5th June 1587.

[*Italian.*]

June 9. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

528. MATHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Confirmation of the news that the Queen of England has sent one hundred thousand angels to Casimir to give caution money and the first rate of their pay to the German horse, which are being raised for her, partly for England, if the suspicion of a Spanish attack continues, and part for Navarre. But this movement of troops cannot take place before the harvest, as the troops would be short of provisions.

Prague, 9th June 1587.

[*Italian.*]

June 13. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

529. GIOVANNI GRITTI, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

News that the King of Scotland shows a kindly disposition towards the Catholic faith, and has restored to three Bishops their temporalities and spiritualities.

Rome, 13th June 1587.

[*Italian.*]

June 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

530. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Drake was swept by a storm up to Galicia, and some thought he had gone to the Azores, but he presently returned to Cape St. Vincent. He has joined twelve other English ships on the open

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sea, so that he now has fifty vessels, and they fear that he will endeavour to reinforce himself still further in order to prevent the Marquis of Santa Cruz from effecting a junction with the great galleys, the squadron from Naples and Sicily, and the other scattered squadrons.

Santa Cruz writes to the King that if he does not go out at once it is because he is waiting to make his fleet as large as possible; that he wants more men in order to be strong enough to engage the enemy should he offer battle. He sends a list of the ships in Lisbon which I herewith enclose. He says if he can effect a junction with the various squadrons he has no alarm.

A Scotch gentleman has arrived in Lisbon, and gives out that he has fled from persecution on the score of his religion; but as he is very well received by the Cardinal Archduke it is suspected that he is an emissary from his Prince, who, in his anxiety to be avenged for the death of his mother, has sent an Agent into France on a similar mission.

The King has sent Don Alonso de Leyva to Seville to assist the Duke of Medina Sidonia in making preparations for the Armada, and to see that those preparations do not suffer delay. Don Alonso de Vargas has been sent to Lisbon to take the place of the Marquis of Santa Cruz; and orders are given that all those gentlemen who desire to volunteer for service on board the Armada are to be received.

Madrid, 16th June 1587.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

531. 13 galleons of Portugal
2 great ships
8 Biscayans, with Juan Martin de Recalde
8 transports
1 galleon of the Grand Duke
1 small galley
} In Lisbon.
6 ships from Sicily, in Gibraltar.
4 great galleys.
2 ships from Naples, in Cartagena.
15 galleons, in Biscay.
Total - - 60.

In addition there may be some 50 other galleys.

June 17. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

532. LORENZO BERNARDO, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The French Ambassador had a longer audience with the Grand Vizir. He made representations against Paulo Mariani, who is consul in Alexandria

The Capadun Pasha asked him if his master favoured the Spanish attack on England. The Ambassador answered that Spain would be favoured if in nothing else, at least in being allowed to use French ports; for the Queen of England had deeply injured the King of France by killing his sister-in-law, the Queen of Scotland. "Oh!" said the Capadun, "then your master will

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allow Spain to take England, and to become so much more powerful." "No," replied the Ambassador, "he will not consent to that, but England will be conquered for the King of Scotland."

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 17th June 1587.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

June 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

533. Giovanni Dolfin, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Mr. Wade (Oad) who has been kept here for so many months on account of the difficulties with England, has at length received his passports from the King to return to his mistress. Although it is well known that the grain ships detained in England had been released in agreement with an understanding between the Queen and the French Ambassador in England, whereby both parties were to release all ships and goods, and to appoint two commissioners to accommodate the many remaining questions of reprisals, and although the English Ambassador here has received assurances that they would abide by this agreement here, and would come to the appointment of Commissioners, nevertheless, in spite of all his representations, he has never been able to induce the French Ministers to act. They say that the King is seriously disturbed by the presence of the German cavalry, which he knows would never have moved without money from England, and therefore it is necessary to put off the whole question for some days. The English Ambassador is in serious embarrassment on this account, the more so as there are 180 English sailors in Paris who have come to take back the ships which were seized, and he does not know whether to dismiss them or to continue to supply them with the means of living, as he does at present.

From England they write that Drake was for ten days off Cape St. Vincent, and landed three thousand men, and marched to within half a league of Lagos, but retired when the Governor of Algarve appeared. The following day he burned some small places, and at last made up his mind to go to Lisbon. He entered the harbour, but could not go far as the wind failed him. Many exaggerate, and many belittle, Drake's actions, and it is difficult to find out the truth.

M. de Leprè has been sent from Holland and Zealand to induce his Majesty to withdraw certain letters of marque issued against them. The Duke of Parma suddenly left Brussels and marched towards Ostend, meaning to assault the place. The English seeing that the Duke had withdrawn attacked and captured Rupelmonde not far from Antwerp.

Paris, 19th June 1587.

[*Italian.*]

June 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

534. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

They say that Drake has divided his fleet into two squadrons so as to make greater booty. The other day he found two Hamburg ships sailing for Lisbon, but he merely took their powder and some

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provisions and let them go on their way, declaring that they were friends, and charging them to tell the Marquis that he was waiting for him.

All the same the Queen of England is in treaty with the Duke of Parma for an accord, the terms of which I have received by a very secret way, and enclose. All this is believed to be merely a ruse of that woman.

The Englishman arrested near Fontarrabia, who said he was a son of the Queen of England, has, by the King's orders, been sent to the Castle of Lameda. He speaks Italian and Spanish, was dressed as a pilgrim, had two hundred crowns on him, has the air of a noble, and is spirited. He is thought to be a spy.

Madrid, 22nd June 1587.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

535. TERMS of an ACCORD which is proposed in Flanders between the QUEEN OF ENGLAND and the DUKE OF PARMA.

The Queen shall retire from the protection of the Flemish States.

She shall restore all Holland to liberty, so, too, Zealand; but shall retain Flushing, Brill, and Sluis for a year until the conditions of this treaty have been fulfilled. All the privileges of those people shall be respected.

She binds herself to prevent Drake or any other from damaging Spanish goods or subjects, and will exact penalties from the native cities of those who contravene.

The King will keep the peace and friendship with the Queen.

No question of restoring booty shall be raised; he who has may hold.

The people of Holland and Zealand shall yield due obedience to God and the King, but he shall ask no questions.

The Kings of Denmark and Sweden, with other Sovereigns to be hereafter named, shall be sureties for this treaty.

The ancient privileges of Holland and Zealand shall be observed.

The subjects of both parties shall be free to trade with each other.

[*Italian.*]

June 23. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

536. MATHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

A rumour in Poland that the daughter of the King of Sweden is to marry the King of Scotland; but this is thought to be a mere rumour.

Prague, 23rd June 1587.

[*Italian.*]

June 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

537. GIOVANNI GRITTI, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Pope has taken occasion to say that if the King of Spain will undertake the enterprise against England he will furnish him,

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on the landing of troops in that kingdom, six hundred thousand crowns, and seventy thousand a month as long as the war lasts, but on condition that the nomination to the Crown of England shall rest with the Pope, and that the kingdom of England be recognised as a fief of the Church.

Rome, 27th June 1587.

[*Italian.*]

June 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

538. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Drake up to the 22nd inst. continued in Portuguese waters, sometimes alone, sometimes in company with all his fleet. As he was unable to work any mischief on shore owing to the defences along the coast, he has seized whatever shipping he could find on the open seas; and by cruising between the Straits of Gibraltar and Lisbon he has prevented the junction of the squadrons of the Catholic Armada; but they believe that such a junction will now be easily effected, for orders have been sent to the Duke of Medina Sidonia and to Don Alonso de Leyva that if they deem it necessary they may make use of the eighteen galleys of Prince Doria, which, as soon as they arrived in Barcelona, were sent off to Cadiz to convey troops for the Italian garrisons. If these reach Cadiz in time to be of service no one doubts but that all the squadrons can be united under the command of the Marquis of Santa Cruz. The Marquis has orders to take the sea as soon as possible, and to offer battle to Drake, following him up wherever he is able. It is thought, however, that the Marquis cannot be ready earlier than the 10th of next month, although the troops keep arriving every day; one thousand five hundred have been raised in Lisbon, and every ship has been provisioned and armed for five months' service. They have embarked also fifty pieces of fort artillery. It is thought that Drake will not stay much longer in these parts owing to the great mortality which is taking place on board his ships.

In Catalonia, Aragon, and Valençia a notice has been published to the effect that the King will grant a free pardon to all the outlaws and bandits, bandolieri as they are called here, and will also give them pay while in his service. In this way they hope to raise a large number of troops, and at the same time to free the public roads for the passengers.

We have news that the Viceroy of Tunis intends to rebuild the fortress of Goletta in order to protect the Lagoon. This is a sign that the Turkish fleet will come there some day. No one has any doubt but that all this is the result of the evil offices of the Queen of England; indeed, they begin to fear that her Ambassador at the Porte may be able to upset the negotiations for a truce, which would be of serious consequences for the designs they entertain as to next year. Some say that if the negotiations are entirely broken off it would be as well to make an attack on El Arisch in September.

That Scotch gentleman who landed in Lisbon arrived here three days ago. He is a great noble, and is called the Earl of Morton.

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He says he is exiled from his country because he is a Catholic, and for having made some movement in England at the time of the death of the Queen of Scotland, his mistress. But it is generally thought that he has been sent on some important mission by his King, for he has asked an audience of his Majesty.

They do not pay much attention here to the offers of the Grand Duke of Tuscany for the expedition against England, for it seems that the Grand Duke asks, as a recompense, the fortresses which Spain holds in Tuscany.

Madrid, 27th June 1587.

[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Postscript.—After writing the above, while closing it, I hear that the Marquis of Santa Cruz has sent a courier express to the King to say that Drake has sailed for England with four ships, leaving the rest of his fleet at Cape S. Vincent. His reason for this step is that he wishes to go in person to make a report of all he has done to the Queen, as well as state the nature of the preparations which are going on here, in the hope of getting more ships and galleys so as to allow him to fight the Catholic Armada or to attack the West Indian fleet. Others, however, declare that Drake has only sent his nephew in order to escort the sick home to England. We shall learn the truth by the next letters from Lisbon.

[*Italian.*]

July 2. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

539. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The King has the gout again in one knee, and a certain cataract in the eyes. He is in bed, and has been purged. He continues to transact business, but Don Juan d'Idiaquez goes very cautiously as the doctors wish the King to work his mind as little as possible.

The Ministers either do not know, or else they conceal the news which Ferrari brings from Constantinople, but seeing that he did not wait there for further instructions, as he announced that he intended to do, it is conjectured that he is returning without any conclusion to his mission. They are very ill-pleased with the said Ferrari, both because he gave no detailed information of the course of events, and because he did not wait in Constantinople till he received orders from Spain ; indeed, they imagine that he must have been insulted, or that some annoyance must have overtaken him through the ill offices of England, and I understand this is quite possible as Don Juan d'Idiaquez has sent again to ask me if I have any news on this point from your Serenity. In the Council of War this question has been discussed, and it has been suggested that if the negotiations for a truce are broken off it would be advisable to send aid to the Persians, either one thousand Spanish musketeers or two thousand Portuguese harquebussiers, to encourage the King of Persia to continue the war.

The Earl of Morton is very well received here, and has long secret conferences with Don Juan by night. He also desires to have an audience of his Majesty. I know that he declares that the

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King, his master, is a Catholic, and when he sees serious action taken here he will declare himself in favour of the Christian religion, and will show how deeply he feels the death of his mother.

The French resident here has been ordered to make serious protest against the assistance in money, men, and other matters, which is being given to the Guises; he is also to say that unless such operations cease the King will be obliged to come to a resolution which he has never yet throughout his reign been willing to adopt, meaning to allude to a war in Flanders.

Drake's departure from these shores is confirmed; but all the same the Marquis of Santa Cruz continues to increase his fleet. He was in great need of sailors and bombardiers, and he has sent to take by force those who are on board the French ships in Setubal which were lading with salt. This will delay for some days more the sailing of the fleet. It is thought that Prince Andrea Doria's eighteen galleys will not be required in Lisbon, but will return to Italy with the recruits to fill up the reserves in the fortresses of Naples and Sicily. In Seville they are making great provision of picks, shovels, and gabbions, and report says that the King has spent, as yet, in these preparations upwards of two millions in gold; *everyone says that his Majesty would not have thrown such a sum away for nothing, and so rumour runs about an expedition to El Arisch or to Ireland.* Four thousand gentlemen adventurers have left for Lisbon.

Madrid, 2nd July 1587.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

July 3. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

540. Giovanni Dolfin, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Duke of Lorraine informs the King that a muster of German horse is to take place on the 8th, and that next month they will march under the command of Duke Otto of Luxembourg, who is given this office at the instance of Brunswick and Casimir, who did not wish to fill it himself, as he had promised the Queen of England. Lorraine offers his quota of men if the King resolves to oppose the passage of the Germans.

Paris, 3rd July 1587.

[*Italian.*]

July 3. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

541. Giovanni Dolfin, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Duke of Parma has retired from Ostend, and has undertaken the seige of Sluys. News from London that one of Drake's ships has arrived, and that the Queen is preparing sixteen other ships, four great ones of her own and twelve belonging to private individuals; rumour says they are to join Drake.

Paris, 3rd July 1587.

[*Italian.*]

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July 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

542. Giovanni Gritti, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

The Duke of Parma is intending to attack Ostend, but as it is situated on the sea it can easily be succoured by a fleet.

Rome, 4th July 1587.

[*Italian.*]

July 5. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

543. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The King is still weak and feeble, and is wasting greatly; the Empress' doctor, a most distinguished man, told me that the King's doctors are treating the case in quite the wrong way, and, among other points, highly blames these constant purges and bleedings which they have adopted twice in these past days. The King keeps up his spirits, and will not yield to fatigue; he transacts business, but in writing, being always, and now more than ever, opposed to audiences. Of Drake nothing certain is known, except that he has left these waters, and so has almost all his fleet. Many think that he has gone to the Azores to be in wait for the flotilla; and the Marquis of Santa Cruz will hasten out as soon as he can. He will embark ten thousand men, and, after securing the safety of the flotilla, he is at liberty to attempt something else if he thinks that opportunity serves. The King has sent orders to all the churches of Spain to offer up prayers at mass, and here in Madrid they are to recite the forty hours forty times in forty churches for the success of the fleet and his Majesty's other designs.

Madrid, 5th July 1587.

[*Italian.*]

July 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

544. Giovanni Gritti, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

This morning there was a rumour that Sluys had been relieved, and that the Duke of Parma was making great efforts to capture it. As the place is of great importance the Queen of England is doing all she can to succour it quickly and thoroughly.

Paris, 6th July 1587.

[*Italian.*]

July 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

545. Lorenzo Bernardo, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

I have found the means to secure a copy of the letter from the Sultan to the Queen of England, and enclose it.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 7th July 1587.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

546. Copy of a Letter written by the Grand Signor to the Queen of England.

Your honoured letter has reached this happy Porte; from it I learn that the other letters you have written me have been drowned

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in the sea, and have not reached us. Nevertheless, your Ambassador, who is here, has given me all details; he has told me of your great satisfaction at the liberation of your slaves; that Francis (Drake), your captain, has sailed to the Indies and destroyed with fire and flame many cities there, and captured galleys, on board of which were fifty Mussulmans; that these have been set free, and some have remained in Algiers, others have come to Constantinople. He has also explained the causes of your hostility to the King of Spain, and that your galleys and his being engaged yours have won the victory. Furthermore, some of your troops who have touched on Africa have been very well used by our troops, as happens wherever English and Mussulmans meet. Your Ambassador has also explained the nature of the support and favour which you seek from this Porte; and all that has been laid before my throne has been understood by my infinite wisdom and intelligence.

Now, on receipt of this imperial letter stand firm in our sincere friendship; do not cease to send out by sea and by land your forces to prey and sack upon all possible occasions, and to bring upon the King of Spain every imaginable outrage and disgrace; you will free all Mussulmans that you find in the cities and on board the galleys, showing them all honour, and using every courtesy to the merchants who come from this Porte. We on our side, as is just, will not fail to give you all necessary support and favour; nor shall we fail to advise all those who traffic on the seas to give no trouble to merchants who come and go, but that everyone may trade securely and freely.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

July 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

547. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

A carvel from New Spain brings news that the flotilla has arrived safe at Nombre de Dios, and the others bound for Spain have passed over to Havana.

The King has ordered the Duke of Parma to enter into friendly relations with the German Princes on the borders of Flanders, even though they be heretics, especially with Casimir, to whom the Duke is empowered to offer as much as twelve thousand crowns a year to detach him from England.

Madrid, 11th July 1587.

[*Italian.*]

July 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

548. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Although Drake has left these shores yet in Seville and in Lisbon they continue to increase the armament beyond what seems to be necessary to secure the safety of the Peruvian flotilla or to fight the English fleet should the Marquis of Santa Cruz fall in with it. At Seville twenty-five great Spanish ships are ready to set sail for Lisbon under the charge of Don Alonso di Leyva, besides eight Sicilian and Neapolitans, twenty-eight hulks full of

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munition and provisions, and thirteen small boats called zabre; then there are the galleasses and twelve galleys all well armed, and on board, in all, there are six thousand troops, and as many more on board the fleet in Lisbon, which numbers forty sail. And so there are persons of importance who argue that these preparations, so far in excess of the necessary proportion, would not have been undertaken by the King unless he designed to make some expedition this very year, even though the season be so far advanced. But when we come to particulars it is difficult to see the point to which these forces may be directed; for though it would be easy enough to seize the port and fort of El Arisch it would be very difficult to retain them, both on account of the shore exposed to a stormy sea, and because such an act would irritate the Turk and make the Schereef an out and out enemy, while up to the present he has remained neutral. Or if the armament be meant for Flanders then we must remember that these large ships are not suitable for those waters, where, owing to the many sand banks, they cannot approach within ten or even twelve miles of the shore. Others, again, think that Ireland may be the destination of the fleet owing to some secret understanding there, for several Irish prelates and gentlemen have left Lisbon to embark on board the Marquis of Santa Cruz's ships; others conjecture that the King may have lent an ear to the suggestions of the Earl of Morton and the Guise party, an affair which is kept absolutely secret for fear of the danger which the King of Scotland would run supposing it became known that the King of Spain was going to send his Armada into that country. Morton promises that the King, his master, will give a port and a fortress for shelter, and will declare himself a Catholic, and will march, with Morton and other Scotch lords, through mountains to attack the Queen of England; for this purpose he asks for five or six thousand Spaniards; in the meantime the Armada would attack Ireland, or effect a landing in some other part of England, while the Duke of Parma would be ready with the great army he has collected either to support the Armada or the Scotch and Spaniards who were marching on England. These details were related to me by the most important personage about this Court, though it is really impossible to penetrate the designs of his Majesty. Prayers continue in all the churches for the success of his Majesty's desires and designs. I am told that the King thinks of confiding his plans to Santa Cruz, leaving it to him to choose the moment for carrying them into execution after the Peruvian fleet has been secured. Events as they occur from day to day shall be reported to your Serenity, to whom I send an account of what has taken place at Oran in Africa; it has been furnished to me by a friend. Many here hold that the Queen of England is at the bottom of it all, for she leaves no stone unturned in her endeavour to harass his Majesty.

Madrid, 12th July 1587.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

549. To-day, the 8th July, comes news from Oran that one party of Arabs desiring to cut the corn and steal the flocks of the friendly

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Arabs who pasture in the plain of Oran, obtained, upon payment of 25 ducats to the Pasha of Algiers, the help of two thousand skirmishers, and crept up secretly under the walls of Oran, where they lay in ambush. They were discovered by the friendly Arabs, who warned Don Pedro de Padillia, governor of the fort. He went out with a handful of men, and after reconnoitring, returned for reinforcements. He issued a second time, and acting as guard to the friendly Arabs, while the two thousand Turks did the same by the other Arabs, both sides kept up lively skirmishes for eight days with great losses on both sides, though the Christians suffered the less of the two; our victory would have been greater had not all our friendly Arab cavalry been absent on some affairs of their own, as usual at this time. Matters stand thus in Oran. As yet Padillia has shown himself prudent and valorous, for when the Turks sent to say that if he would pay them six thousand ducats they would take themselves off in God's name, he sent back to say that he would not give them a farthing, nor would he allow his Arabs to pay them. The affair cannot go on for long, for when the water fails in the open country they will be forced to retire. I kiss your hand.

Your servant,
ANTONIO DE HERRERA.

[*Italian.*]

July 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

550. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Yesterday Santoias, who is the King's prime favourite, came to visit me as I lay abed with a very bad foot. Santoias told me that the King had inquired how it was that of all the Ambassadors I alone had not asked for an audience, and when he learned that I was ill he expressed sorrow, and declared his friendly sentiments towards the Republic. I begged Santoias to kiss the King's hand, and to say that I desired nothing more than to console myself by his presence.

At the island of Corvo, the last of the Azores, Drake having made three squadrons of his fleet, captured nine vessels from different quarters, and among them one of the two ships from Portuguese India, which had lost her consort off Mozambique, on the Cape route, with all her cargo, which they say in both cases was worth upwards of a million in gold. All the same the Marquis of Santa Cruz diminishes the loss by a great deal, as your Serenity will gather from the enclosed report which he has sent to the President of the India Council. They are expecting other bad news, for it is thought possible that Drake may seize the ships from S. Thomas, Brazil, Cape Verd, New Guinea, and other places which all come separately and meet at the Azores. This dread is shared by the Marquis of Santa Cruz.

The complaints of the Portuguese have reached an incredible pitch; they say that never before has a single ship of their fleet been captured, *and that they are now far worse off than when they had a King of their own. They declare that if Drake is not*

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preparations of provisions are going on; and as the crop was a poor one this year matters are made even worse by such requisitions. It is reckoned that in Spain alone upwards of twenty-five thousand men have been raised.

The Council of State sits three times a week, now, after never meeting for the last six years; this leads people to suppose that the King desires to relieve his shoulders of some of the burden of government; for, though he studies, knows, and attends to much, he cannot do more than a man can do. I am assured that the Council has discussed the enterprise against England, as his Majesty intends to attempt it as soon as possible, and the plan of campaign is being developed.

I know that a few days ago the King sent to Simancas, where the State Archives are preserved in a strong tower, with all documents relating to his Majesty's dominions, and required those relating to England in order to study the question of his right to that throne after the King of Scotland. They say that his claims are extremely well founded, as is proved by a book written by a Scotch Bishop, which is now being printed. (*So ancora che il Re ha mandato li giorni passati a Simanca, dove sta in una forte torre l' archivio, et tutte le scritture delli Regni et Stadi di Sua Maestà Catholica, a pigliar quelle d' Inghilterra per le pretentioni che tiene in quell' Isola dapoi il Re di Scotia; et dicono che sian molto fondate, come anco si vede per un libretto di un Vescovo Scocese che hora va in stampa.*)

Here they are entertaining the idea of not abandoning the negotiations for a truce with Turkey. I learn that Marigliani has written to the Dragoman Orembey to say that his Majesty will help him to dower his daughter, and that he is to conclude the business of the truce with the Grand Vizir, but on no account to mention the Queen of England. All the same it is thought that Orembey will not have the courage to broach the subject. The Earl of Morton kissed the King's hand in private at the Pardo, and has since received his papers. To-morrow he goes towards Bilbao in Biscay to embark for Scotland. I hear that he is the bearer of a gracious answer, although here they are not thoroughly persuaded of the Scotch King's faith, nor can they see how he is to accomplish all the great promises he has made.

A courier has arrived from the Grand Duke of Tuscany. He is the bearer of some beautiful presents; an office book illuminated by Titian, and some *Agnus Dei* blessed by the Pope.

Madrid, 18th August 1587.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Aug. 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

568. Lorenzo Bernardo, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

The English Ambassador is urging his complaints against Hassan Pasha. The Grand Signor has referred the matter to the Secretary, and as yet nothing has been done.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 20th August 1587.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

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Aug. 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

569. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On the 15th inst. a carvel reached Lisbon with news that the flotilla of New Spain was coming from New Cartagena one hundred and eighteen strong, and that the Marquis of Santa Cruz had gone to meet it, and to fall in with some English which were working mischief at Corvo. The flotilla may be looked for at the end of this month or the beginning of next.

The Duke of Medina Sidonia has been summoned to Court, and it is a very general opinion that he will be made a member of the secret council and appointed to other posts, as he has borne himself so well in the recent affair of Drake at Cadiz.

Madrid, 22nd August 1587.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 25. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

570. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Earl of Morton, who has left, is the bearer of a reply to the King of Scotland to the effect that the King of Spain has heard with great pleasure of his good intentions, and that he now calls on the King of Scotland to declare himself a Catholic, and to join in attacking the Queen of England in order to avenge the death of his mother, and exhorting him not to let any favourable occasion for moving slip by.

I have no other news from Lisbon than that which is contained in the enclosed letters; *only I know from a secret source that the Marquis of Santa Cruz has orders from the King to kill all the people he captures on board any English ship (solo dirò di più saper da via secreta che il Marchese di Santa Croce tien ordine dal Re che venendo gli in mano alcuno navillio inglese, faccia subito morire tutta la gente di qual si voglia sorte et conditione).*

Madrid, 25th August 1587.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Aug. 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

571. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I ought to inform your Serenity that I have heard from a person of weight that the Spaniards are ill pleased to see Venetian ships trading with England, and conveying merchandise and provisions to their enemy, and if they fell in with the Royal fleet the Marquis of Santa Cruz might treat them as prizes, *by which he sets great store.*

News from Seville that the flotilla of New Spain has entered the Channel of Vaama, which one may almost say is Spain.

The election of the English Cardinal, recently made at the instance of his Majesty, is highly approved of here. His Majesty desires to make him Legate, and to cause him to sail with the Armada when it goes to England, in order to support and encourage the Catholics of that island, who are very numerous.

Madrid, 26th August 1587.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

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on account of differences with the English Crown. The Queen's Ambassador is now negotiating for the appointment of two Commissioners to arrange various points of disagreement.

Letters from England, dated the 9th inst., announce the arrival of Drake at Plymouth. After having worked great havoc on the coast of Spain he had seized one large galleon, called the S. Lorenzo, on its way from Calicut with a cargo of spices to the value of a million of gold, and ten other ships with sugar, cotton, and various merchandise on their way from Brazil. In London there were great signs of rejoicing, and the Queen sent two gentlemen to meet Drake and to do him honour. Sugar is so cheap there that what costs five reals here is sold for half a real the pound there.

The Earl of Leicester left on the 5th for Zealand with four thousand men, and in hopes of finding three thousand German horse arrived there. He will do all he can to raise the seige of Sluys, for it seems that it will be very difficult now to throw forces into the town, as the Duke of Parma has closed the river with a palisade, and has also made himself master of one of the forts of the town.

News from Antwerp that the English have taken Eindhoven, a place of some importance between Antwerp and Bois-le-Duc; and being masters of the open country they have destroyed the crops, and every day make demonstrations before the gates of Antwerp in the hopes of inducing the Duke to return to these parts, and thus leave them opportunity to succour Sluys.

Paris, 17th July 1587.

[*Italian.*]

July 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

555. Giovanni Dolfin, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

This morning an Englishman, called Jeffrey Lowther (Giofrè Lothario), paid me a visit. He is on his way to Venice, where he says he has had his home and a wife for the last fifteen years. He confirms the news that Drake has captured the galleon from Calicut; the capture of the other ten ships from Brazil is not confirmed. He told me that Drake had sailed into Plymouth with six ships exclusive of the galleon. He was separated from the rest of his fleet by a storm. The day before the said Jeffrey left London news had arrived that the missing ships were safe at Cape S. Vincent, where they were waiting orders from the Queen.

Count Gherardo Martinengo, who went to the wars in Flanders in order to make himself a better servant of your Serenity, writes me a long letter from the camp of the Duke under Sluys; I shall condense it so as not to weary your Serenity. His Excellency had constructed a mine, which was discovered by the besieged and countermined. He was therefore reduced to constructing approaches so as to draw near the town in safety, and he hoped to have it in a short time.

This morning we have news that the English having called out the larger part of the garrison from Guelders in order to ravage the country with a view to causing the Duke to raise the siege of Sluys,

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a Scotch captain, who was left in command of the town, handed it over to Altapenna, the Spanish Governor, and along with the remainder of the garrison declared himself devoted to the Catholic religion. And some say that Altapenna paid down a large sum for the place .

Paris, 20th July 1587

[*Italian.*]

July 21. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

556. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Marquis of Santa Cruz must by this time have joined the Seville fleet and be off Cape S. Vincent. When leaving Belem one of his Biscayans went ashore and opened, but the crew and cargo were saved.

Madrid, 21st July 1587.

[*Italian.*]

July 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

557. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Drake was at the island of Corvo, in the Azores, on the look out for the rest of the Indian fleet. Santa Cruz is gone towards the Azores, and news of his operations are eagerly awaited. Preparations meanwhile are continued, and some orders for horses and mules for the artillery train have been issued.

Madrid, 23rd July 1587.

[*Italian.*]

July 24. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

558. LORENZO BERNARDO, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Hassan Pasha has arrived from Barbary with many slaves on board. The English Ambassador does all he can to injure Hassan in revenge for the mischief he wrought upon the Queen's galleys last year.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 24th July 1587.

[*Italian ; deciphered.*]

July 25. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

559. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

In Galicia they have seized one of Drake's spies. He declares that there are many more in various parts of Spain and Portugal. They are raising ten thousand more infantry in Spain, and the Duke of Medina Sidonia is charged with this operation.

Don Diego Maldonato remains in Lisbon to prepare the Armada. He writes that the Marquis of Santa Cruz has taken only twenty-five ships of the Seville squadron, and has sent the rest to Lisbon. *This leads the acuter to argue that there is some secret intelligence which very few know of in some other quarter ; others, again, think that they are afraid lest the Queen of England should send a fleet to Portugal in the Marquis's absence. The King of Fez, in*

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alarm at all these preparations, has sent an Agent express to learn his Majesty's intentions; his Majesty has replied that he will always maintain his friendly relations with the King; these are his very words. The Earl of Morton is on the point of taking his leave, but he desires first to kiss his Majesty's hand.

The Duke of Parma, having heard that many Spaniards, who have returned here out of Flanders complain loudly of his conduct, and seek to rouse his Majesty's suspicions against him by declaring that he is really an enemy of Spain, has demanded that, if they will not relieve him of his charge, a thing which he greatly desires, at least they will allow his son, Prince Ranucio, to come to this Court, as it were a hostage for his father's good will and devotion. The Duke then makes terrible charges against the Spaniards, declaring that they are insolent, disobedient, lazy, and are the real reason why his Majesty has lost those provinces. His Majesty has replied begging the Duke to think no more of this, for he will imprison, as he has already done, all those who speak ill of the Duke.

Madrid, 25th July 1587.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

July 30. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

560. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Prince is better, though not quite free of the fever; the doctors, as usual, wished to bleed him, but the King flew into a rage, declaring that they had no other remedy than this, but he himself would use a better; and so he ordered a large distribution of alms to all the monasteries of the poor in this city, that prayers might be offered up for his Highness, who at once began to get better.

There is news that Drake has been breaming his forty ships at Corvo, the last of the Azores. The Marquis of Santa Cruz writes to the King that he went to the Azores in the hope of finding and fighting Drake, as Drake was quite confident that the Catholic Armada would not take the sea this year. In Lisbon they are preparing many other ships, so that when the Marquis returns from securing the flotilla, which will be about the end of September, he will find one hundred ships all well armed, including, however, the Andalusian squadron, which he sent home from Cape S. Vincent.

All these preparations are vast, but seem to be made quite out of season, and so they give rise to infinite conjectures, which I will not repeat; enough that the best informed think that his Majesty will make use of all this only next year, but early in the year, or if they are to be used this year there is some secret understanding somewhere.

Orembey, the Dragoman, writes from Constantinople two letters to the King; in one he asks for some assistance to marry his daughter; in the other he says that though Ferrari has left, and the negotiations for a truce are broken off, that is no reason why

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they should not be reopened if his Majesty will send an Ambassador to the Porte.

Madrid, 30th July 1587.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

July 30. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

561. GIOVANNI DOLFIN, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Duke of Lorraine has advised the King that the King of Spain, on seeing these great preparations which the Protestant Princes are making with the assistance of the Queen of England and the Huguenots, gave orders that Spanish and Italian troops were to march into Lorraine.

Paris, 30th July 1587.

[*Italian.*]

July 31. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

562. GIOVANNI DOLFIN, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Duke of Parma wrote to Don Bernardino (de Mendoza) on the 18th, that on the third assault he had captured the revelin of Sluys, and hoped to have the rest of the town in a very few days either on terms or by force.

From Antwerp comes news that on the 22nd the English had fought Altapenna, near Bois-le-Duc, with great slaughter on both sides; the Governor (Altapenna) himself was wounded by a harquebuss in the neck, and is in great danger of his life.

An Ambassador from Denmark has arrived at the Duke's camp in order to treat of a peace with the Queen of England; two noblemen are expected from London.

The Archbishop of Glasgow, who for many years was Ambassador for the Queen of Scotland, has had an audience of the King, as Ambassador for King James. The Archbishop promptly obeyed the Pope's orders (to accept the office of Scotch Ambassador at the French Court); and while paying him a visit he told me that Catholic prospects in Scotland were making great progress. Many in many parts had resumed the mass, being quite sure that the King would raise no opposition. He has caused many of the great nobles who were at war with one another to make peace, and he hopes by this reconciliation to be able the more easily to establish liberty of conscience in his kingdom. The same Ambassador also informed me that an Ambassador of Denmark had been to Scotland to demand the restitution of the Orkneys, which were given to Scotland one hundred and fifty years ago by his predecessor as security for forty thousand ducats of dower. The answer given was that Parliament must meet to take this subject into consideration. But on pressing for a definite reply the Ambassador was told that King James would come of age on June 29th, and that it was advisable to defer the question till that date, for then any act of the King would be valid and conclusive by the laws of the realm which did not concede authority to Kings under age. The Ambassador waited till the above-named date, and then

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demanded an answer; Parliament is summoned to make reply during the coming month. The Archbishop added that Denmark is advancing this claim in order to facilitate the marriage of his daughter by renouncing these pretensions, but the King of Scotland will not make up his mind to marry yet, for he wishes to see his kingdom in better order first, and his own authority more secure.

Paris, 31st July 1587.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 5. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

563. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The Prince has the tertian again; and, though he slept well last night, the doctors, believing that he was delirious, have bled him with his Majesty's sanction.

The Grand Prior Don Hernando came to visit me, and to congratulate me on the palace which his Majesty has presented to the Republic. *He added that he did not see what they could do with the Armada this year except to secure the flotilla, but that next year his Majesty will be forced to act in earnest, unless some accord with the Queen of England is concluded this winter.*

I hope in a few days to take up my lodging in the new palace of your Serenity. I have had to overcome some difficulties and annoyances, and to incur some expense, as is usual in such cases; and, among others, some of the furnishings were stolen and sold on the spot; the Chamberlain, with exquisite courtesy, caused these to be restored to me. But what most disturbed me is that women servants, pages and attendants of the Countess of Ozeda, sister of Olivarez, Ambassador in Rome, being unwilling to remove from these fine apartments, have carried off the doors, locks, cupboards, windows, and some magnificent mirrors, and actually set fire to the house, which ran a great risk of being burned down; and so as the house was thus rendered almost uninhabitable, for your Serenity's honour and my own convenience, I was obliged to go to great expense. The Countess, perhaps regretting the action of her dependants, and afraid that if the King came to hear of it he would be angry, has given me to understand that everything shall be restored at once on condition that I paid for all the movables, as is the custom here. This is both honourable and advantageous, for it would take more than one thousand ducats to replace what has been removed, whereas I intend to give the Countess only three hundred. I have been advised to make this present in silver goblets. This expense has come on the top of the others, for I thought I had done of it when I gave a silver gilt vase to the Sergeant-Major, and other tips to his subordinates; but the King himself has insisted on a *douceur*, declaring that he has more right to it than anyone else. And as he had heard from Calavrese, his favourite, who is very well known to all those illustrious gentlemen who have resided here, that I had a picture of St. Jerome, of great beauty, painted by Titian, he favoured me with the information that if I would send it to him he would accept it willingly, as indeed he has, for he keeps it in his private chamber, and though

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her Serenity, the Infanta, has asked him for it he will not give it up, and so I have to look out for another for her Royal Highness, and another for the Count of Chinchon, who, as Master of the Household, inducted me into the palace, and has asked for a picture. (*Et fino il Re medesimo ha voluto la buona mano dicendo che la meritava piu d' ogni altro. Et perche sepe dal Calavrese suo favorito, el molto conosciuto da quei Ill^mi SS^ri che sono stati qui, ch' io tenevo un quadro di San Hieroñimo, che è il sua Santo Divoto, molto bello di man di Ticiano, mi favori con farmi dire che mandandoglielo sarebbe accettato volentieri dalla Maesta Sua, come ha fatto, tenendolo carissimo nella sua medessima stantia; et se ben la Serenissima Infante glielo ha dimandato, non ha voluto darglielo; onde convengo provederre di qualche altro per l' altezza sua ancora, et cosi per il Conte di Chinchon che mi ha ricercato una bella pittura, poiche essendo Majordomo di Palazzo, mi ha posto in possesso della casa per ordine del Re*).

Madrid, 5th August 1587.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Aug. 6. Original Letter, Venetian Archives.

564. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to his Brother.

Most illustrious brother, I have written to his Serenity the enclosed, which I now send under cover to you so that both may come more surely to hand. I have described some part of the expenses which I have made on the beautiful palace which the King has given to the Republic; these will exceed four hundred ducats, and I am persuaded that those illustrious gentlemen will not desire that I should pay this sum out of my private purse for this honour and favour, great as it is, which the King has bestowed on the Republic, by which this Embassy has risen in general estimation to such an extent that all the Princes and Ministers have congratulated me in my old house, and have declared that they must have a banquet in the new.

I must tell you that the King himself, to honour me still further, has asked for a *douceur* in the shape of a picture of Saint Jerome, which I highly valued and kept in my study. He heard about it from Calavrese, a favourite of his and a sort of spy, who often comes to dine with me. The King has now got the picture in his bedroom, and has refused to give it to the Infante when she asked for it; and so Calavrese has laid me under an obligation to her Royal Highness to procure another fine picture for her. All this I have reported to the Senate, but not in such detail.

Now I will tell you what is my idea, so that you may inform the Savii; as you have commissioned Tintoretto to paint a Judgment to be sent as a present to the King, their Excellencies might cause it to be finished up as soon as possible, pay the artist, and send the picture here to me by the first ship, so that I may present it to the Princess in his Serenity's name; and I am sure that both she and her father, the King, will receive it willingly, or, perhaps, some other small picture would do. A little gift like this, given at the right moment, would win the regard of her Highness, who, for her

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rare and great qualities, deserves to be obeyed and honoured by all, and who in time may be more than Empress.

If my plan approves itself to their Excellencies I confide it to their prudence; if not, let it be as though never suggested, and that is why I have not advanced it in my despatch to the Senate. Any way, do not fail to send me the two pictures which I asked for in my last, and also the hundred panes of crystal for the windows of my rooms as soon as possible, with all the other things I have mentioned before, all of which have been asked for by various gentlemen here. And though it is true that I am spending here with open arms, still I am rewarded by observing an excellent disposition in his Majesty towards our nation, and, by God's help, I hope to confirm it, so that even should a young man succeed me, which I do not imagine will happen after the affair of Mocenigo in France, even he would find no difficulty if he will follow my recommendations.

Your loving brother,
HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO.

Madrid, 6th August 1587.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

565. GIOVANNI GRITTI, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On Tuesday last the Pope caused a Consistory to be announced for Friday. When the Consistory was about to be closed his Holiness begged the Cardinals to wait, and said, if they approved, he intended to promote William Allen, Englishman, to the Cardinalate. He excused the irregularity on the grounds of necessity, because there were many in England who required an Englishman at their head. The Cardinals approved; only two mentioned a Scotch Archbishop as worthy of that honour. The election of Allen was accordingly announced. Cardinal Caraffa, obeying the Pope's orders, went to S. Silvestro, near to Monte Cavallo, where the Consistory was held, and summoned the illustrious Cardinal Allen, and presented him to the Pope and the Cardinals. Last year at the Christmas promotion the King of Spain proposed Allen for the purple; the reply given was that if his Majesty would find the income the Pope would confer the hat. The King has given this prelate one thousand ducats of pension in Spain, and an abbey worth two thousand ducats. The Cardinal is a man of great goodness, piety, and learning; he speaks Latin very well, but does not venture on Italian. He is handsome, about forty years old, and though not of the noblest blood is still well born. In Flanders he offered shelter to the Catholic fugitives from England. There he founded a retreat for them, and came to Italy to seek for aid in maintaining it. Pope Gregory granted him large supports, but these ceased on the change of Pontiffs. Allen accordingly sought support elsewhere, and begged me to give him letters of recommendation to the Procurators and Rectors of your Serenity's dominions, where he sent his Agents who collected many hundreds of ducats which greatly assisted the pious work. The reasons

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which have induced his Holiness to make this promotion, out of season and under no obvious necessity, seem to be a desire to please the King of Spain, and to show that his recommendation is esteemed.

Cardinal Caraffa has been the promoter of this line of conduct. This morning Allen has received the title of Cardinal of England. This unexpected promotion has caused incredible loss to the book-makers of Rome; some of them intend to try and shake off their bets.

Rome, 8th August 1587.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

566. Giovanni Gritti, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

On Tuesday last in Consistory the hat was given to the new Cardinal of England. On Sunday I went to pay him a visit of congratulation. I assured him of your Serenity's satisfaction, and of our conviction that the work begun by the late Cardinal of England would be carried to a successful issue by himself.

Everyone is afraid that this promotion by the Pope will call the attention of the Queen of England to her English Catholics, and will cause her to be crueller than ever to them. Those who imagined that the Pope was to take a part in the attack on England now find that there is nothing to warrant such a supposition.

Rome, 15th August 1587.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

567. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The Prince has been giving great anxiety on account of a tertian fever, which has become permanent, with sickness and other disturbances. The doctors resolved to administer Belzuar stone, and after a short sweating he shook all sickness off. It is remarkable that the Prince falls ill suddenly and recovers as suddenly. The King would not go to see him, although very anxious, for he professes that nothing is able to disturb his courage and his constancy. Two carvels have reached Lisbon from the Azores, which they left on the 19th of last month. They report that fourteen English ships, under Drake's nephew, have burned Corvo and Flores, places of no great importance, but were repulsed in an attempt on Fayal. Drake had returned to England with his booty, but has taken the sea again with twenty-five ships; and, after joining the squadron he had left behind him, he has gone to look for the flotilla of New Spain, and to attack it if he finds that it has been separated from the fleet of the Marquis of Santa Cruz.

The squadrons of Seville and Andalusia, under the command of Don Alonso de Leyva, entered Lisbon on the 4th inst. They number seventy sail.

They were received with great salutes of artillery, and will lie there in readiness should Drake come back to these waters. Great

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preparations of provisions are going on; and as the crop was a poor one this year matters are made even worse by such requisitions. It is reckoned that in Spain alone upwards of twenty-five thousand men have been raised.

The Council of State sits three times a week, now, after never meeting for the last six years; this leads people to suppose that the King desires to relieve his shoulders of some of the burden of government; for, though he studies, knows, and attends to much, he cannot do more than a man can do. I am assured that the Council has discussed the enterprise against England, as his Majesty intends to attempt it as soon as possible, and the plan of campaign is being developed.

I know that a few days ago the King sent to Simancas, where the State Archives are preserved in a strong tower, with all documents relating to his Majesty's dominions, and required those relating to England in order to study the question of his right to that throne after the King of Scotland. They say that his claims are extremely well founded, as is proved by a book written by a Scotch Bishop, which is now being printed. (*So ancora che il Re ha mandato li giorni passati a Simanca, dove sta in una forte torre l' archivio, et tutte le scritture delli Regni et Stadi di Sua Maestà Catholica, a pigliar quelle d' Inghilterra per le pretentioni che tiene in quell' Isola dapoi il Re di Scotia; et dicono che sian molto fondate, come anco si vede per un libretto di un Vescovo Scocese che hora va in stampa.*)

Here they are entertaining the idea of not abandoning the negotiations for a truce with Turkey. I learn that Marigliani has written to the Dragoman Orembey to say that his Majesty will help him to dower his daughter, and that he is to conclude the business of the truce with the Grand Vizir, but on no account to mention the Queen of England. All the same it is thought that Orembey will not have the courage to broach the subject. The Earl of Morton kissed the King's hand in private at the Pardo, and has since received his papers. To-morrow he goes towards Bilbao in Biscay to embark for Scotland. I hear that he is the bearer of a gracious answer, although here they are not thoroughly persuaded of the Scotch King's faith, nor can they see how he is to accomplish all the great promises he has made.

A courier has arrived from the Grand Duke of Tuscany. He is the bearer of some beautiful presents; an office book illuminated by Titian, and some *Agnus Dei* blessed by the Pope.

Madrid, 18th August 1587.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Aug. 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

568. Lorenzo Bernardo, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

The English Ambassador is urging his complaints against Hassan Pasha. The Grand Signor has referred the matter to the Secretary, and as yet nothing has been done.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 20th August 1587.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

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Aug. 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

569. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On the 15th inst. a carvel reached Lisbon with news that the flotilla of New Spain was coming from New Cartagena one hundred and eighteen strong, and that the Marquis of Santa Cruz had gone to meet it, and to fall in with some English which were working mischief at Corvo. The flotilla may be looked for at the end of this month or the beginning of next.

The Duke of Medina Sidonia has been summoned to Court, and it is a very general opinion that he will be made a member of the secret council and appointed to other posts, as he has borne himself so well in the recent affair of Drake at Cadiz.

Madrid, 22nd August 1587.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 25. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

570. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Earl of Morton, who has left, is the bearer of a reply to the King of Scotland to the effect that the King of Spain has heard with great pleasure of his good intentions, and that he now calls on the King of Scotland to declare himself a Catholic, and to join in attacking the Queen of England in order to avenge the death of his mother, and exhorting him not to let any favourable occasion for moving slip by.

I have no other news from Lisbon than that which is contained in the enclosed letters; *only I know from a secret source that the Marquis of Santa Cruz has orders from the King to kill all the people he captures on board any English ship (solo dirò di più saper da via secreta che il Marchese di Santa Croce tien ordine dal Re che venendo gli in mano alcuno navillio inglese, faccia subito morire tutta la gente di qual si voglia sorte et conditione).*

Madrid, 25th August 1587.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Aug. 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

571. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I ought to inform your Serenity that I have heard from a person of weight that the Spaniards are ill pleased to see Venetian ships trading with England, and conveying merchandise and provisions to their enemy, and if they fell in with the Royal fleet the Marquis of Santa Cruz might treat them as prizes, *by which he sets great store.*

News from Seville that the flotilla of New Spain has entered the Channel of Vaama, which one may almost say is Spain.

The election of the English Cardinal, recently made at the instance of his Majesty, is highly approved of here. His Majesty desires to make him Legate, and to cause him to sail with the Armada when it goes to England, in order to support and encourage the Catholics of that island, who are very numerous.

Madrid, 26th August 1587.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

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Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

572. Report of all that the Flotilla of New Spain brings with it.

For the King.

Eight thousand bars of silver.
Twelve cases of gold.
Three hundred thousand reals.
Twenty cases of pearls.
One case of emeralds.

For private Individuals.

Five millions of fused silver.
One thousand five hundred marks* of pearls.
A great case of emeralds.

From San Domingo.

Thirty-five thousand pieces of stamped leather.
Two hundred cases of sugar.
Twenty-two thousand quintals of ginger.
Four thousand quintals of guaiacum (*lignum vitæ*).
Fifty quintals of sarsapariglia.
Forty-eight quintals of cassia.
Sixty-four cases of linen.

From New Spain.

One million nine hundred thousand pesi† of silver for the King.
Two millions for private merchants.
One thousand one hundred marks of gold.
Five thousand six hundred cases of cochinelle.
Sixty-four thousand pieces of stamped leather.
Twenty-five thousand pounds of indigo.
Value of above, sixteen millions in gold.

Aug. 29.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

573. Giovanni Gritti, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

There is a rumour that the English Cardinal is to be sent to that kingdom; but neither he nor the Spanish Ambassador know anything about it.

Rome, 29th August 1587.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 1.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

574. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

News from the Azores that three ships of the flotilla of New Spain have arrived, and the rest cannot be much behind.

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* The Marco = 8 ounces. *See* Martini, *Manuale di Metrologia*, p. 322.
† *See* Martini, *Manuale di Metrologia*, p. 323.

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The preparations for war with England continue actively. Great stores of provisions and ammunition are being laid in. They have resolved to undertake the enterprise without any further assistance from the Pope or any further engagement with France. They hope that his Holiness will spontaneously support the cause, and that France, owing to the civil war, will be unable to injure it (et par che Sua Maestà si sia risoluta di farla senza altro aiuto del Papa, et senza maggior concerto di France; sperando che la Beatitudine Sua non mancherà da se de favorire la causa, et che francesi per le guerre civili, non siano in stato di poterla sturbare), especially as the Guise have promised to prevent a peace being effected in that country. It is thought that the war between the Turks and the Persians will continue, and so no powerful Turkish fleet will be able to come out next year. They are very glad that Ibrahim Pasha has been made Capadun, for he is well disposed towards this Crown owing to many secret presents which he has received. As to the assistance which the Queen of England might receive from the Protestant Princes of Germany, they make but little account of that, for they know that those Princes do not willingly spend their money to help others. They also hold a promise that many of the English Catholics will rise as soon as the Armada appears off the English coast. The arrival of the flotilla from New Spain has had a very large part in causing this decision, for it has brought four millions of gold for the King alone.

A spy has been sent to Tunis to discover whether the Viceroy is rebuilding the fort of Goletta.

At Lisbon an English ship, with forty Spanish and Portuguese prisoners, has arrived. On board is an English gentleman sent by the Queen, and he has had a long consultation with the Cardinal Archduke, on the question of peace it is believed. The Queen has warehoused all the cargo of the Portuguese Indiaman, without allowing any of it to be touched, nor divided, as Drake and others demanded.

Madrid, 1st September 1587.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Sept. 3. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

575. GIOVANNI DOLFIN, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Nuncio has had an audience. In his Holiness's name he made four demands. First, the restitution of their revenues to the Canons of Cambray. Second, that the Archbishops and Bishops of France shall either go or send to Rome to swear allegiance. Third, that Thomas Morgan, servant of the Queen of Scotland, who has been for long a prisoner in the Bastille at the instance of England, shall be released. Fourth, the liberation of the Cardinal of Gens' property.

The Pope has not received satisfaction for his first two demands. As for the other two, his Majesty has promptly resolved to oblige the Pope, and has ordered the instant release of Morgan.

Paris, 3rd September 1587.

[*Italian.*]

1587. Sept. 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

576. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Count Marigliani has been ordered to put in writing his views on the negotiations for a truce with the Turks. I have been able to have a sight of this memorandum by a very secret way, and as it is as pointed as it is brief I send a copy.

Madrid, 4th September 1587.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

577. *Report of Count Marigliani.*

Unable to neglect the orders of the King, my master, that I should express my opinion on the negotiations for a truce, I shall do so with all brevity and sincerity as in duty bound.

First, then, in view of this great Armada which his Majesty has prepared with the design to chastise his foes, there is no doubt but that it is highly desirable to be sure of the Turks, who are able to interfere with the enterprise; it is clear that the truce cannot be effected except by sending an Ambassador. This might be done, in accordance with the dignity of Spain, by despatching an Ambassador to Ragusa, and spreading the report that his mission is to assure the Sultan that all these vast preparations are not designed to injure him at all, and at the same time to reopen negotiations for a truce through Sciaus Pasha, and to declare that the Ambassador will arrive to ratify the treaty. The Ambassador must be a man of prudence, courage, and ability united, for he will not escape troubles and annoyances both from the Turks and from the Ambassadors of France and England. Some urge that the King will not be able to place any reliance on the Turk, and cite the example of Venice; but I am of another opinion, for the greatness of the King of Spain is more appreciated by the Turks than is generally thought, and then the Turks are, to a certain extent, held in check by the Persians, and would not venture to break the truce. If the truce is concluded the Turks will not send their fleet to invade Naples and Sicily while the King is engaged on his enterprise, as the Queen of England is doing her best to secure. I am also of opinion that by all possible means the Persians should be encouraged to continue the war, and promises of help should be made to them. In order that the Pope, who is of a very hasty disposition, may not take offence when he hears of this Ambassador, it would be as well to inform him first, and to make him understand that in treating with these foes the object is to punish other foes, and that later on our arms may be directed against the Turks. This, in brief, is my opinion. I reserve other considerations to be discussed by word of mouth.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Sept. 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

578. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

At Lisbon the Armada is ready, and the men are forbidden to go on shore on pain of death. If the Marquis of Santa Cruz arrives

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within eight or ten days they say that, beyond all doubt, he will sail with one hundred and thirty ships for Flanders and England. In Biscay they have secretly put on board by night a large quantity of arms, among them sixteen thousand pikes, six thousand harquebusses, three thousand muskets. Twenty ships of the Seville squadron are out lying in wait for the English.

Madrid, 4th September 1587.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

579. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The Englishman in Lisbon has been treating with the Cardinal Archduke for a peace; the Queen offers, in addition to the old terms, to restore the Portuguese Indiaman which Drake captured. She is making the same proposals to the Duke of Parma in Flanders, where she is going to send Ambassadors. But here they know her artifices, and as they are now resolved to make this expedition in earnest they pay no attention to these proposals.

The rumour runs that the Marquis of Santa Cruz will pass over towards England, and will seize some port in Ireland, where he would await the rest of the Armada from Lisbon and Flanders, but the King himself does not credit the report, though he has given the Marquis full liberty to act as he thinks fit after securing the Indian flotillas.

Madrid, 10th September 1587.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

580. Giovanni Dolfin, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Nuncio, as I am informed from a good quarter, has begged the King, in the Pope's name, to assist in the attack on England.

The King made answer that he was so much disturbed by a great fire raging in his own house, that he was sure both his Holiness and all the world would blame him if he began to set fire to another's before the flames in his own were extinguished.

The Scotch Ambassador, having heard of this demand for an attack on England, had an audience of the King, and pointed out the claims which his master had on the Crown of England, for any demerit in the Queen could not be a just cause for annihilating his rights. The King showed affection for King James, and wished him all increase of State; but as for the attack on England he was too embarrassed at home to attend to other people's affairs.

Paris, 11th September 1587.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

581. Lorenzo Bernardo, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

At an audience granted by the Grand Vizir to the French Ambassador the former said, "You should follow the line of the

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Queen of England who, at the request of this Porte, makes war on Spain and liberates all Mussulmans.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 15th September 1587.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Sept. 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

582. Giovanni Dolfin, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

They say from London that two noblemen and two Masters of Requests (*Maestri di Rechieste*) are on the point of leaving for Flanders to treat for an accord, and that the meeting will take place in Breda.

Paris, 15th September 1587.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

583. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The flotillas have not arrived yet, but they are expected day by day in the company of the Marquis of Santa Cruz. The cause of the delay is a great storm. The King is in a rage at the three ships which reached the Azores before the others, having parted company with the rest owing to some punctillio of precedence. They say that if the whole Armada is destined for England it would have been better for it to have assembled in Biscay and waited the commander there rather than to assemble in Portugal eight hundred miles further away. Others reply that the fleet had of necessity to go to Lisbon for arms and munitions.

Orders have been sent to Lisbon that when the flotilla arrives no sailors may land till one thousand of them have been picked for service on board the Armada. Here the prayers are continued, and will be continued for two months more. The President of the Royal Revenues declares that in this year the King has spent more than ten millions of gold in preparations.

The Earl of Morton, on his way to Bilbao, was stopped by an express courier, who requested him to go to Lisbon. He did so, and is caressed by the Cardinal Archduke, and will likely sail with the Armada.

The Spanish fleet is clearing the English from the coast; eight galleons have put out from Lisbon.

Madrid, 19th September 1587.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 25. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

584. Giovanni Dolfin, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

From Brussels we hear that the Duke of Parma has named as his commissioner for the treaty of peace with England, M. de Champigny, brother of the late Cardinal de Granvelle, Count Arenberg, M. d' Hausonville, the President Nisardel, and Secretary Cramer, with orders to meet on the 20th at Breda.

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They write from England that although the Queen has been making provision for her fleet Drake is inactive.

Paris, 25th September 1587.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

585. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

All the ships of the fleet entered the Port of San Lucar in safety, except three which were wrecked, though both crew and cargo were saved. The Marquis of Santa Cruz has entered Lisbon with his squadron, which has suffered from a storm. He is making all diligence in refitting his fleet, as well as that of Seville. They are expecting the fleet from Biscay shortly.

The Marquis of Santa Cruz has written to the King to say he will be ready to sail on the 20th of this month, and raises no objection as to the season, for he knows that the King is resolved upon action, and cannot bear to be contradicted nor thwarted. The Duke of Parma has written to say that the Catholic States of Flanders are to meet in Breda to treat of some accord with England which shall be honourable for his Majesty, and that he himself is attending to this business with all his might. He urges the King, all the same to send his Armada in the direction of England, adding that his people are all ready to obey any of his Majesty's orders. This last information, as it falls in with his Majesty's desire, is highly approved here. The King has sent back the same courier with orders that the Duke shall continue his negotiations, and shall keep as many troops ready as possible to march wherever they may be ordered, for the Lisbon fleet will set sail on the 20th. Those who understand affairs best think that if no accord is reached between the Spanish and the English the Duke of Parma will take command of the enterprise; but the line of attack which he will adopt no one as yet knows for certain. Many think the troops will land in Scotland, especially as the Duke (sic) *of Morton is in Lisbon, and will sail with the Armada, and it is known that secret negotiations have been carried on with the King of Scotland who has offered a very commodious harbour, and has promised to declare himself Catholic, and an open enemy of the Queen of England whom he will attack. Others think that the Spanish have an understanding in England and Ireland, and that a council of war will decide upon which point of attack is most advantageous and most easy. In short, it seems that the King now entertains all the keener desire to put this enterprise to the touch, if the season be not an insuperable difficulty and the longed for accord is not effected, because he believes that the Queen will get no help from France owing to the civil war, nor from the heretic princes. Moreover, the last news from Constantinople raises a doubt lest, if the attack is delayed till spring, the evil offices of that woman may induce the Turk to effect a diversion by sending a powerful fleet to Spain or to some other of his Majesty's States (in somma par che nel Rè sia nato tanto maggior desiderio di far isperienza nel presente tempo di questa impresa, se però*

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potra superar la stagione et non segua l' accordo tanto desiderato, quanto che stima che nè di Francia, per la guerra civile, ne da altri principi heretici . . . potrà detta Regina haver aiuti d' importantia, oltra che con li ultimi avisi da Constantinopoli va dubitando che con differir la prima vera, potessero Turchi, mossi dalli mali ufficii di questa donna, tentar di divertire da questa impresa con mandar in Spagna, o in altra parte de' suoi stati l' armata potente). *His Majesty desires to forestall such a contingency, and to see what will happen in this winter; he places great hopes on a rising of the Catholics in England. In fact the King is determined that the Armada shall sail this year, for he believes that the Queen, terrified by all these demonstrations, will be the more ready to come to terms.*

Time will the better prove the wisdom of the King; I will neglect no occasion to inform your Serenity of all that comes to my notice, as in a matter of such importance I consider it my duty to report all the remarks of persons of weight.

Madrid, 7th October 1587.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Oct. 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

586. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

As they cannot find in Portugal a sufficient quantity of mules to embark on board the Armada for the artillery trains, they have sent three hundred from these parts, which ought by this time to be in Lisbon. Other companies of infantry have recently reached that town; they were at once inspected and sent on board. The Marquis of Santa Cruz has forbidden anyone to go on shore on pain of death.

Madrid, 8th October 1587.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

587. Giovanni Dolfin, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

It is said by people of weight that the Queen of England has given to the Catholic Princes of the house of Bourbon twenty thousand ducats in cash, and another twenty thousand is promised.

Paris, 9th October 1587.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

588. Giovanni Dolfin, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Commissioners destined to negotiate a peace between Spain and England had not left on the 20th of last month. But an Agent from the Queen had reached Brussels; his mission was to propose another place of meeting as she had changed her mind and abandoned the place already agreed upon, namely, Breda.

News from London that the Queen has chosen forty of her finest ships and fitted them out, and given them to forty of her captains.

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The guards have been doubled along the coast, and the garrisons on the Scotch border strengthened.

Paris, 9th October 1587.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

589. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Marquis of Santa Cruz began to overhaul the ships which had been out with him as escort for the fleet. When the workmen came to examine them they reported that the ships were in such a bad state that the Marquis has written to the King to say that he doubts very much whether he can get ready this month, and that even if his own ships were ready the five galleons which he left under Recalde's command at the Azores have come into port so storm-tossed that they require to be careened and fresh caulked. Accordingly he has been obliged to distribute his troops partly on board the Seville fleet and partly in the forts of Lisbon. He adds that he will do his best to get ready as soon as possible.

His Majesty has received this news with the greatest displeasure because, on many grounds, but chiefly with a view to facilitating an accord with England, he thought it necessary that the Armada should put out as soon as possible, and that this report of the bad condition of the fleet should not become public. His Majesty said with his own lips that this must be a device of those owners whose ships have been seized, inspired by a hope that they would recover them, but that he is determined that the fleet shall go out. Those who understand naval matters declare that if his Majesty continues in this resolve he will only succeed in losing his Armada and all his forces. The Marquis cannot be ready even for the date he himself has named; but as he sees the King so determined he is afraid to write his true opinion, or to urge the lateness of the season, but he does what he can to put off, as he knows that this is of real service to the King.

Francesco Idiaquez has been to thank your Serenity, in the King's name, for all the information which has been furnished. *He desired to know if the negotiations for peace and the preparation of the Armada were still being continued in Constantinople.*

Madrid, 12th October 1587.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Oct. 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

590. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

By courier express the King has sent orders to the Marquis of Santa Cruz that he is to use all diligence in preparing the expedition, and in fitting out his ships, as he is firmly resolved that the Armada shall take the sea, and that his will shall be executed. He has sent two hundred thousand ducats to Lisbon to pay crews and troops. *All the same it becomes clearer every day that the Marquis does not wish to take the sea. He has sent the four great galleys to Saccaben to be out of the way of the winter storms, and*

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he has despatched an expert in naval matters to point out to his Majesty how great is the danger at this season, and to inform him of the bad condition of the fleet, of the large number of soldiers who are dead or have fled, and the great want of sailors, and to assure him that if they sail in this state they will be going to destruction, all the more surely that it is rumoured that the Queen of England is preparing a great fleet. This expert has not yet had an audience of the King, nor has the Marquis had time to reply to the last message of the King. Everyone is waiting to see how the King will decide after hearing from the Marquis, and a great Spanish nobleman said to some Italians, who asked if the fleet would go out and what would be done, that it was no wonder they did not know, for no one knew, not even the King's most intimate councillors.

The Biscayan fleet put out the second time from Seville, but has not arrived yet; and until it does there is no question about the Marquis's sailing.

Madrid, 18th October 1587.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Oct. 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

591. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King refuses to listen to the person sent here by the Marquis of Santa Cruz to report on the bad state of the fleet both as regards the ships and also the lack of sailors. The King sent orders to this person to return at once as, after reading the Marquis's letters, another courier had been sent off to convey the King's will and commands, which were that the Marquis should make all speed to put out to sea; or if he could not sail with the whole fleet to send as many as he could get ready under the command of Don Alonso de Leyva, and in doing so the Marquis would render the King the highest possible service. Accordingly subsequent couriers bring news from Lisbon that not only the Marquis but also the other sea captains were using all diligence in finishing up the ships and commissioning them, and furnishing their stores, so as to be ready to sail either altogether or a large part. For this purpose they were anxiously waiting the arrival of other four thousand troops who have already embarked on board the Seville fleet, after returning to Spain in the ships of Alvaro Flores.

This extraordinary diligence is caused, as is commonly thought, by the King's resolve, for he is persuaded that the Queen is using artifice in this affair of the accord, and that he must now proceed with deeds, not words and threats; and, secondly, because his Majesty is informed that the King of Scotland in fulfilment of his understanding with Spain, has already begun to harass the Queen of England. Accordingly, in order not to leave the King of Scotland exposed to danger, in order to keep his word with Scotland and the Guise, and because this appears to be the best way to annoy and molest the Queen of England, his Majesty has determined that, if the Marquis cannot take the sea at once, still large succours must be sent to Scotland with all possible speed, as the

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Earl of Morton requests. These supports are to keep on the outside of the island, and not to enter the channel till the rest of the Armada is ready, about which I shall inform your Serenity more fully in my next.

The Ambassador of the Duke of Parma resident here had an audience with the King on other matters, and said that public report at Court had it that the Marquis would not put out to sea, in order to avoid serving under the Duke of Parma, whereas he promised that his master would serve under the Marquis if that should seem to be of service to his Majesty (disse che essendo publica voce per tutta la corte che il Marchese non volesse uscire per non ubedire al Duca, suo signore, prometteva che suo patrone haverebbe egli ubedito al Marchese se cusi fosse servitio della Maestà Sua). This statement has pleased the King greatly, and his joy is all the more lively because he has heard from spies of his in Constantinople and Venice that it is very unlikely that peace will be concluded between the Turks and the Persians, and that consequently the Turkish fleet will not put out next year, in spite of the English Ambassador's usual representations to the Porte. His Majesty will shortly send an Agent to Constantinople, and to escape criticism from the world at large he desires to select for this mission the subject of some other Prince; accordingly Figliazzi, the retiring Ambassador of Tuscany, has been in long conferences with the King on the affairs of the Levant, of which he has knowledge as he was for many years a slave there, and subsequently Ambassador to the Porte for the Grand Duke of Tuscany. But Count Marigliani declares that the King could not make a worse choice than this, for, besides being a Knight of Malta, Figliazzi conducted his Embassy to the Porte with small satisfaction to all parties; he is hated by all the Pashas and other great officers. If Marigliani is asked his opinion he will express it frankly.

Madrid, 27th October 1587.

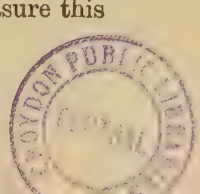
[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Oct. 31. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

592. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

A courier from the Marquis of Santa Cruz to the King brings news that by the 11th of next month, S. Martin's day, forty great ships will be ready, and on these from ten to twelve thousand men can be embarked. The Biscay squadron has also reached Lisbon. The Marquis says that he will take the sea with these if his Majesty so orders, or he will send them out with Don Alonso di Leyva, and will himself stay behind to hasten the preparation of the remainder of the Armada, so as to be able to set sail a month later, and to harass the Queen of England in some other quarter. He recommends the commissioning of thirty other ships from the fleet of New Spain, and states that some of the hulks which were with him at the Azores are no longer fit for service.

The King is highly displeased that a larger number of ships is not ready. And I know that Don Juan d'Idiaquez has bitterly complained that his Majesty, who has spent so much treasure this



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year in the hope of having a more magnificent fleet than he ever possessed, should find that he can command no more than forty in fact, and with a captain who will not obey his Majesty's orders. The King is determined that all this money shall not be thrown away however, and these forty ships will sail under the command of Don Alonso di Leyva it is believed; he is reckoned a valorous soldier. The Marquis, on the other hand, replies that he cannot work miracles, and that he declines to risk the reputation he has acquired; that he prays to God that the departure and the career of this Armada may not recall that of Charles V. in Africa, when that sovereign insisted on making that expedition precisely at this time of year; and to the dangers of the season is to be added the peril from the English fleet, which, they say, will take the sea in great force. (*Sta il Re malissimo contento che non vi sia maggior numero de' navi pronte; et so che Don Gio. Idiaquez si è molto doluto con persona confidente che la Maestà Sua dapoi haver speso un gran Tesoro quest' anno, con speranza di haver la piu florida et potente armata che facesse mai, si trovi a termine di non haver in essere piu di 40 navi, et con un Generale come ha detto che non vuol obbedire alli commandamenti di Sua Maestà, la quale però sta risoluta di non voler gettar del tutto questa spesa, et che non potendo far altro, vadino queste prima, crede si, sotto Don Alonso di Leyvà, tenuto valoroso soldato. Il Marchese dall' altra parte dice che non può far miracoli et che non vorebbe andar a perdere quel honore che hora ha acquistato; et che prega Dio che la uscita et esito di quest' armata non facci ricordar al mondo l' altra di Carlo Quinto in Affrica quando volse far l' impresa di Algier da questo tempo a punto; et hora oltre il pericolo della stagione vi è l' altro dell' armata nemica Inglese la quale si dice, uscirà fuore molto potente.*)

The King has ordered the continuance of the prayers for another two months, and that every day, in some church, the Host is to be exposed, and a solemn mass sung with special supplications for the success of the Armada; and these orders have been sent in writing to all incumbents.

At Lisbon ten ships from Minas and S. Thomas have arrived, with slaves, and sugar and other merchandise. One of the fleet got separated from its companions in a storm, and after fighting bravely was compelled to yield to the English.

Giovanni Figliazzi was at the Escurial yesterday; he has told one of his great friends that Don Juan d'Idiaquez had a long conversation with him, and that his Majesty is disposed to send him to Constantinople to negotiate the truce, to which he replied that it would be necessary to inform his master, the Grand Duke.

Madrid, 31st October 1587.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Nov. 5. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

593. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The Marquis of Santa Cruz has sent Don Pedro Ennriquez to the King to defend him against the common rumour that to suit his

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own private ends he is unwilling to take this sea with the Armada this winter, and to prove that he never indulged, nor ever will indulge, any other considerations except those for his Majesty's service. Don Pedro is further charged to say that the Marquis is using all diligence, and has six hundred workmen employed day and night, and that if his Majesty will give him fifteen days more he will put out to sea in person at the head of his whole fleet. He proposes to go to Flanders to embark the troops on board small vessels, and, if his Majesty so orders, to attack England at once, to help Scotland, or to make a landing in Ireland. The Spanish galleys have three thousand soldiers and sailors raised in Seville; the Marquis asks for thirty transports which are lying at San Lucar, and promises to be ready to sail on the 25th of this month. All the same he has not omitted to point out in all humility that the Armada runs a great risk at this season, an opinion which the Duke of Medina Sidonia publicly approves; he said to me himself that he had told the King that it would be a miracle if the fleet escaped. The King, however, standing firm in his resolve, as is his wont, after mature deliberation, has expressed pleasure at the readiness of the Marquis, and has sent orders to Seville to despatch the above-named transports to Lisbon, whither he has also sent troops from the garrisons on the frontiers of Castille, being fully determined, in spite of all considerations, that the Marquis shall put out to sea as strong as possible.

Before the Marquis sails he will receive the King's sealed orders; the Duke of Medina Sidonia says that, as yet, no express orders as to the operations to be carried out have been issued to the Marquis, on account of the uncertainty whether the whole or a part of the fleet was going to put out.

The King is all the more confirmed in his resolve to send out the fleet in that he sees that he can come to no understanding with the Queen. For the negotiations for a peace have reached this point that the Queen insists on retaining Flushing, while the King is determined to conclude no treaty which will not restore Flushing to him. Another reason for the sailing of the fleet is that the King cannot endure the idea of having thrown away such vast treasure as the President of the Royal Revenues assures me have been spent this year. The President declares that beyond a doubt the King has in his employ one hundred and eight thousand soldiers, between the Armada, Flanders, Italy, and the Spanish garrisons. I should not have dared to write this had I not positive information from a sound source. I also know that many Italian gentlemen who are here at Court are surprised to find that they are not to be employed; some have even volunteered to go in a private capacity, among these Don Pietro de Medici, Prospero Colonna, Pirro Malvezzo, Camillo da Coreggio; the King has merely thanked them, but is resolved to have none but Spaniards on board the fleet in Lisbon.

Madrid, 5th November 1587.

[*Italian.*]

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Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

594. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain to the DOGE and SENATE.

I obtained from a friend of mine in strict confidence, and after a recommendation to absolute secresy, the letter which I told your Serenity had been written to the King by the Marquis of Santa Cruz. I think it my duty to enclose it. The Marquis endeavours to show how dangerous it will be for the Armada to put out during the winter season, and how advisable it would be to put off this expedition till spring, setting out all the reasons which your Excellencies will read in the letter itself. It seems that this letter has raised some doubts in the mind of the King, for he is in consultation every day with Don Juan d'Idiaquez and Don Christoforo de Mora. But I am also informed from an excellent source that such is the King's desire that the Armada should sail, that of himself, as one who is so powerful and who has been in England, he answers the many objections raised by the Marquis, and he promises himself a sure and easy victory thanks to his lucky star (la lettera medesima, la quale pare che ha messo qualche suspettione nell' animo della Re sua Maestà, sapendosi di certo che la consiglia ogni giorno con Don Giovanni Idiaquez et Don Christoforo di Mora. Ma io so anco da buonissima parte che tanto è il desiderio del Re che esca, che va risolvendo da lui, como quello che vale tanto et che è stato in Inghilterra, molte oppositioni che fa esso marchese, promettendosi in questa impresa forse per il corso della sua buona fortuna, facile et sicura vittoria).

His Majesty gives proof of his resolve by the vigour with which he is carrying on the preparations, among others the despatch of three thousand soldiers to Lisbon. They have recently been raised in Andalusia and Estremadura. The hulks and galleys of Seville have also been sent. The letter of the Marquis, besides showing all that is passing on this subject, also proves how difficult it is to shake his Majesty when once he has determined on a line of action, and how resolved he is to carry through his wishes.

No date.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Nov. 4.
Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

595. LETTER from the MARQUIS OF SANTA CRUZ to the KING, translated from the Spanish; written in Lisbon on 4th November.

SIRE,

As I am convinced that Don Pedro Hennriquez will have sufficiently excused me from the calumnies which have been raised against me by my enemies and by those who were jealous of me, and that the truth will have demonstrated to your Majesty my enduring devotion, and my desire to serve and to obey in all respects your Majesty's commands, I leave all those points in my defence on one side, relying on the great wisdom and benignity of your Majesty; and I limit myself to saying that after my return with my squadron I have not neglected any opportunity nor shrunk from any fatigue in order to refit and prepare the fleet.

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And now when, by the help of God, I can promise to put out at the end of this month or the beginning of next, I should be deeply culpable before his Divine Majesty, and wanting in my duty as a faithful vassal and servant of my Prince if I did not set forth the considerations of seamanship, of war, and of State which I hold to be of service or of disservice to your Majesty, submitting myself always to your wise and resolute will.

Your Majesty must know, then, that the season in which we now are, which may be called almost the heart of the winter, as well as the nature of the Atlantic Ocean, cause me grave doubts and anxiety when I see your Majesty resolved to send out the Armada at a time which is so perilous for various reasons, that I cannot imagine a more dangerous. Among these dangers is this, that the fleet may be scattered by a storm, and so some of our ships may fall into the enemies' hands, and the encouragement and reputation which this would give to the English is obvious.

Your Majesty's singular intelligence will perceive that the difference between sending out the Armada in December or sending it out in March is the difference of a couple of months, or little more, lost, whereas the gain would be peace of mind and the certainty of a successful issue, for at the later season the open sea would serve as a port for the Armada.

Should your Majesty desire to direct the Armada to Scotland it seems to me, and I call God to witness that I speak in all sincerity and unmoved by any passion, that in the Earl of Morton, with whom I have frequently discussed the project, I do not find such firmness of resolve as would justify us in committing our navy and our fleet to the good faith of the King of Scotland. For though he has been wounded by the death of his mother, he is in daily expectation of being named heir to the throne of England, and so he believes it his better policy to play a double game rather than to call on foreign aid, of which in himself he is not absolutely sure. What expectation, too, have we of being able to injure the kingdom of England; what is the least and what the most?

Apart from the fact that in winter in England there is little more than six hours of daylight, and that up to two o'clock the sky is usually clouded with a thick and dense mist; if the wind is from the south, which is favourable to our fleet, the atmosphere is obscured for the whole day, so that day might more justly be called another night, and navigation in unknown waters is rendered highly dangerous; on the other hand, if the sky is clear the wind will be absolutely in our teeth. I have also drawn from the Earl of Morton, in the course of conversation, the admission that the port which the King proposes to give us, although the largest in the kingdom, is not absolutely sheltered from winds nor yet large enough to hold so great a fleet.

Should your Majesty contemplate sending the Armada to Ireland, then, besides the various objections above displayed, one must remember that the Queen has fortified the harbours and landing-places where it seemed likely that we might attempt a landing. As to the issue of an engagement in the open sea, or the possibility

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of seizing a port, or the chances of effecting a landing, I do not think we can count on them; and all the less that we have lost the first hopes of a rising in Ireland, for in September last the Queen put to death those five leaders with whom we had secret understanding, and from whom we promised ourselves such effectual aid at the right moment. Their death has struck terror into the other Catholics in the island, who, to escape persecution, live now for the most part in the mountains and the uninhabited districts rather than in the cities, and consequently have no following and little authority.

But the objection of all others which weighs with me is this, that during the winter certain winds blow which are deadly to foreigners, and so even without fighting there is a great danger of losing many soldiers and sailors.

If it be really decided to go to England itself I would only observe that this Armada, even when united with the troops of the Duke of Parma, which would at this season be embarked and carried over the straits with no small difficulty, does not seem to me sufficient to attempt this enterprise in the very heart of the winter. We have no harbours at hand in case of need, and the tide is extremely strong, the sea all open to the south winds. Nor, in my opinion, would it be such an easy matter to take the Isle of Wight, or any other harbour, for the shelter of our fleet, as is represented to your Majesty by those who stake nothing on the risk, and have not been taught the difference between victory and defeat.

I hold that it would be advisable that your Majesty should wait to see what takes place about the peace between Persia and Turkey, and whether a Turkish fleet will sail from Constantinople next year, so that if it did put out the Turks might not find your Majesty with the whole nucleus of your forces far away from home.

If, after all, your Majesty should insist on my sailing be assured that you will not have either officer or private who will risk his life with greater alacrity, courage, and ardour. But, as I have humbly expressed it, my opinion is that the sailing of the Armada should be delayed, if not till March, at least till the middle of February to allow the weather to grow milder. And your Majesty must remember that should any misfortune befall the fleet, which God forbid, it would be impossible to put together another such Armada for a long time to come. To me it seems that a Sovereign with such a reputation in the world would take his measures at the proper moment, and would not allow himself to be swept away by a thirst for vengeance; and true praise and glory do not depend upon rapidity but upon success of action. Should your Majesty resolve to accept my advice I would still recommend that the rumour should be circulated that the fleet is to sail at once with a view to frightening the Queen into an open course of action, and compelling her to instruct her agents to deal in earnest with the question of the total restoration of Holland and Zealand.

All these considerations I have thought it my duty to lay before your Majesty, whose pardon I crave for my boldness which is born of my ardent desire to serve you; accept the assurance of my

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readiness to spend my life on the smallest sign from your Majesty, to whose royal and serene person may God grant increase of State and all other happiness and prosperity.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

596. Giovanni Dolfin, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

News from England that on the 17th of last month the Queen sent two Agents to Holland to inform the States that the Duke of Parma and herself held Commissioners ready to negotiate for a peace, but that she did not wish to send hers without communicating all the points to the States and hearing their opinion, and begging them to send Agents on their side also.

We hear from Brussels that the Queen has informed the Duke that the delay has arisen from the above cause, and that she hopes to be ready to send her Commissioners about the end of November. Public opinion, however, declares that this is only a way of putting off and deceiving on every hand, and not a true method for arriving at any satisfactory conclusion.

Paris, 6th November 1587.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

597. Giovanni Dolfin, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The French Ambassador in England, in a despatch of the 30th of October, announces that the Queen of England has ordered all ships of eighty tons and upwards to be fitted out, and has appointed Commissioners to superintend the operation. That engineers had been sent to complete the fortification of certain ports, and that her fleet was ready for whatever might happen.

Thirteen Danish ships have appeared in those waters; ten of them splendid large ships and three medium size, all well found. Their object was not known. Some said they were to go to the Shetlands, now held by the King of Scotland, but once in the kingdom of Denmark; others said that this fleet had come to support the Queen, for the commander had sealed orders, with instructions to open them on the first of this month.

Paris, 9th November 1587.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

598. Lorenzo Bernardo and Giovanni Moro, Venetian Ambassadors in Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

Hassan Pasha spoke at length with Brutti on the subject of Don Antonio and his journey to the Indies, or the possibility of his receiving assistance from the Grand Signor to attempt a descent on Portugal in conjunction with the forces of England. He pointed out that the power of Spain was greatly increased by the acquisition of Portugal, and the late rumours of the defeat of the English by the Spanish. He urged upon Brutti how ill advised it was in the Sultan to allow the power of Spain to assume such

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proportions, and that some day, when their hands were free, the Spaniards might place the Turkish Empire in serious danger; and he wound up by saying that those who had direction of affairs were no statesmen; the Grand Vizir was an ignoramus, Ibrahim a liar and a vain-glorious fellow, the Beglierbey of Greece a trickster. His advice was that next year the Sultan should send out his fleet of one hundred sail, which, in conjunction with the guardships and the Barbary squadron, could seriously annoy the King of Spain and give satisfaction to the English, while greatly benefitting this empire, by which he meant to allude to the kingdom of Fez where his own interests lay.

Since the news of the defeat of the English their Ambassador frequents the houses of the Pashas, and, above all, of the Sultan's secretary who favours him greatly, and he has frequently been through the arsenal with Ibrahim Pasha, reviewing the galleys and openly discussing their number and quality, almost always in the presence of Hassan Pasha, and sometimes of the Jew, Salamon, the Portuguese, who is well acquainted with Indian affairs (dapoi l' aviso della vittoria de Spagnoli contra Englesi questo Ambasciatore di Inghilterra frequenta le case delli Magnifici Bassà et particolarmente quella del Coza del Signor, il quale molto lo favorisce. Et piu d' una volta ha caminato questo arsenale con Ibraim Bassà, rivedendo queste galee, et discorrendo publicamente del numero et qualità d' esse con la presentia quasi sempre di Assan Bassà, et alle volte anco di quel Salamon, Hebreo Portughese molto pratico delle Indie).

They are expecting an Ambassador from Spain to negotiate a truce.

Dal Vigne di Pera, 11th November 1587.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Nov 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

599. Lorenzo Bernardo and Giovanni Moro, Venetian Ambassadors in Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

After the Agent of Don Antonio of Portugal had left with the answer which I have reported, an English gentleman arrived here on board the ship "Salvagna." He says he is a Catholic, that he left England at the end of May with the intention of going to Jerusalem, but on his arrival here he changed his mind, and after staying a few days he left for Patras, there to embark on board an English ship for England. This roused great suspicions, and I succeeded in keeping him under observation. From what I have found out from Benveniste it seems that Don Antonio is asking for money and ships from the Sultan, and that the Queen of England has promised him a similar number of ships to attack Portugal. Don Antonio offers to hold that kingdom as a fief of the Turkish Empire, as Bathory holds Transilvinia, and promises a son of his own as a hostage.

The Sultan has absolutely refused money, but has promised to send out his fleet next year; and with this answer the Englishman has been sent back to his Queen.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 11th November 1587.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

1587.
Nov. 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

600. Giovanni Gritti, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

The Pope complains that the King of Spain has given no answer regarding Cardinal Allen.

Rome, 14th November 1587.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

601. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The Marquis of Santa Cruz and Don Alonso di Leyva are in open hostility. Challenges and insulting letters are exchanged between them, and there is great danger that the matter will go further on account of the diversity of their opinion.

Madrid, 14th November 1587.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

602. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

Don Bernardino de Mendoza writes from Paris that the Queen of England is putting together a larger fleet than was thought. He advises the Ministers here not to trust to the proposals which she advances on the subject of Flanders, for he has been informed that she is doing all she can to effect a peace between the King of France and the King of Navarre, declaring that their quarrel incited the King of Spain to attack England with a view, if he succeeded, to aspiring to still greater conquests, and calling their attention to the danger which threatened them. But Mendoza is of opinion that in the heat of this war in France these representations will pass unheeded.

As regards the sailing of the fleet I know from a good quarter that the King has sent the Marquis of Santa Cruz's letter to the Prior Don Ernando, with orders that after deliberation he is to express his opinion. The Prior replied that if his Majesty was under promise to the King of Scotland he should keep his word, but if he was bound by no obligation it would be advisable to let two or three months pass. The King, however, continues to show his desire that the Armada should sail, but powerful and in good order (il Re mandò al Prior Don Ernando la lettera del Marchese Santa Croce acciò dopo considerata dicesse il suo parere . . . il Prior rispose che se sua Maestà haveva promesso al Re di Scotia attendesse alla parola, ma che non essendo necessità, saria bene scorrere due o tre mese ancora. Il Re nondimeno continua in mostrar desiderio che parti, ma potente et ben in ordine).

Various items of news are contained in the enclosed, which was written to me in confidence by a person who is always near the Marquis, and has a post on board the fleet. As the thirty ships and galleons of Seville have been seized for service it will be impossible for the India fleet to sail this year.

Madrid, 22nd November 1587.

[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*]

1587.
Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

603. By a previous courier I wrote to your Excellency all that was going on here about the Armada; how the Marquis of Santa Cruz made the men work day and night to fit out as large a number of ships as possible, but that, in my opinion, the Armada could not be ready before the month of December.

The fleet is in great want of sailors, while the hospitals are full of soldiers, and the further we advance in the winter the more people fall ill. The ships require more repairs than was foreseen, and especially those of the Grand Duke, and the flagship of the fleet of New Spain, which are the best ships in the Armada. His Majesty has sent express orders that all six are to be careened; my opinion is that they will take a month to fit out, and more, and without them the fleet will not sail; and, indeed, it is impossible for the Marquis, even if he uses all the diligence he can, to keep his promises to his Majesty. But I am of opinion that the Marquis will be allowed to have his own way, and that the King will prudently let himself to be governed. His Majesty will show that he has the olive in one hand and the sword in the other for the destruction of the Queen of England.

The Earl of Morton is in close conference with the Marquis, and the common opinion here is that if war breaks out it will break out in Scotland. The Marquis neglects nothing, though there be some who think they are abler and know more than him.

The two hundred pieces of cannon which they are casting will soon be ready.

Six days ago eleven English ships seized a Ragusan bound for Lisbon with Catalonian wine, along with four other ships and a carvel.

Lisbon, 16th November 1587.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 28.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

604. Giovanni Gritti, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

Apropos of the news from Constantinople the Pope made many remarks on the designs of the Turks to avail themselves of Don Antonio of Portugal in the Indies.

The Pope pointed out that though Don Antonio's presence at this moment in England threw some doubt upon the story, yet, as a matter of fact, the design would not be so difficult of execution, for the Portuguese in the Indies are ill-affected towards Spain, and if Don Antonio appeared there they would probably rise. But, what was worse, if the King of Spain died Portugal would revolt. His Holiness added that the King of Spain is the greatest Prince in Christendom, and yet he is negotiating for peace with a woman who insults him, and proposes disadvantageous terms, for the Queen will not give up Holland and Zealand.

"We have granted him Church moneys, and we believe that these moneys, not being spent on their true purpose, are the cause of all his ruin," the Pope said.

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The Duke of Parma is doing nothing in Flanders against his enemies.

Rome, 28th November 1587.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 29. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

605. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Marigliani and Don Juan d'Idiaquez are in consultation about the truce at Constantinople. Marigliani is strongly opposed to Figliazzi, especially now that the Grand Duke is dead. On the other hand, the King will not send an Ambassador of his own, as he thinks that would compromise his dignity, and would, moreover, imply a present to the Sultan.

The King of Fez has asked for a passport for an Ambassador who is to treat about exchanging el' Arisch for Arzile (Asila). But it is thought that all this is a ruse of the Queen of England.

From Lisbon we hear that the preparations for the Armada continue, but that on board the fleet many are dying. The English corsairs are working their usual havoc. Seven of them seized three Spanish ships off Cape St. Vincent; they were on their way from San Domingo with ginger and hides; also two smaller ships laden with iron.

The Duke of Medina Sidonia, to whom I am under great obligations, tells me that his Majesty is spending in Portugal as much as ten thousand crowns a day in payment of troops, outfit of ships, victuals, ammunition; and if he goes on like this he will be shortly obliged to borrow large sums of money, especially as there will be no fleet from the Indies of Castille this year.

Madrid, 29th November 1587.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Dec. 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

606. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

As the courier has not left yet with my letters I wish to add that I have learned from a most secret quarter that his Majesty, after long discussion of many opinions, has accepted the advice of the Marquis of Santa Cruz to delay the sailing of the Armada till spring. Apart from the dangers of the season his Majesty has been induced to this decision by the want of sailors and the need which his large vessels have of being careened, after the damage they received, even though in port, from a violent sirocco gale quite recently. The Marquis has pointed out once more to his Majesty that if the Armada sails now with all this disease among the troops and the crews, there is great danger that after a month at sea, especially in this cold season, it will be either destroyed or seriously damaged.

These considerations have caused the King to change that firm resolve he had. But I know he has written to the Marquis to

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conceal this resolution as long as he can, on the ground that the negotiations with England may be affected. If the accord is not concluded this winter his Majesty says he wishes to have his bare sword ready to chastise that woman; and he now gives the Marquis orders that without any further instructions he is to hold himself ready to sail whenever he is so commanded. These are points of importance which I did not wish to lose the opportunity of reporting.

Madrid, 1st December 1587.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Dec. 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

607. Giovanni Dolfin, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

M. de Gordano, Governor of Calais, writes, under date of November 22nd, that the Duke of Parma had reached Dunquerque, and was preparing all the ships there. These at Dunquerque run from one hundred to one hundred and fifty tons; but he is expecting seventeen more from Antwerp, running to five and six hundred tons apiece, which were to bring a large number of saddles, stirrups, and bridles, as well as lanterns. The Governor said he could not as yet fathom the designs of the Duke. Some said that he wished to attack Ostend, as the winter season is closing in with a promise too of much ice, which is necessary in any operations against that city; others say that the Duke is awaiting the Spanish Armada, and that on the 20th of the past month, at Brussels, Count Mansfeldt was appointed Lieutenant-General for his Catholic Majesty in the absence of the Duke.

Letters from London, dated November 26th, state that the Queen has ordered all the munition and provisions to be embarked at once as she intends to despatch Drake as soon as possible. She is determined that he shall give battle to the Spanish Armada before it reaches English waters (*risoluta che esso* (*Drake*) *combatti l' armata spagnola avanti che s' avvicini ai mari d' Inghilterra*).

Many troops have returned from Holland, the Queen having recalled almost all the garrisons which she had in the provinces.

Paris, 4th December 1587.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in Despatch of Dec. 9, Constantinople.

608. Commission to Hassan Pasha.

You are not to annoy the ships of friendly powers, French, Venetian, Ragusan, and English. They are to enjoy free passage of the sea.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

609. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain to the Doge and Senate.

In Lisbon the preparations are not going on so vigorously as previously, although they are still fitting out some vessels, and putting the ammunition on board, squadron by squadron. A review of the troops is to be held. They say that between deserters, dead,

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and sick the number will be far less than they thought, to such an extent that his Majesty will be forced to raise new levies. The flagship of the New Spanish squadron in clearing the river at Saccaben went on the rocks.

The Earl of Morton, seeing how many delays in the way of the succours promised to his King are arising, and being convinced that the Armada cannot sail at present, has taken leave of the Cardinal, and is waiting to embark on board a carvel, they say, for Brittany, whence he will go to Paris before returning to Scotland. They say here that all the difficulties raised by the Marquis will be quite as serious in spring as now. For the King of Scotland, seeing that he is merely entertained with promises, may change his policy for fear of exposing himself and his kingdom to greater dangers; and especially now in view of the offers which are being made him by the Queen of England to name him heir to the English throne. Moreover, in this interval the Queen will have opportunity to fortify her coasts and to call in aid from other Princes. But the worst is that his Majesty must look to his own defences, for all the English corsairs, to the number of, perhaps, forty sail, are off Cape St. Vincent with the design of harrying Spanish shipping. They have captured various small vessels on their way from Seville to Cadiz, among them a very rich prize which had come from the Brazils; and if they do not send out some part of the Spanish fleet the English will grow so bold that they will attempt something of moment, while, even if it does go out, the Spanish ships are quite unable to pursue the English, whose ships are swifter, and themselves far better seamen. The Portuguese, at their wit's end, are going to send an Ambassador to the King to lay their condition before him, and to implore him to apply a remedy to so many ills by deigning to go in person to console those unhappy people who are groaning under this heavy calamity. But for many reasons, and chiefly that he may not be an eye witness of such ruin, it is thought that the King will not go to Portugal, and perhaps they will not even allow the Ambassador to come here.

The King is thinking of building three or four forts in Florida, and he has the plans in his rooms. Battista Antonelli is the engineer.

Madrid, 12th December 1587.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Dec. 15. Original Despatch, Venetian, Archives.

610. GIOVANNI DOLFIN, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Yesterday, in obedience to your Serenity's orders, I found myself with the English Ambassador, who is the same as made proposals to me in 1583 to treaty in the Queen's name about the subject of customs dues. I told him that I had informed your Serenity of the Queen's excellent disposition, and of her desire to open relations once more between the subjects of both powers on terms of equality. The Queen, he replied, believed that the matter could be brought to a conclusion if it were not for the action of interested parties

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who upset all negotiations; and to show her earnestness she would commit the whole affair to us two. I answered that your Serenity had considered this proposal, and never had any other intention than to preserve the equality which was so desirable for both parties; and he said that the Queen promised that Venetians trading in England should, both in respect of dues and of freedom of contract, be in all ways equal to the English. I informed him that on our side the English should also enjoy the same equality in the city of Venice and in the dominions of the Serene Republic from the date to be determined.

The English Ambassador replied that not only was his memory quite fresh upon the subject, but that he was much consoled by the friendly resolution of your Serenity. That he would send a courier to the Queen to inform her fully, being firmly convinced that, though it was some time since her Majesty had made her proposals, she would still be of the same mind, and would not fail to show her good will towards the Republic, and when the answer arrived he would come in person to communicate it to me.

I, wishing to reply to his remark about the delay, took that upon myself as ordered by you, and I added that I was also convinced that the action of interested parties was of great hurt to the negotiation.

When my successor arrives I will consign all letters and papers relating to this affair, and will inform him of the present position of the case so that the negotiations may go forward even though I am no longer there.

Paris, 15th December 1587.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 17. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

611. Giovanni Dolfin, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

M. de L'Aubespine writes from England that the King of Scotland, in great force, had entered England, and was burning the country. I have been to the Ambassadors of Scotland and England to discover the truth. The Scotch Ambassador, though he served the Queen of Scotland for twenty-two years, and desires nothing more than to see her avenged, told me that it is true that L'Aubespine writes thus, but that he himself is in possession of no such news; the English Ambassador asserts positively that the news is false. The English troops sent north by the Queen are destined to strengthen the garrison of Berwick, a town on the borders, where the Queen usually kept two hundred men, but now has two thousand. He added, that though he feared that the King of Scotland was corrupted by Spanish gold as were some of his Ministers, yet up to the 20th of November he had made no move.

As news has come from Portugal to England that the Spanish Armada will delay its departure, Drake also will put off his. The Queen is advised not to send her forces far from home, but to keep them united round the island.

The Duke of Parma has returned to Antwerp.

Paris, 17th December 1587.

[*Italian.*]

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Dec. 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

612. Giovanni Gritti, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

The Duke of Parma is at Dunquerque, where he awaits the arrival of the Marquis of Santa Cruz, and has prepared transports to cross the channel. His plan is, while Drake is occupied with the Marquis, to go to Scotland, and there land.

From Scotland he will attack the Queen of England.

Of two plans of defence, either to oppose a landing or to fight the Armada at sea, the Queen has chosen the second, as she relies on the help of Denmark to give her the superiority. The King of Spain is raising money in Genoa from Spinola, Catanei, and Grimaldi.

Rome, 19th December 1587.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 21. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

613. Giovanni Dolfin, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Scotch Ambassador told me yesterday, when in the procession, that not only was the King of Scotland not in the field against the Queen of England, but that he had set out to chastise four hundred bandits who were harrying the English border.

Paris, 21st December 1587.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 23 Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

614. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

News from Lisbon that several spies of the Queen of England have been seized, and that the Cardinal and the Marquis have learned many things from them. A Portuguese spy was seized as he was embarking for France; on him were found letters from many people in Portugal to Don Antonio, and a letter of credit for six thousand ducats. *In fact, every day reveals great despair and disaffection in the minds of the Portuguese. The cause is either the natural changeableness of the people's temper and their dislike of a foreign sovereign, or else the continual injuries which they suffer from the English corsairs, who have seized so many ships and destroyed, one might almost say, Portuguese commerce. But if the Portuguese complaints are public property the Spanish, on their side, do not fail to show the liveliest indignation, and especially against the Marquis of Santa Cruz, accusing him of being the cause why the Armada has not put out to sea, and thereby producing all the mischief. This is a great grief to all good subjects. But, on the other hand, they are hoping for good news from the Duke of Parma, who has taken the field with his troops.*

Madrid, 23rd December 1587.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

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Jan. 2. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

615. Giovanni Gritti, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

They say that his Holiness will assist the King of Spain with money for the attack on England.

Rome, 2nd January 1587 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 2. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

616. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The Portuguese spy, who was arrested in Lisbon, was on his way to Don Antonio in England. And luck would have it that at the moment of his capture, thinking to throw into the sea the casket with the letters, he threw away by mistake the casket containing money, which he was carrying to Don Antonio, and for his own travelling expenses. From these letters enduring hatred of the King of Spain, on the part of certain Portuguese, was clearly established. Of these Portuguese many, especially certain wealthy merchants, have fled, and their goods have been confiscated to the Crown. The letters invited Don Antonio, on the departure of the Catholic fleet, to come to Portugal with as many troops as he could get together, and promised that the whole kingdom would recognise him as its lawful Sovereign. Most of the letters are anonymous, which induces the belief that many persons of high rank are implicated. This episode has greatly disturbed his Majesty. He sees now that there is no possibility of winning the affection of that people by kindness, and so he returns once more to the idea of quelling them by adding to their burdens, and by placing a garrison of six thousand troops in that kingdom, three thousand Germans, and as many Spanish, and charging their maintenance on the Portuguese.

The Earl of Morton left Lisbon and went to Paris. It is impossible to divine what his errand may be.

They are using all diligence in preparing the Armada, of which I enclose a list. The King is determined that it shall sail, *as he is convinced that there is no other remedy for all these ills except to strike at the head of the Queen.*

The English corsairs are working mischief in the waters of Portugal and Galicia, and allow no ships to pass Cape St. Vincent. It is reckoned that in these last three years they have done damage to the value of upwards of six millions in gold, besides ruining the commerce.

Madrid, 2nd January 1587 [m.v.].

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

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Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

617. The TROOPS at present in LISBON at the last Review.

Neapolitan reserves	1,578
Sicilian reserves	1,410
Recruits from Andalusia	3,319
Nineteen companies of the Flemish Captains	1,601
Nine companies from Biscay	1,641
Nineteen companies from the Portuguese garrisons	1,709
Mercenaries	200
Camp followers	600
	12,058
Sailors	6,000
Soldiers from Seville	5,000
Dead	3,000
Fled	1,000
Sick	1,000

Jan. 8.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

618. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I communicated the news in your Serenity's letter of the 20th November to Don Juan d'Idiaquez. He said that his Majesty would be very glad to know if the Turks still continued in their intention to summon Don Antonio to Constantinople, for he feared that if this negotiation was carried further its real scope would be to disturb the Portuguese Indies, as it was possible that the Queen of England had persuaded the Porte that Don Antonio's presence would cause a rising.

Madrid, 8th January 1587 [m.v.].

[*Italian ; deciphered.*]

Jan. 9.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

619. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

At Lisbon they are arming sixteen ships, to be sent to sea without any destination determined. I, however, know from a sound quarter that the King has ordered the Marquis of Santa Cruz to send two thousand men to the Azores.

Besides the troops to be raised by the Duke of Medina Sidonia in his own States of Andalusia, other cities and States have received orders to furnish a certain number of men each, varying from two hundred to five hundred. The Andalusian troops are to serve on board the squadron of Seville, the others on board the Lisbon fleet.

The commander of the galleys of Spain has orders to hold himself in readiness. The galleys number thirty. Don Alonso de Leyva has been summoned to Court in haste. His Majesty shows that he will not submit to the Queen of England any longer.

His Majesty is spending money, but is also amassing it, and is economising ; the works in his palaces are stopped, and even at the Escurial they are doing little.

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The English corsairs off Cape St. Vincent have left those waters at last. They say the Queen has recalled them.

Madrid, 9th January 1587 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

620. Giovanni Dolfin and Giovanni Mocenigo, Venetian Ambassadors in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Yesterday letters of the 6th arrived from London announcing that the admiral had sailed with a fleet of forty ships; twelve large ships, and the rest of 300 tons. He has gone towards Flanders to oppose any force which the Duke of Parma may set in motion. Drake, too, has embarked, and is going to sail towards Spain, but with orders not to push far, but to cruise off the coast of England. He has instructions, should he hear that the Marquis of Santa Cruz has moved, to advise the Admiral, who will at once send him half his fleet.

Paris, 15th January 1588.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

621. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The King is in bed with the gout. The doctors have bled and purged him.

The King has given orders that the Armada is to be victualled for eight months with provisions for sixteen thousand troops and six thousand sailors. He has called for a detailed account of all that there is, and of all that is wanting. The great preparations which we hear that the Queen of England is making, the massing of her troops, the preparations at the ports, all contribute to arouse alarm, especially as his Majesty is running short of money owing to the great expenses both past and present. He has recently sent to Seville to continue the arrangements for paying the crews and the troops, who are four pays in arrears, in order to help them to face the great sickness which is among them, and is killing many. It seems, then, that what was foreseen in December is actually taking place, and that in spring there will be greater difficulties than ever; all the more so as they fear that peace will be made in France, and that the Queen's fleet will be ready before the Spanish can take the sea, and will be able to inflict some further damage on Spain and Portugal.

The result of this would be to keep the Spanish on the alert, and to prevent the union of their forces with those of the Duke of Parma. Accordingly, for all these reasons, they the more earnestly desire that the accord which the Duke is negotiating with the representatives of England should be brought to a successful issue, though they see that it is very difficult (siche per tutte queste cause desidererariano qui tanto maggiormente, seben lo vedono assai difficile, che il negotio dell' accordo che tratta il predetto Sig Duca con li deputati d' essa Regina si terminasse). The English representatives once more propose, in the name of their mistress, that she

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shall evacuate Holland and Zealand, but on condition that Flushing and two other forts are left in the hands of the King of Denmark for a stated period, as a guarantee for the observation of the accord by both parts, and a pledge that the Queen shall not be molested in her own kingdom by any attack from that port.

The Duke, on the other hand, proposes that these ports should be given to the Emperor, and writes that this is, perhaps, the sole solution of so many difficulties. But it seems that these terms will not be accepted here, and that they are afraid of the usual trickeries of that most cunning woman, and so they are hesitating, and do not know what part to take, whether to embrace war with resolution in spite of its great difficulties, or to bow to humiliating conditions in hopes of concluding an accord. All the same throughout all these grave considerations they do not cease to spend money on preparation for a powerful Armada. A gentleman has arrived here from many of the most important personages in Portugal. His mission is to implore the King to regard with the eye of benignity that people, and to succour them in their great distress and injury which they receive from the pirates, by removing from their shoulders the weight of this great Armada, which is completing the ruin of the country. All this gives great trouble to the King, and for all his self possession he is unable to conceal his chagrin.

The Portuguese spy, who was on his way to Don Antonio, has confessed under torture that several Portuguese were in secret communications with Don Antonio, but those who were afraid of being found out fled, and with the confiscation of their goods matters have quieted down, as his Majesty gave orders that there was to be as little talk as possible about it.

Madrid, 20th January 1587 [m.v.].

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Jan 29. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

622. Giovanni Mocenigo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

A person of importance about the Court has informed me that all the preparations of the Queen of England are merely intended to facilitate the negotiations for peace, to accomplish which three English Commissioners, armed with ample powers, have left London for Flanders. It is well known that the Queen of England is in some apprehension of the power of Spain, and the discords of France which prevent her from counting on the help she might naturally look for.

Paris, 29th January 1588.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 3. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

623. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

Many couriers have arrived during these last days from the Duke of Parma and Don Bernardino de Mendoza with news that Drake has taken the sea with many ships, but, by order of the

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Queen, he is not to sail far from England. The Duke sends urgent appeals, supported by powerful reasons, that the King should not delay to despatch the Lisbon fleet. Don Alonso de Leyva, who has given the same counsel, has now arrived, and steps are being taken to have the Armada out within this month.

Many gentlemen are leaving for Lisbon to serve as volunteers; among others, the Duke of Francavilla, the Prince of Ascoli, and the Marquis of Vigliena.

Don Pietro de Medici has again offered his services, but the King has replied that he wishes to keep him near his person at Court; so, too, Prospero Colonna and Pirro Malvezzi. The King has named a council of war of twelve to assist the Marquis of Santa Cruz, and two chiefs of staff, Francesco da Toledo and Lazzaro Isla. In short, we hear of nothing but the Armada and war. The President of the Revenue tells me the King spends seven hundred thousand ducats a month.

Madrid, 3rd February 1587 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

624. Giovanni Gritti, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

English Commissioners have been sent to the Duke of Parma. Their business can only be the peace between England and Spain from which, in general opinion, his Catholic Majesty is not averse, for it cannot be to his interest to send such large forces out of Spain at so critical a juncture.

Count Olivarez has communicated to me the reply he has received from the Viceroy of Sicily about the galleon *Sumachi*, and the marcilian *Baieta;* from it I gather that the Viceroy has orders to favour the subjects of your Serenity upon all occasions, but as regards the galleon, the flag it was flying, the nature of its crew and of its merchandise, rouse a suspicion that the master had taken the false name *Sumachi*, and that both ship and cargo are English, as, indeed, is the larger part of the crew, the whole, in fact, save eight men.

Rome, 6th February 1587 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

625. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The Count Fuentes has arrived at Lisbon, and is hurrying on the Armada. On board, besides its own artillery, they have embarked twelve heavy siege guns and forty-eight smaller ones, with a double supply of gun carriages and wheels for the field batteries, and six hundred mules. In addition there is a large quantity of iron and wood for the construction of a fort. Orders have been issued to the Princes and great lords of Spain, who live on the borders of Portugal, to hold in readiness as many troops as possible, for the King intends to employ them in garrisoning Portugal when the Armada has sailed. Don Alonso de Leyva is going, in a day or two, to Lisbon. He has inspired the King with great hopes that

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the Queen of England will be unable, either by land or by sea, to offer any resistance to the powerful forces of his Catholic Majesty (*che ha posto in questo Serenissimo Re gran speranza, che la Regina inglese non potrà ne per mare ne per terra contrastar con le potenti forze di Sua Maestà Catholica*); and this opinion Don Alonzo has expressed to me likewise.

But should that rumour, which has recently been circulating, prove true, and the King of Scotland be declared heir to the Crown of England, and should the French pass over into that kingdom, many hold that the aspect of affairs will be changed, or that the difficulties of the enterprise will be greatly increased. Meantime Drake, cruising in the English Channel, prevents the passage of any ships with provisions or merchandise from Germany to Portugal, causing a serious injury to the city of Lisbon, which is now exposed to an excessive dearth of everything.

The Portuguese spy, who was recently arrested, has revealed the names of other supporters of Don Antonio who were in secret communications with him. This has resulted in the arrest of more gentlemen, among others of Don Emanuel de Casta, as well as of another who supplied funds.

Madrid, 6th February 1587 [m.v.].

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Feb. 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

626. Giovanni Mocenigo Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Earl of Morton, who has been for long in Spain, has arrived here. The English Ambassador assures me that the Earl has had frequent conferences with Don Bernardino di Mendoza, both of them studying how to injure the Queen of England; and adds that his mistress dreads danger from Scotland only.

Proceeding to discuss the question of peace with Spain he said that he could not conceive that his mistress desired such a peace on terms of abandoning all she holds on this side of the water, which would be of the greatest service to her enemies.

They say in Flanders that the Duke has prepared lodging for the English Commissioners, but the Ambassador showed me letters from the Queen proving that she wished the conference to take place at Canterbury, and had sent to tell the Duke of her wish.

Paris, 12th February 1588.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 13. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

627. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The King has the gout again, and is very languid and weak; *but what really troubles him more is the dissatisfaction which, as he told a person to whom he confides many of his secrets, oppresses him; for he doubts that the disobedience of some of his Ministers, and the difficulties raised by them to prevent the Armada from sailing last autumn as he fully intended, will have deprived him of a*

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favourable opportunity, and increased in no small degree the obstacles to the accomplishment of his designs, and he is now no longer sure if he can carry them out so easily (dubitando, come so sicuramente che ha detto a persona con chi confida molti suoi secreti, che la inobedientia de alcuni suoi ministri, et gli impedimenti posti da loro, perche non s' uscisse armata quest' autunno passato, come era sua rissoluta intentione, le habbino levato gran comodità, et accresciute non poco gli impedimenti per effetuare il suo pensiero, onde non sa se lo potrà hora cosi facilmente esseguire). From this we conclude that now that the Duke of Parma's attempt to become possessed of Flushing has been discovered, which is a cause of great annoyance here, the Queen will be warned to be on the look out for other similar attempts, and will provide for the safety of her kingdom by changing her officers and garrisons, thereby rendering every enterprise more difficult. Add to this that just at the critical moment of greatest need, the Marquis of Santa Cruz is in bed with spotted fever, and in great danger of his life or of a long illness; though after purging and bleeding him thrice in eleven days the doctors now have some hope of saving him. Assuredly, if the Armada at this juncture is deprived of so valorous and fortunate a captain, it will be to the King's great disservice. Besides all this, owing to the heavy and continual expenses, the Ministers are beginning to find themselves short of money (da che si fa giudicio, che come sono state scoperte le pratiche che teneva il Duca di Parma per haver la terra di Flesselinghen in Zelanda . . . il che qui per ogni rispetto sarà sentito con molto dispiacere, che cosi la Regina da questo esempio fatta novamente accorta d' altri trattati, habbia a più modi a procedere alla sicurezza del suo Regno, cambiando anche Capitani et altre guardie, et rendendo sempre piu difficile ogni impresa; si aggionge a questo che nella più urgente necessità et nel maggior bisogno, il Marchese Santa Croce si attrova nel letto con le pettecchie, non senza gran pericolo della vita o di lunga infirmità, tuttoche dopo haverlo purgato et essergli cavato sangue tre volte in XI. giorni fossero entrati li medici in qualche speranza di salute, et per certo che se si ritrovasse quest' armata in occasione di tanta importantia senza cosi valoroso et fortunato Capitano sarebbe con nolto diservitio di questo Serenissimo Re oltre tutte queste cose poi per le gran spese fatte et che si vano facendo ogni giorno . . . incomminciano già questi a trovarsi molto esausti de denari).

All the same, in the midst of so many difficulties his Majesty shows no signs of changing his first resolution; indeed, one of his most intimate courtiers had occasion to say that he would never have expected to see such prudence, judgment, knowledge, and intelligence as his Majesty displays in this business. He urges forward the preparations so that the Armada may take the sea as soon as possible, for he believes that by rapid action it is still possible to remedy the mischief caused by previous delays, or, perhaps, he hopes that the sailing of the fleet will greatly facilitate the conclusion of an honourable treaty.

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His Majesty is collecting money from every quarter for Italy and Flanders with intention to pay his debts out of the subsidies which he means to ask from the Bishops in this cause of God and the State, as he calls it. He has begun with the Cardinal of Toledo, from whom he has asked one hundred thousand crowns. He has given orders to augment the Lisbon squadron. News comes from Lisbon that Fuentes is using all diligence, and had attacked the commissariat and the artillery because they were not prompt in their preparations. The munitions being on board they have begun to take in water, although it is thought that the Armada cannot sail before the middle of next month.

Don Alonzo de Leyva has refused the post of Adjutant-General to which Don Francesco di Bobadilla has been appointed.

The King's oldest and most intimate servant, Santoias, is dead, which has greatly grieved his Majesty. Count Marigliani, also, is at the point of death; Count Trivulzio and Prospero Colonna are both ill.

Evil persons having spread a rumour that the *stigmata* of the Holy Nun are spurious, the General of her order has made a new examination with many tests, and sent the result to his Majesty. They find that beyond all doubt the *stigmata* are genuine and miraculous. Fra Liugi di Granada has written a book describing her divine operations.

Madrid, 13th February 1587 [m.v.].

Postscript.—When I had written the above a courier arrived from Lisbon with news of the death of the Marquis of Santa Cruz, which will upset the plans for the sailing of the Armada. They say that the King will give the post of commander-in-chief to the Duke of Medina Sidonia, a prince of many parts, in spite of his want of experience at sea (*scritte queste, è venuto corriero di Lisbona con la morte del Marchese Santa Croce; che sarà di gran disturbo all' espeditione dell' Armata. Dicesi che sua Maestà darà quel carico di Generale al Duca di Medina Sidonia, Principe di varie qualità, se ben non ha navicato*).

Poor Count Marigliani, to the grief of all the Court, has ceased to live. His Majesty has lost a good and useful Minister, and your Serenity a devoted servant.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Feb. 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

628. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

When the King heard of the death of the Marquis of Santa Cruz he said that God had shown him a favour by removing the Marquis now rather than when the Armada was out at sea. Three days later his Majesty sent a courier to the Duke of Medina Sidonia at San Lucar, to tell him that he had received the office of commander-in-chief on the sea, and of the Lisbon fleet; the King declared his full confidence in the Duke's loyalty and valour, and

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only desired that he should act harmoniously with the Duke of Parma. The Duke's answer is expected to be in conformity to the King's will.

This nobleman is the first Grandee of Spain; he has excellent qualities, and is generally beloved. He is not only prudent and brave, but of a nature of extreme goodness and benignity. He will be followed by many nobles, and by all Andalusia. Only one might desire in him a wider experience of the sea, but all other possible appointments presented greater difficulties.

The King has conferred on Fuentes the Marquis's other post of General of the kingdom of Portugal, and on Don Alonzo de Leyva the post of Fuentes, general of the light horse of Milan; but this is not to prevent him from sailing with the fleet. Don Alonzo de Basan, brother of Santa Cruz, has been named captain of the twelve Portuguese galleys, although at present there are not more than eight.

It is thought that the Armada will be delayed longer than they say, especially now with this change of officers. It seems that the King will try to find out what the Duke of Parma can effect by way of an accord, which it appears that the English representatives have orders to conclude on any terms; and if that were true all might still be arranged by the free surrender of Holland and Zealand.

The King has written to the Bishops and Prelates of Spain to offer prayers for the success of the Armada.

The King is entirely given up to this affair. They say here that two women are giving him a great deal of trouble; one is his daughter, whom he dearly loves, but sees grave difficulties in the way of getting her married; the other, whom he mortally hates, is the Queen of England, from whom he receives daily injuries inflicted with base ingratitude, for he freed her from prison when he was in England.

There is much sickness, and many are dying, especially among the nobles.

Madrid, 19th February 1587 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

629. I did not write to your Excellency by the express which conveyed the news of the death of the Marquis, because I was holding him in my arms up to the moment when he breathed his last. I will only say now that I frequently heard him sigh and complain that the attacks made upon him at Court were sending him to his grave. It is indeed a death to be deeply lamented for many reasons, and perhaps as time goes on the loss will be seen to be even greater than it looks.

After the Marquis's death little has been done to the Armada, partly because of that, partly owing to the continual rain.

Lisbon, 13th February 1588.

(Signature obliterated.)

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Feb. 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

630. Giovanni Gritti, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

News from Flanders that the English Commissioners have arrived, and that there is great hope of peace.

Rome, 20th February 1587 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

631. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The King having given orders to his Commissioners to lay an embargo on all shipping with a view to augmenting the Armada, they have considered themselves entitled to seize Venetian ships. The masters of the "*Regazzona*" and the "*Labia*" were informed that the King required those vessels. The Commissioners reported that these ships were the finest, the best armed and manned of all that lay in Lisbon, and that on no account should his Majesty let them go. I made representations to the King, to Don Juan d'Idiaquez, to Don Christoforo de Mora.

Madrid, 23rd February 1587 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

632. Giovanni Moro, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

Ibrahim Pasha desired that the Ambassadors of France, England, Venice, and Ragusa should each present him with an awning for the poop of his galley, and threatened, if they refused, to induce the Sultan to issue an order compelling them to do so.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 23rd February 1587 [m.v.].

[*Italian ; deciphered.*]

Feb. 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

633. Giovanni Mocenigo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Spanish troops which were on the borders of France have retired for want of provisions. The Duke of Parma is inactive, and they say he earnestly desires to effect a peace with the Queen of England. But it is not likely that this will be accomplished, both on account of the Queen's hatred of Spain and because Holland and Zealand will not listen to it on any terms. If peace were made then it is likely that the Spanish would make fresh and vigorous representations on the subject of Cambray. The Secretary to the French Ambassador in England has been sent back there with all speed. His mission is unknown, but they conjecture that it is connected with the question of peace between England and Spain.

Paris, 26th February 1588.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 29. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

634. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The King has at last caused me to be informed that notwithstanding the great need for big ships of the build of those two Venetians which are lying at Lisbon, he has ordered his Commis-

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sioners, if they think it will not be of too grave a disservice to himself, to release the ships at once, and that under no circumstances are the "*Ruzzina*" and "*Moresina*," which are expected in Lisbon, to be detained. The other two, if not released, are to be especially favoured and discharged before any others.

Don Juan d'Idiaquez has told me that the King is very sorry that he cannot release the ships entirely, but the continued information that the Queen of England is preparing a most powerful fleet, compels the King to take all possible measures to be a match for her. And as for the sugar which is on board the "*Regazzona*" and the "*Labia*," he promises the use of hulks on which to transfer it. The Commissioners have represented that the Venetian ships are so powerful that they can give battle to ten or twelve Englishmen, and so I fear the King will not let them go.

The Duke of Medina Sidonia has written to say that he thanks the King for his favours, and will obey his orders. He begs leave to come to Court. Answer was sent that he should not think of it, but if he wished to give full satisfaction he would go straight to Lisbon, where the necessary orders would await him. This because the Armada is suffering for want of a general, and because sickness has again broken out, especially among the sailors, of whom many die daily of spotted fever. Thirty English ships are off Cape S. Vincent, and are making themselves felt in the mischief they are doing.

Madrid, 29th February 1587 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

March 5. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

635. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The Duke of Medina Sidonia left Seville for Lisbon on the first of this month, but it is thought that the Armada will not sail till April; for, owing to disease on board, many sailors have died, and a great storm of the last few days has caused the loss of many anchors and the destruction of many cables, and that implies refitting; moreover, they have little confidence in sending the fleet out in the month of March, which is usually so windy; and, finally, they would be glad to increase the numbers of the fleet. An express has arrived from Flanders with the news that hopes of an agreement with England are dying out; while the Queen, who is convinced that time is of the highest importance to her, is trying to keep negotiations alive, but without any intention of coming to a conclusion. *She continues to increase her fleet, and also does all she can to soothe the King of Scotland. She makes as much mischief as possible in France with the German heretics, and in Constantinople where she is endeavouring to secure the despatch of a fleet at her own charges. They say now, though it is not credited, that Don Antonio is gone to Constantinople, being escorted as far as Gibraltar by thirty English ships.*

Madrid, 5th March 1588.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

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March 6.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

636. GIOVANNI GRITTI, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

His Holiness told me he had two posts from Spain. That of the 10th announced that the Marquis of Santa Cruz was very ill; that of the 14th, that he was dead. The cause of death was disgust at two orders issued by the King; first, that Don Pedro de Fuentes of the house of Toledo was to sail with the Marquis; the other, that the Marquis was to obey the Duke of Parma.

Rome, 6th March 1588.

[*Italian.*]

March 11.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

637. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The house of Guise is pledged to the King of Spain; it will be difficult for them to take any steps to secure peace in France, for that would cause the Spaniards to believe that this was opening the road to help the English. Indeed, at this juncture above all others, every accommodation which would lead to a suspension of arms will be rejected.

Paris, 11th March 1588.

[*Italian.*]

March 11.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

638. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Queen of England, who would now be glad to see what she formerly could not endure, the kingdom of France not only at peace but restored to its pristine grandeur, and especially on account of the threatened attack from Spain, sent her Ambassador some days ago to the King to offer her mediation and assistance in inducing Navarre to come to terms. The King thanked the Ambassador, and replied that he would be truly grateful if the Queen would use her influence to induce Navarre to become a Catholic, for the peace of the kingdom and its power too, depended upon this; that he was well aware how spirited was Navarre's temper, and how sound his judgment; but it was sometimes advisable to listen to a good and faithful councillor.

The Ambassador replied that he would communicate his Majesty's remarks to England; but he did not see how the Queen, who was of the same religion as Navarre, could advise him to abandon a faith which she, above all others, professed. The Queen would, without descending to particulars, give Navarre advice to guide his conduct by sound rules of State · appealing to his interest, without raising the question of creed. The Ambassador added, "Were I at the Court of Navarre I would recommend this course; but were I your Majesty's servant I would not advise you to attempt or to desire to make Navarre become a Catholic; for in course of time he would cause the same difficulty as the League has caused." And this is the opinion of many statesmen here that the two parties

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should be held in balance against one another, and that thus the King, being neutral, can more easily rule.

Paris, 11th March 1588.

[*Italian.*]

March 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

639. Giovanni Mocenigo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Letters of the 19th February, from England, announce the arrival of five Commissioners at Dover. They are merely waiting for good weather to cross over to Flanders to the Duke of Parma. Among them are the Earl of Derby and Lord Cobham, Governor of the Cinque Ports. On the side of Parma will be the Count d'Aremberg, and M. de Champigny, brother of the Cardinal de Granvelle. The congress will take place at Bourbourg, three leagues from Calais.

The same letters announce the arrival in London of an Ambassador from Denmark, commissioned to inform the Queen that the King is anxious to marry one of his daughters to the King of Scotland, and to beg the Queen to arrange the marriage. The Scotch Ambassador has informed the Queen of England that his master wishes to remain on friendly terms with her. The Queen accordingly has sent to Scotland M. Robert (Robert Carey), the same person whom the King refused to admit just after the Queen of Scotland's death.

Two Commissioners from Holland have arrived; they have declared that their country will accept no condition of peace with Spain unless liberty of conscience be permitted to them, their ancient privileges maintained, all foreign troops removed, and all offices of state entrusted to the hands of the citizens. That otherwise they will prove all extremities, and even death, rather than submit to slavery, which is the worst of all evils; that they will embrace peace only when it brings them freedom and tranquility.

Paris, 11th March 1588.

[*Italian.*]

March 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

640. Giovanni Gritti, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

His Holiness asked if I had any news from Constantinople; I replied, "No." His Holiness then said, "We hear that the Turk is preparing a great fleet, and that the Queen of England is urging him to send it out; for this she promises him three hundred thousand ducats." He added, "She is a great woman; and were she only Catholic she would be without her match, and we would esteem her highly. She omits nothing in the government of her kingdom; and is now endeavouring, by way of Constantinople, to divert the King of Spain from his enterprise."

"The King has prepared his Armada, it is true; but he is so slow in resolution that we have no idea when he will carry his project into effect, nor do we see what he can do, for the Queen has one hundred and forty ships on the sea; she is supported by Denmark and Saxony; she is fortified, and has had every opportunity to fortify. The King, on the contrary has lost twenty thousand men

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(who went to protect the fleet), partly through want, partly through bad government. We do not know what will be the issue. His Majesty has God's justice and pity on his side; God's justice for he is defending God's cause; God's pity, for it is to be held that God will extend his pity to the many poor Christians who are in the kingdom of England, and will not leave them a prey to that woman" (*disse, questa è una gran Donna, e se fusse Catholica saria una cosa senza exempio; et noi la stimaressimo molto. Essa non manca in alcuna cosa al governo del suo Regno, et hora vuole per divertir il Re di Spagna dalla sua impresa tentar questa via di Constantinopoli, et fa ogni forzo. Il Re di Spagna ha preparato questa sua Armata ma sta tanto sul consigliar che non sapemo quando esseguirà, ne vedemo quel che esso possa fare; perche la Regina ha 140 navi sui mari, ha auiti di Danimarca et di Sassonia grandissimi; si è fortificata et ha havuto ogni commodità di farlo. Il Re all' incontro ha perduto* $\frac{m}{20}$ *et piu di sui soldati che andarono ad assicurar la flotta; i quali son morti parte da bisogno et parte da mal governo. Non sapemo quello che sarà. Il Re ha et la guistitia et la misericordia di Dio da canto suo, la guistitia è per il' Re perche difende la causa di Dio et della Religione; ha poi anco la misericordia, perche a tanti poveri x̃piani che sono in quel Regno è pur da creder che Dio sia per haver misericordia et non sia per lasciarli in preda di questa Donna*).

In this strain his Holiness spoke at length to me.

Rome, 12th March 1588.

[*Italian.*]

March 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

641. Giovanni Gritti, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

Yesterday the Pope made a gentle remonstrance to the French Ambassador, saying that he understood that six thousand Frenchmen were going to the assistance of the English; and that D'Aumale was arming to bar their passage through Picardy. The Ambassador denied the news, and complained that it should be either written or believed.

Rome, 19th March 1588.

[*Italian.*]

March 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

642. Giovanni Gritti, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

The Pope said he had news from Spain that the Armada was ready. But the English, too, are ready. "She certainly is a great Queen," he said, "and were she only a Catholic she would be our dearly beloved. Just look how well she governs; she is only a woman, only mistress of half an island, and yet she makes herself feared by Spain, by France, by the Empire, by all. She enriches her kingdom by Spanish booty, besides depriving Spain of Holland and Zealand" (*certo che questa è una gran Regina; vorressimo*

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solamente che essa fusse cattolica perche saria la nostra diletissima; vedete come si governa bene; è donna et non è patrona se non di meza Isola et si fa temer da Spagna, da Franza et dall' Imperator et da tutti; et ha arrichito il suo Regno delle prede tolte a Spagnoli, oltra il tenerli l' Olanda et Zelanda). His Holiness said that the Queen's Commissioners had sent some horses to the Duke of Parma as a present, and that no conference had taken place as yet. He went on with pleasure to dwell on the praises and the valour of the Queen.

Rome, 19th March 1588.

[*Italian.*]

March 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

643. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

His Majesty has had news from Prince Doria that the Turkish fleet will certainly take the sea at the instance of the Queen of England, whose Ambassador at the Porte has recently presented to the Grand Vizir a memorial full of abuse of the Pope and the King of Spain (che sarebbe uscita al sicuro Armata turchesca ad instantia della Regina d' Inghilterra, l' Ambasciatore della quale residente a quella porta haveva presentato ultimamente al primo Bassà un memoriale molto maledico et insolente contra il Papa et questo Rè).

The Duke of Medina Sidonia has reached Lisbon, and has hurried on the Armada. At a general review the soldiers numbered 12,810; the sailors, 1,730; not counting the volunteers, who are numerous. The large ships were 120, and there were many others, small ones; besides the ships and men in Seville as I wrote. The date of the sailing of the fleet is not settled yet. They are waiting further news from the Duke of Parma on the subject of the accord with England. The expectancy is great, for the latest news was that the Queen's representatives had begun to show a reasonable disposition; but there are no particulars, except that the Queen would leave Holland and Zealand in the hands of their own peoples, and that if the clause about religion can be accommodated the whole accord may quite possibly be effected.

The King wishes to send out the India fleet in August, so that commerce may not suffer through its being withheld.

Captain Juan de Tasseda has been sent to raise men in Biscay, and to attend to the movements in Aragon, which are now quieting down, *though the governor reports that Navarre is doing all he can to foment them.*

Madrid, 22nd March 1588.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

March 25. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

644. Giovanni Mocenigo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Your Serenity will have heard of the death of the Prince of Condé by poison, people say. There is a diversity of opinion as to the author of the deed; but common opinion thinks it was his wife,

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to save herself from some misfortune; others say his enemies the Catholics.

After the English Commissioners crossed over to Flanders nothing more has been heard of their negotiations; but it would seem that the people of Holland have made to the Queen the same declaration as they made to her Council, that they cannot trust the faith of Spain, and that they will accept no terms she may conclude with that country.

It seems that the King of Scotland, with a view to the English crown, is determined to remain a Calvinist.

Paris, 25th March 1588.

[*Italian.*]

March 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

645. Giovanni Gritti, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

The Prince of Condé died after three days' illness. As he inherited his father's heresies, and increased the relations with England, his death is an advantage to the Catholic religion. News from Spain that the Armada will not sail till the end of March. The reason being that the success of the enterprise depends on the junction of the forces of Medina Sidonia with those of the Duke of Parma; and every care has to be taken to effect this junction in safety. The Queen, on the other hand, will do all she can to fight each force separately.

Rome, 26th March 1588.

[*Italian.*]

March 29. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

646. Marc' Antonio Tornimbene, Secretary to the Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the Doge and Senate.

The Duke d'Aerschot (Ariscot) has left Court. He will return to Flanders, which he hopes to find at peace; for he has letters from his son in Antwerp saying that he and M. de Champigny are going to meet the Commissioners of the Queen of England, who have arrived with a suite of four hundred horsemen and many servants, richly dressed. They are to settle a place for the conference with the Duke of Parma upon the question of peace between England and Spain. As the King has already agreed to the principal clauses it is hoped that the treaty will be concluded.

Prague, 29th March 1588.

[*Italian.*]

April 2. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

647. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

News from Sicily confirming that sent by Prince Doria *that the Turkish fleet will take the sea. But as rumour varies they do not give implicit credence to any news save that which I furnish by command of your Serenity.*

The Viceroy of Sicily endeavours to convince the Council that the ship "Sumachi" is English, and carries an English cargo and crew; he insists upon leave to divide the prize. The King has

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applied to the various orders for a large number of preaching friars to sail with the Armada. He has also appointed as lieutenant to the Duke of Medina Sidonia, Don Martin de Recalde, who is considered a good soldier and sailor. The King has sent orders that the fleet is to be ready to sail on the 18th, Palm Sunday. But those who are best informed think that it cannot sail till after Easter, as they are still waiting news of the negotiations with those new English agents. Hopes in that quarter are a little higher as the Queen has dismissed all the German shipping she had retained to the number of forty vessels. Some of these with cargoes of grain and cordage have reached Lisbon, and bring news that an accord will likely be concluded as the Queen really desires it, and so do the people of Holland and Zealand. We shall soon know for certain.

Madrid, 2nd April 1588.

[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*]

April 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

648. Giovanni Mocenigo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The delay of the Spaniards, the sickness in their fleet, the death of Santa Cruz, have all encouraged the English and given them the opportunity to make many necessary preparations for the defence of their country which rapidity on the part of Spain might have hindered.

The representatives of Holland have left England quite content and consoled by the promise of the Queen that she will consent to no articles of peace, by which they shall be obliged to change their religion, or to abandon their arms or their offices of State.

News from Flanders shows that the Commissioners there have not met yet, on account of the English ; who continue to ask for delays. They are carefully watching the movements of the Spanish, and by them the Queen will shape her policy, as she is accustomed to do, being guided in all things by considerations of State.

The Queen has one hundred and twenty ships afloat, besides the tenders. Of these twenty-five are her own ships, armed and found to perfection. The whole is under the command of the admiral, assisted by Francis Drake. The captains of each ship are princes and great nobles of the kingdom, who strive with one another for the posts.

This fleet is cruising in the English Channel, and making reaches to the shores of Scotland on account of that suspicion which is ever a trusty ally in all great movements. For though the Queen, for many reasons, can now rest confident in the King of Scotland, still she always bears in her breast the conviction that the first designs of Spain had their origin and foundation in the hope which they indulged that the King would open to them the road into her kingdom (*per quel sospetto che è sempre fidato compagno in tutti i maneggi delle cose grandi ; perchè se bene la Regina per molte cause si può assicurar di quel Re, tiene però appresso il core che i primi disegni de Spagnoli hanno havuto origine et fondamento per la*

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speranza che havevano che il Re di Scotia dovesse aprirli la strada nel suo regno).

The intention of the English is, in the event of the accord in Flanders falling through, as is now fully expected, to attack the Spanish Armada should it attempt the kingdom of England. But although one hears of great preparations, yet it is generally held that the King of Spain will not undertake so vast an enterprise; and that, although most justly angered, he will not, from desire of vengeance, entrust to the issue of a doubtful battle, the quiet and freedom of so many of his states and kingdoms. For he very well knows how much consideration ought to be paid to such a fleet as the English fleet, both on account of its size, and also because the English are men of another mettle from the Spaniards, and enjoy the reputation of being, above all the Western nations, expert and active in all naval operations, and great sea dogs (*viene communemente creduto che il Re di Spagna non intraprenderà cosi grande impresa, et che se bene quella Maestà è guistamente provocato, giudicasi che non vorrà per desiderio di vendetta metter a rischio d' una battaglia dubbia et incerta la quieta et libertà de molti suoi stati et Regni; sapendosi bene quanto si dovesse stimar un' armata simile per il numero de vasselli et per essere gl' Inglesi huomini d' altra prestantia che li Spagnoli tenendo loro il nome sopra tutti gli altri di Ponente d' essere assueti et industriosi a tutti i fatti di marina et sopra il mare grandissimi guerrieri*).

I am told that the English fleet will cruise in these waters, and will wait to see what the Spaniards do; seizing any favourable opportunity to give battle; and it is most likely that, fighting as they are for their country, their faith, their children, they will carry themselves with all their wonted pertinacity, as indeed they declare that they intend to do. In that case the issue will be as it may seem good to God. The survivors, however, will be so scanty that there is no prospect of the enemy being able to approach the English coast, which is fully prepared for any eventuality. While, if the English are successful, there is no doubt but that the Queen will acquire such fame and glory that the fruits of the victory will continue to appear greater and greater as time goes on (*la battaglia, nella quale è ben credibile che combattando per la patria, per la fede, per li figlinoli, habbino ad adoperarsi con tanta pertinatia, con la quale sono sempre soliti, et come si lasciano publicamente intendere di fare, che in tal evento succiedi quello, che a Dio piace, le reliquie però saranno sempre tanto poche che non sono per temere che li suoi inimici si possino aviccinare alli liti d' Inghilterra, ben proveduta ad ogni evento di mala fortuna; che se fusse a loro propitia non v' è alcun dubbio che la Regina si tirerebbe dietro tanta riputatione, et gloria che il frutto della vittoria appareria con il tempo sempre maggiore*).

The wife of Condè is under strict guard on account of the many suspicious circumstances which weigh against her, and because of the general indignation which France feels at this introduction of poison. A weapon so detested that no violence would be considered so treacherous or more worthy of punishment.

Paris, 8th April 1588.

[*Italian.*]

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April 12. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

649. Vincenzo Gradenigo, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the Doge and Senate.

Utrecht has openly declared its allegiance to England; they fear that Holland will follow suit. The English Commissioners are still at Ostend. The articles of the treaty which they propose are one hundred and thirty-five in number; and this leads the Duke of Parma to think that nothing in earnest is intended; and that the object of the mission is to delay the sailing of the Armada.

Prague, 12th April 1588.

[*Italian.*]

April 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

650. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The Duke of Medina Sidonia is pushing on the preparations for his departure, which his Majesty has ordered for the 25th of this month, Saint Mark's day, if the weather is fine. The whole Armada is to concentrate at Corunna, a port in Galicia, where it will take in many supplies, and make dispositions in accordance with sealed orders, which will be sent from the King. Corunna is considered the most suitable port of departure. Of all this I will give you information as soon as possible.

Madrid, 15th April 1588.

[*Italian.*]

April 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

651. Giovanni Gritti, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

The news that the Turkish fleet will come out this year, are confirmed from all quarters. It is said that the Queen of England has sent five hundred thousand crowns to Constantinople.

Rome, 16th April 1588.

[*Italian.*]

April 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

652. Giovanni Mocenigo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Letters from England announce that the Queen has arrested Don Antonio, who was attempting to reach the coast in order to escape. Owing to a Catholic rising the King of Scotland has asked the Queen of England for help and she has prepared ships and troops for his service.

Paris, 22nd April 1588.

[*Italian.*]

April 30. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

653. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

Day by day we are expecting news that the Armada has sailed. It has drawn down the river to Belem at the mouth of the port, three miles from Lisbon. The blessing of the standard was performed with great pomp and many salvoes of artillery. On board the Armada and the galleons of Andalusia, which have arrived, are

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sixteen thousand soldiers, excluding volunteers and seamen; and in short, they say that it is one of the most powerful fleets that one could see, and excellently equipped. All the same the Ministers here confess that it would have been better to have brought from Flanders some of the Duke of Parma's troops, and thus to have rendered a junction with the Duke less dangerous and difficult. (*Tuttavia confessano questi Sig^ri Ministri che era meglio far venir in Portugallo parte di quella gente che si sono mandate in Fiandra, per che la unione col Duca di Parma sarebbe stata meno difficile et meno pericolosa.*)

And in that case there would have been no fear that the Queen would have dreamed of fighting, much less dared to, as they say she does now; for her fleet is in the English Channel, and her agents in Flanders, who are negotiating an accord show how little they have it at heart by the impertinent conditions which they propose.

Here in all the churches they make constant prayers; and the King himself is on his knees two or three hours every day before the Sacrament. Everyone hopes that the greater the difficulties, humanly speaking, the greater will be the favour of God.

Madrid, 30th April 1588.

[*Italian.*]

May 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

654. Giovanni Moro, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

The English Ambassador has been informed of a rumour current in Rome to the effect that he has given information to the Grand Signor concerning the position of all Italian Princes, suggesting the way in which they might be attacked, and urging the Turk to do so. His Excellency has complained most bitterly to me of this rumour, and has sworn that it is utterly false, and that such a thing was never dreamed of by him. He has begged me to testify to your Serenity that he never entertained such a thought; but that had he ever heard of any hostile designs against the Republic he would never have had peace of mind till he had informed me. I promised to fulfil his wishes, but he sent me the enclosed letter as well; from it your Serenity will gather how much he is hurt, and will give me such orders as you may think fit; I am convinced that at the moment of my reply to him he will prefer a request.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 4th May 1588.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

655. Most Illustrious and Honoured Lord,

I have explained to your Lordship, by word of mouth, the great pain I feel at the false calumny which has been invented against me in Italy. As your Lordship expressed your intention of writing something on the subject, being well aware that the rumour contains not one grain of truth, I beg to repeat in this letter what has been written to me.

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A rumour was spread in Rome that I, as Ambassador of the Queen of England, had not only clearly informed the Grand Signor on the subject of the forces, riches, and management of all the States of Italian secular Princes, but that I had encouraged him, and pointed out the way to render these States subject to his Empire. And, further, that for this purpose the Queen had sent me three hundred thousand crowns in gold to encourage this design.

I have already sworn that these charges are false. I now repeat my oath, and again swear that my mistress, and far less I, has never entertained such an idea.

My mistress is on friendly terms with nearly all those Princes. This is a diabolical invention, started by some malignant spirit to sow discord.

I have never been in any part of Italy in my life; and English merchants continue to trade in Venice, Leghorn, and other cities; both of these facts demonstrate the falsity of the rumour.

I beg your Lordship, for our friendship's sake, and also for the truth's sake, to make this understood whenever it may appear necessary; so that no faith may be lent to the malicious rumours spread by these evil tongues.

I commend me much to your grace; may the Lord God have you ever in His keeping.

From my house, 20th April 1588.

Your Lordship's most affectionate confrere,

WILLIAM HARBORN,
English Ambassador.

[*Italian.*]

May 5. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

656. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Armada has not sailed yet for various reasons, and chiefly on account of the bad weather; but it is on the point of doing so, and its sails are unfurled. I enclose a note of the ships, sailors, and troops which compose the force.

The Duke of Medina Sidonia embarked on St. Mark's Day with salvoes of artillery. He was accompanied on board by the Cardinal Archduke and Legate, who insisted on the Duke walking at his right hand. The standard has on one side the crucifix with the motto "*Exurge Domine et judica causam tuam*"; on the other side is a painting of the Madonna with the legend, "*Monstra te esse Matrem.*"

Here the universal processions are continued, and great is the concourse. The processions are held on holy days, so that more people may be able to attend; and those in waiting on his Majesty declare that he rises in the night to pray God to grant him a happy issue out of this struggle.

I have your Serenity's letters, *and the despatches from the Levant, which I communicated as usual. I understand that if the Turkish*

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fleet takes the sea, Andrea Doria is to concentrate his squadron and protect his Majesty's dominions from attack.

Madrid, 5th May 1588.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

657. LIST of the TROOPS on board the ARMADA of HIS MAJESTY at the REVIEW of April 19th, 1588; also of the CAVALRY, the VOLUNTEERS, the DEPENDANTS, and SERVANTS who were present.

	Companies.	Officers and Men.
The Neapolitan Reserves, under Don Alonso Luzon	26	2,844
The Seville Reserves, under Don Diego Pimentel	26	2,491
The Reserves of Don Fernando de Toledo	26	2,623
„ Don Agostin Mexia	26	2,668
„ Nicolas de Isla	26	2,378
Free Companies	4	341
Retainers	—	206
Servants	—	83
Volunteer Cavalry	—	108
Servants	—	200
The Seville fleet has	—	3,000
Total	134	16,942

	Ships.	Crews.
The "St. Martin" and the "St. John," seven galleons; two zabras.	11	1,207
Ten ships and four transports, under Juan Ninez de Recalde.	14	868
Ships under Miguel de Oquendo	14	616
„ Pedro de Valdes	11	708
„ Mindo Bertendena	11	943
„ Juan Gomez de Medina	27	485
„ Don Antonio Hurtado de Mendoza	22	674
„ Don Hugo de Moncada	4	468
Total	114	5,941
The Andalusian fleet	131	6,541

[*Spanish.*]

May 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

658. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Queen of England, employing all means to strengthen her position, has proposed to the King that he should attack the League, both because she personally desires to see the house of Guise repressed on account of the affair of the Queen of Scotland, and also because she hopes in that case to divert the forces of Spain to the protection of the Guise, for she is convinced that if the King of

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France declared against them they would throw themselves into the arms of Spain, who would be obliged to support them. (*Procurando la Regina d' Inghilterra di tentar tutti quei mezzi con li quali potesse assicurar meglio le cose sue, fa metter partiti inanti el Re per interessarlo contra quei della Lega, cosi per la particolar volontà che ha di veder abbassata la casa di Ghisa, della quale per li rispetti della Regina di Scotia, si trova mal satisfatta, come perche crederia in tal evento obligar le forze di Spagna alla protettione di questi Sig^ri^, molto ben sicura che quando il Re se le voltasse contra assolutamente si metterebbono nelle braccia de Spagnoli et sarebbono essi astretti a prender la loro protectione.*)

With this object in view her Ambassador went to the King, and said, first, that the Queen had always had the welfare of his Majesty and of his kingdom so much at heart that without being invited she had tried to help him. She had brought the German horse into France last year, and caused them to campaign in Lorraine, as being the best way of punishing the Guise. That she still desired to give all those signs of real affection, her life, her money, her council, and her arms; but, being a woman, she was unable personally to serve his Majesty, though all else she offered him, and begged him to enter into an offensive and defensive alliance with her. The Ambassador added that the Queen begged his Majesty to take the advice of Venice on this point.

The Ambassador then presented the whole matter in writing. The King thanked the Queen, and replied that the greatest service she could do him was to persuade Navarre to abandon his obstinate attitude, and to become a Catholic; a consummation which he desired as much as he despair of.

As a matter of fact the King is full of zeal for the Catholic faith, but the way in which he is treated by the Guise and their power at Rome exasperate him.

Paris, 6th May 1588.

[*Italian.*]

May 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

659. Giovanni Mocenigo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The English and Flemish Commissioners have met in the country four leagues from Ostend. They simply resolved to meet again in a few days at Ghent. The English are awaiting fresh orders from the Queen.

Paris, 6th May 1588.

[*Italian.*]

May 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

660. Giovanni Gritti, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

The hopes of a peace with England are growing, all the more so as people say that under any circumstances the success of the enterprise against England must be very doubtful. The Queen is resolute to fight. If she loses a battle the Spanish will still have suffered so much that they will not be able to effect a landing; if she wins

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(which God avert) then clearly the enterprise must be abandoned, and the kingdom of Portugal will be endangered.

Rome, 7th May 1588.

[*Italian.*]

May 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

661. Giovanni Mocenigo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The orders for which the English Commissioners in Flanders were waiting consisted in a prohibition to treat with the Duke of Parma unless he showed them his credentials, as they suspect that his powers are not full.

Paris, 8th May 1588.

[*Italian.*]

May 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

662. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

As the King's courier to Prince Doria has not left yet I can add these few lines. So far we have from Lisbon no news that the Armada has sailed. The weather is truly atrocious. Meantime the Duke of Medina's orders to be addressed to the fleet have come into my hands, and I think it as well to send them to your Excellencies in order that you may see how pious is the mind of his Majesty, who, without doubt, inspired these orders; and also because, to a large extent, they set forth the scope and the route of the expedition.

The King has sent messengers to all the cities and districts of the kingdom, requesting the Bishops and Prelates to offer up public and private prayers for the success of the enterprise.

The Duke of Parma, by repeated messengers, urges the departure of the Armada (*il Duca di Parma sollecita con frequenti corrieri la partita dell' Armada*). The Duke has also sent bills of exchange for a million two hundred thousand crowns, on which the King will have to pay twenty-two per cent. in less than three months. His Majesty has raised other loans here, but with great difficulty, and at a high interest; for private individuals are unwilling to advance money in fear of a suspension of payment, as the expenses of the Armada and the army of Flanders are incredibly heavy (*et ha mandato insieme lettere di cambio, per che si paghi un million et duecento mille scudi de' quali in meno di tre mesi, ha d' interesse il Re da 22 per cento. Ha fatto sua Maestà altri partiti di quà, ma con molta fattica, et interesse, poi che li particolari dano hor mal volentieri il denaro, dubitando che poi non se li suspendino i pagamenti, sendo le spese di quest' Armata et esercito di Fiandra, tanto grandi, che è cosa da non credere veramente*). *Added to this is the dread of the Turkish fleet, though the Ministers here hold that it will be far from strong, and will take the sea late.* The disturbances in Aragon, too, are causing anxiety. A bandit, named Pietro Latras, at the head of one thousand five hundred men, has seized a place called Pina, and killed more than five hundred inhabitants, so the whole kingdom is under arms and

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in confusion. It is said that the English have found the north route to the Indies very easy, and will be able to work great havoc in Peru. The King has determined to send engineers to build more forts, and already Giovanni Battista Antonelli is under orders for next August; *and because his Majesty is not sure of the intentions of France the Duke of Parma is in very secret communication with the Guise, who promise to keep that kingdom in such balance and suspense that neither King nor Huguenots shall think of making any diversion in favour of England (et perchè questo serenissimo Re non stà anco molto sicuro dell' animo de' Francesi il Duca di Parma communica con molta stretezza le intelligenze con la casa di Ghisa, che promette di tener le cose di quel Regno in tal sospetto et bilancia che il Christianissimo nè Ugonotti non penseranno a far alcuna diversione a favor d' Inghilterra). For which purpose I am informed that the Duke has paid a large sum to the Guise.*

Madrid, 8th May 1588.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

663. Don Alonzo Perez de Guzman, the good Duke of Medina Sidonia; Count of Niebla, Marquis of Casaza in Africa; Lord of San Lucar; Captain-General of the Ocean, and of the coast of Andalusia, and of the Royal Armada, and the army of his Majesty; Knight of the noble Order of the Fleece.

General Orders to be obeyed throughout the Fleet during this Campaign.

All, from highest to lowest, are to know that the reason which moved his Majesty to undertake this expedition is the service of God and the restitution of many people to the bosom of the Church. Therefore all officers are to see that their subordinates come on board confessed and communicated.

No soldier nor sailor who serves in the fleet is to curse God, our Lady, or the Saints, under pain of severe punishment. For smaller oaths the captains of each ship shall do their best to repress them by such punishments as stopping rations of wine. And seeing that gambling gives the chief cause for swearing, no games shall be permitted, and above all no games at night. For the better order of the fleet we decree a suspension of private feud, and assume to ourselves all quarrels which have arisen before, or may arise after the publication of this order. This suspension is to last throughout the entire campaign, and one month after its close, under penalty of death.

No one is to offer or receive as an insult anything which happens on board his ship.

As the presence of public or private harlots on board is a source of well-known scandals, we forbid them to embark. Every day there shall be matins; and every evening the *Ave Maria* and the *Salve Regina* and litany.

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And as it is of great importance that there should be harmony between the soldiers and sailors of the fleet, none of them may carry a dagger; nor are they to take offence under any circumstances. If any scandal arises the aggressor shall be punished.

As regards all manœuvres of the fleet, the orders already issued are to be observed inviolably. Should any ship be separated from the fleet by storm, it is to pursue its course to Cape Finisterre, where it will find orders; or if it find none, it is to proceed to Corunna, where they will be found.

On leaving Finisterre the route is to the Scilly Islands, at the mouth of the English Channel. They are to be sighted from the south. Every care is to be taken that the ships do not part company. Should any part company, it is not to return to Spain under penalty of death, confiscation and publication as a traitor. If any ship sails a-head it is to wait for the fleet at Mount St. Michel, Mount's Bay (*Capo di San Michel di Montes vay*) which lies between the Land's End and the Lizard (*tra Longaneos et Lisart*).

[*Italian.*]

May 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

664. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

I am very ill, and Francesco Idiaquez came to see me. He told me that upwards of forty witnesses had sworn that the "Sumachi" was manned by English, and had an English cargo for Constantinople, and that she cleared her decks for action when the galleys approached her. I pointed out that if the ship had been English, and bound for Constantinople, she would have kept outside the Pharo (of Messina) and sailed in company with the six other Englishmen, which have gone into the Levant.

Madrid, 14th May 1588.

[*Italian.*]

May 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

665. Giovanni Moro, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

I sent, the other day, through the Jewess Chiarazza, some trifles to the Sultana, to keep her well disposed. As the Sultan was still ill, the Sultana took them to him to amuse him, and said that they came from me; thereupon the Sultan said "The Venetians are not behaving as well as they used to. I am informed that they are helping the King of Spain, who is my enemy, against the Queen of England, who is my ally."

At an interview with the Nisangi Pasha, he asked if it was true that the Republic was opposed to the Queen of England. I replied "not at all; and the English Ambassador will tell you that this is a most absolute invention."

Immediately on my return home I sent my secretary to inform the English Ambassador of the questions I had been asked; and begged him to let me know if he had any suspicion who it was who was spreading such rumours. He replied that this was the first he had heard of the matter; and that it was clearly the work

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of some who desired to sow discord between the Queen of England and the Republic; that he was glad that he had been seen by several Turkish officials at my house, as they could bear witness to our friendship; that in three days' time he would have to visit the Vizir, and that he would then beg him to punish the inventors of such calumnies.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 18th May 1588.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

666. The Grand Vizir having, upon your Majesty's orders, apprised the Venetian Ambassador that it was perfectly true that your Majesty had been informed that the Republic had assisted the enemies of the Queen of England; the said Ambassador considers it is his duty to inform your Majesty, by a sealed communication, how the matter stands. Accordingly the Ambassador, reaffirming all that he has stated in his memorial, again declares that these reports are absolutely false, and the Republic has never done any act hostile to the Queen, with whom she is on good and friendly terms. The Ambassador accordingly begs your Majesty to punish those who are deceiving you. And should any one in future make similar charges against the Republic, the Ambassador implores your Majesty to inform him at once, and he will be ready to meet them, and to justify every action of the Republic.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

667. Copy of the Memorial presented to the Grand Signor.

The Venetian Ambassador has heard with great grief the false report which has been made to the Sultan that the Republic has been acting in a manner hostile to the Queen of England. The Republic has never dreamed of such action. The English Ambassador is fully aware of this, and has assured the Venetian Ambassador, that, if asked, he will declare the rumour to be absolutely false.

Those who have given such information deserve to be severely punished, and the Ambassador prays that they may be, by casting these spirits of hell to the bottom of the sea; and thus when the Ambassador reports these calumnies to his government he may, at the same time, be able to report the justice done upon these slanderers by your Majesty.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

668. Copy of a Letter to the Sultana.

Great favour has your Highness done me by informing me through your slave, Chirazza, of the calumnious report to the Grand Signor. It is absolutely false that the Republic has sent galleys to the King of Spain to assist in an attack on England. The Republic has no galleys ready, except the usual forty belonging to the Adriatic squadron. The ten galleys of the Candiote squadron have been added to, it is true; but that is with a view to holding the pirates in check. Besides, light galleys like ours are not built for ocean navigation.

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The Venetian Ambassador begs your Highness to point all this out to the Grand Signor.

[*Italian.*]

May 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

669. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

Owing to bad weather the Armada has not been able to weigh anchor from Lisbon, to the annoyance of the King and his Ministers, who are unwilling that the Armada should miss the favourable winds and so arrive late in England. But news of the departure is expected hourly.

In Africa preparations are going on; and it is feared that they may be intended to harass the King of Spain, when he is occupied in other quarters; for it is known that the Queen of England is at the bottom of the whole matter.

Troops are being raised in Castile.

Madrid, 18th May 1588.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

May 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

670. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

Up to this moment, to his Majesty's great displeasure, there is no news that the Armada has sailed; although for a month and more it has been lying at the mouth of the harbour with sails ready. The reason is contrary winds; but during this period the Commander-in-Chief has taken care to augment the number of ships and men; as will be seen from the brief summary which I enclose.

The Duke of Parma, while negotiating for an accord with the Queen of England's agents, still urges the immediate despatch of the Armada, affirming that this will be of the greatest assistance. A courier has been sent to advise the Duke that the fleet is only waiting for fine weather; and to convey to him the fullest powers to conclude a treaty if the Queen of England's agents will consent to the free restitution of Holland and Zealand (*et insieme se li sono inviati mandati amplissimi, per che possa concludere quando li deputati della Regina acconsentino alla libera restitutione di Holanda et Zelanda*); otherwise his Majesty will not hear of it.

I know that the King has declared that if he comes to terms with England they will be such as to satisfy the whole world. There is news brought by a carvel despatched by the Duke of Parma, that the fleet of the Queen of England is inadequate to fight Medina Sidonia, or to prevent him from effecting a junction with the army of Flanders.

I have your Serenity's letters, *with news from the Levant, which I have communicated as usual. Here they are of opinion that the Turkish fleet will not put out, or if it does, it will be very late, and will therefore operate to the damage of his Majesty. Prince Doria recommends the concentration of the fleet in the port of Messina.*

On the 21st of this month his Majesty entered on his sixty-second year. He is in sound health, but is known to be worn and tired.

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He is further annoyed at the loss of the two Portuguese ships which remained behind last year. All four are now lost, one taken by Drake and three foundered, to the utter ruin of the Portuguese. And to add to this ill luck, news has arrived that in the Pacific Ocean, two English ships have captured a China merchantman, with a cargo on board, worth almost a million in gold.

Madrid, 27th May 1588.

[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

671. ACCOUNT of the CATHOLIC ARMADA in Lisbon.

——	Ships.	Sailors.	Soldiers.	Volunteers.	Guns.
1st squadron - - -	12	1,283	2,715	—	406
2nd squadron - -	20	2,187	3,741	—	507
3rd squadron - - -	14	863	1,968	—	242
4th squadron - -	10	780	2,281	—	257
5th squadron - - -	14	616	1,827	—	249
6th squadron - -	10	777	2,395	—	278
7th squadron - - -	23	438	3,426	—	345
8th squadron of light vessels - - -	50	1,097	478	916	176
Totals - -	153	8,041	19,747	916	2,460

May 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

672. GIOVANNI MORO, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Two days after presenting my memorial on the subject of rumoured help given by the Republic against the Queen of England, the Grand Vizir informed me, through the Grand Dragoman, that the Grand Signor was pacified.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 28th May 1588.

[*Italian.*]

May 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

673. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I have learned from a sure quarter, *that they are advised here that the Turkish fleet will take the sea at the request of the Queen of England ; and will sail to El Arisch, and will winter there. If the King of Fez, refuses to yield El Arisch freely, Hassan Pasha offers to attack the kingdom. The Queen has promised the Grand Signor that she will send Don Antonio with an army into Portugal in the hope that that kingdom will rise. The English Ambassador is favourably considered at the Port, and is in frequent colloquy with the Capadan Pasha. All this gives anxiety here.*

Bad news from Flanders about dissensions in the Duke of Parma's army, and also about sickness which is prevalent there. News from Lisbon that Don Juan Martin de Recalde, Admiral of the fleet and Lieutenant to the Commander-in-Chief, is in danger of his life. He would be a great loss, for he is a good soldier and

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sailor. So bad news pours in from all quarters. The Court has some consolation in the rumour that his Holiness has promised to the King seven hundred thousand crowns if the attack on England is pushed forward.

Madrid, 28th May 1588.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

June 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

674. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Armada set sail from Lisbon at length on the 29th of last month, a Sunday. The weather was most excellent. They are now waiting the news of its arrival at Corunna, in Galicia, to embark more troops, and then to sail. I have from time to time reported the great preparations which have been made; but we here must expect news of its progress from other quarters now, unless the peace is effected in Flanders.

During these last few days an agent of the King of Scotland has been here in secret. He has had an interview with the King at the Escurial where he now is; and has received letters to take to his master. He left at once. As yet it has been impossible to discover the special object of his mission.

Madrid, 4th June 1588.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

June 17. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

675. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

There is news from Lisbon that on the 10th of this month the Armada was off Cape Finisterre. The commander intended to take news and to pick up some more ships and men at Corunna, and then to push forward. At Lisbon they are getting ready twenty great ships, and a large supply of men and munitions, which are to be sent after the Armada. Some fifty other ships have been requisitioned in various parts of Spain for this same purpose. As yet nothing has been said to the masters of the "Ruzzina" and the "Tizzona," which have begun to lade.

The misfortunes of the poor King of France, though truly pitiable, are not displeasing here; indeed, there is no doubt but that the action of the Duke of Guise is taken in concert with the Ministers of the King of Spain, and supported by them. Recently more money has been sent to the Guise, and as the King of France discovered this, he has complained to the Pope that the policy of Spain will drive him some day to take an unexpected line of action. He therefore begs his Holiness to take some steps to counteract such a danger. Here, however, they will excuse their conduct on the ground that it is inspired by a dread lest the Huguenots should get the upper hand of the Catholics; and that these supports of the Guise really redound to the benefit of religion and to the augmentation of the King of France; and so all had better be passed over in silence.

Madrid, 17th June 1588.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

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June 25.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

676. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

I have received from England the affidavits proving the purchase of the ship "Sumachi" by Venetians in the year 1581. I hope soon to have other papers to prove that the cargo, or at least a part of it, is not English.

Madrid, 25th June 1588.

[*Italian.*]

June 25.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

677. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

By courier express from Galicia the King has news that on the 13th of this month the Armada was one hundred leagues off Cape Finisterre, waiting for the four light galleys from Corunna, which the commander-in-chief had sent in for recruits and provisions. He resolved not to put into port with the whole fleet, as he was doubtful if he would be able to sail again when he desired to do so. These four light galleys, having sighted two sail in the offing towards Bayona, followed them up, and found that they were two English ships sent out to cruise and to pick up information. After a brief struggle they were taken. The men declare that four other English ships are out for the same purpose. On board the captured Englishmen were found several Spaniards acting as pilots. They will be put to death. The English were at once put to the oar. This news is most welcome here; it is taken as a good omen for the enterprise on which they are engaged.

A solemn procession having been appointed for St. John's Day, the 24th, his Majesty on receipt of the news ordered the procession to take place on the 22nd, believing it likely that the Armada would be then in sight of England. The procession took place with a great concourse of people. A very holy image, the Madonna of Tocchia, being borne to the cathedral, where it will remain nine days, so that the people may the more easily attend the public prayers.

The King shows his piety and his prudence too. He has sent orders to all the Grandees to hold themselves in readiness with all their following, and *all from fear that the Turkish fleet may make a descent on some part of Spain. All the more so as it is reported that Hassan Pasha is making great preparations in Tunis, and says he will restore to the throne of Fez the son of Muley Maluc, the King who fell in the engagement with Don Sebastian.*

Don Antonio is in England. Spies from Turkey and from England are expected in Portugal, and the King has ordered extraordinary precautions in the observation and examination of all foreigners. His Majesty is in straits for money. Seville has lent him one million in gold; the sum is to be repaid in four years, and is secured upon the Alcavalla, which, as your Excellencies know, is a tax of four per cent. and upwards upon sale and purchase. The recruiting officers are raising troops, but with great difficulty. Everyone is amazed to see how they manage to raise

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so many men in Spain. Between Flanders, the Armada, Italy, Africa, and the Indies there must be eighty thousand men.

Madrid, 25th June 1588.

[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*]

July 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

678. Giovanni Mocenigo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Duke of Guise is complaining loudly of a letter from an Englishman to the English Queen, which has been intercepted. In it it seems that his most Christian Majesty has declared that whatsoever he may promise he will not keep his word.

Paris, 1st July 1588.

[*Italian.*]

July 2. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

679. Giovanni Gritti, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

When news of the departure of the Armada arrived the Pope said to several Cardinals, who were at audience, that he had done all he could to persuade the Queen to return the Catholic Church; and offering to grant her a new investiture of her kingdom in spite of the deprivation pronounced by Pius V., and to give her the Bishops she might approve; to which the Queen had replied that the Pope would do well to give her some of his money. A league with Spain was accordingly concluded; and this league will be published in Consistory. The Pope will supply the King with a million of gold on news that a landing has been effected. The island is to be invested in the King of Spain or his nominee; and if anyone interferes to hinder the enterprise adequate steps will be taken against him.

But, as a fact, the Pope said nothing about this point in Consistory. Either the canonisation occupy all his attention, or he wishes to wait for news of the Armada, of whose success he is, perhaps, not quite sure.

Rome, 2nd July 1588.

[*Italian.*]

July 2. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

680. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

I thought that I should not be called upon to give your Serenity any further news of the Armada after my despatch of the 25th June. But despatches, dated the 22nd June, have arrived from the commander-in-chief, stating that while on his way to England he was overtaken by a terrible storm, and was forced to put back to Corunna with his fleet all scattered, and some of his ships in a bad way; these he is having repaired with all diligence. This courier was followed by another bringing letters of the 26th, to say that as yet thirty ships were missing. This news has disturbed the King, who passes day and night in prayer, though suffering from the gout in his hand. Spain is full of processions, austerities, fasting and devotion.

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His Majesty has sent orders to the commander-in-chief to expedite the union of his fleet, and to set sail as soon as possible. I hear that his instructions are to sail straight for the English Channel; if attacked by the enemy he is to fight courageously, if not, he is to support the Duke of Parma in effecting the passage of the channel and a landing in England, and if the Duke requires them Medina Sidonia is to give him as many as six thousand men; after that the commander-in chief is to scour the seas and shores of England, and to do all the damage he can to the enemy. They are in hopes here that the King of Scotland will at the same time put himself in motion on his side; and accordingly the Duke of Medina Sidonia has orders from the King to keep in touch with the King of Scotland by all means in his power (che vadi adrittura nel canal d' Inghilterra, dove se se l' opone l' armata nemica che debbi combatter animosamente, se non che faci spale al Duca di Parma, che con le genti et vasselli passi nell' Isola d' Inghilterra; che bisognandoli fino a sei mille fanti che glieli dia; scorrendo poi quel mare et rive con far ogni danno che potrà a nemici, sperandosi anco qui che nel medesimo tempo il Re di Scotia si sia per mover dall' altra parte contra la Regina; et però tiene commissione del Re anchora il predetto Duca di Medina Sidonia che debba intendersi seco per ogni via possibile). His Majesty is very determined to overcome all difficulties, and to reach the conclusion of this enterprise, even if it should cost him a kingdom; the issue of this war is of the highest moment to him, and he takes it to be the crown of all his policy.

He is preparing great stores of biscuits, wine, salt meat, wood, &c. I send a copy of his Majesty's letter to the grandees of Spain, with orders to hold themselves ready for any event.

It is hoped that the Turks will be able to do but little mischief this year, owing to their defeat by the Persians; and to secure a like result in France, I am informed that three hundred thousand crowns have lately been sent to the Guise. By persons who know the English seas it is held for certain that, unless a blow is struck by the end of this month, humanly speaking it will be impossible to carry out any operations of moment this year.

Madrid, 2nd July 1588.

After writing the above I received from a friend on board the Armada the enclosed letter.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

681. My Noble Lord and Honoured Master,

On the 14th of this month, while the Armada was off Cape Finisterre (*de finibusterre*), despatches were sent to his Majesty, and with them I wrote to your Lordship a particular account of our voyage down to that date. After that, partly to meet the galleys which were ordered to wait us in Mugia, a port four leagues distant from the Cape; partly to take on board some provisions and supplies which the Governor of that kingdom (Galicia), the Marquis of Seralvo, was to prepare for us, we drew in as far as the island of Cesarga. There, on the 17th, we were joined by the

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galleys which his Excellency had sent to Corunna for provisions and water, as both were running short; and to land some sick, who are now in considerable numbers, especially after the storm of the 19th and 20th which the Armada encountered. The flagship, thirty-five others, and almost all the transports and carvels, came into Corunna before the storm reached its height. The rest of the fleet, partly owing to its falling away to lee, and being unable to make the port, and partly to the dark night which settled down, remained out-side. The night was a tempestuous one, with wind, rain, and a heavy sea. The following day, Monday, the ship of Don Alonzo de Leyva and the flagship of Don Oquendo put into the port of Baris, one much damaged, the other having carried away mainmast, sails, and yards. On Tuesday twelve others arrived at Biucco, among them the "Labbia" uninjured. On Wednesday the Admiral Recalde sailed into Corunna with other twelve ships and two galleys, among them the "Regazzona" uninjured; yesterday, other three. So that up to this hour thirty ships and two galleasses are missing. The storm was one of those great winter storms. It has greatly discouraged the fleet, and above all the commander.

We shall be obliged to wait here till we have news of the missing ships. Some scouts have been sent out this evening to look for them.

Corugna, 24th June 1588.

(Signature cut off.)

[*Italian.*]

July 3. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

682. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Duke d'Aumale is occupied before Boulogne, to the displeasure of the Queen of England. The English Admiral, with thirty ships, approached the port, and drew up opposite the town. The Duke sent one of his suite to inquire if the English came as friends. The emissary was warmly welcomed by the Admiral, who on returning the visit caused the Duke to be informed that he ought to retire from before Boulogne, and not disturb the King and a kingdom already torn to bits, and added that this was said in the name of the Queen, his mistress. The English fleet sailed away; and rumour spread that Epernon had intended to place Boulogne in their hands.

Paris, 3rd July 1588.

[*Italian.*]

July 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

683. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Spanish Ambassador does not cease to invite the Duke of Guise to pursue his designs against the King. But Guise is rather inclined to peace.

Paris, 4th July 1588.

[*Italian.*]

1588. July 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

684. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

On the 2nd of this month I informed your Serenity of the storm which the Armada had encountered, and that up to the 26th of last month thirty ships were still missing. Messengers from Corunna bring news that every day some ship arrives in port; and the rest are somewhere along the coast of Galicia and the Asturias, but very badly damaged. Further, the commander-in-chief announces that the provisions of the Armada, designed for eight months, are already almost all consumed and gone bad; and that he had been obliged to throw overboard a great quantity of biscuits, cheese, and salt meat which was quite putrid (*in oltre avisa il Generale che le vettovaglie caricate nell' Armata per otto mesi, erano di gia quasi del tutto consumate et guaste, et havea convenuto far gettar in mare gran quantità de' biscotti, formaggi et carne salate, del tutto infette*). New provisions accordingly are required, and already two officers have left for Galicia and the Asturias with ample authority to requisition all the provisions in those kingdoms; to take them on board, to try the guilty; the contractor, Francesco Duarte, being especially blamed for the bad biscuits.

The third cause of anxiety here is the confirmation of the news that Drake is at the mouth of the English canal with one hundred and eighty sail. He is believed to be determined to offer battle. The King is firm in his resolve that the Armada shall advance as soon as possible, although it is well known that for all these reasons he is very much disturbed, so that every trifle annoys him; he grants audience to none, nor dares any, however high in favour or however intimate, address him any more. The Court is all gloomy, the larger part of the Councils of State and of War is ill; Don Juan d'Idiaquez is in danger of losing his eyesight.

His Majesty has suspended all payments of any sort soever for two months, even salaries, with the exception of those which affect the Armada. There is some grumbling, especially as they fear that the two months may be spread over the whole period of this campaign. The campaign is costing just now upwards of one million in gold a month, all reckoned, so the President of the Royal Revenues affirms; and if things go on like this it will be necessary to adopt vigorous and extraordinary measures.

Madrid, 7th July 1588.

[*Italian.*]

July 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

685. Giovanni Gritti, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

In the Consistory of Monday they expected the publication of the terms of the federation between the Pope and the King of Spain against England; and that the question of fresh taxation to meet the million which has been promised would come up; but no word of one or the other was spoken.

His Holiness has discussed the matter in private, however; various methods for raising the money have been suggested.

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Cardinal Allen, who had withdrawn from Rome to a neighbouring village on account of the malaria, will return to-day so as to be ready to go to England should occasion require it.

Rome, 9th July 1588.

[*Italian.*]

July 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

686. Giovanni Gritti, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

His Holiness showed both pain and surprise that we have no news of the Armada; it is forty days since it sailed from the port of Lisbon. He seems to hold the opinion that the expedition has kept outside Ireland, and will sail round the Orkneys, and so join the Duke of Parma. He told me that Drake was in the English Channel to prevent a union of the Spanish forces, and that the English thought they were strong enough to fight the Spanish if they were taken separately. His Holiness laid much store by the pluck and the luck of Drake. "The King of Spain," said his Holiness, "should have listened to our advice last September, when we entered into alliance; we then told him that he should not delay, but ought to deliver the attack at once, as the Queen was unprepared and unarmed, instead of allowing her time to arm as she has done. At that moment he might have achieved with small forces that which, perhaps, he will not be able to effect even with great forces.

"But the King of Spain is old, and it is no longer a question of being able to change his nature, and we must just put up with him as he is (*ma il Re di Spagna è vecchio, et percio non accade pensar hora di mutar la natura sua, et bisogno che se lo tenghiamo quale egli sia*). His friends complain that we love not the King of Spain when we talk like this; but it seems to us that we cannot give a greater sign of affection than by advising him and speaking our mind freely." His Holiness added that the Nuncio in France informed him that two thousand English had gone to join the Duke of Parma, and to take part in the attack on England. If so, that was always something, for then men would be fighting *pro aris et focis*.

Rome, 9th July 1588.

[*Italian.*]

July 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

687. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The King is resolved to overcome every difficulty, and to send the Armada forward as soon as possible. He has despatched orders to Seville to send at once, in as many ships as they can, all the biscuits which were prepared for the fleet of New Spain that is to sail in September. Fresh supplies will be prepared for it. Orders to Lisbon to send on, with all the ships that are ready, and with those that have arrived from Sicily, all the biscuits which have been prepared. Couriers are sent every day to Corunna to urge the commander-in-chief to gather his scattered ships, and to sail. His Majesty promises to send after him continual reinforcements

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and supplies. The day before yesterday the Secretary at War, Andrea d'Alva, was sent off at night to superinted the embarkation of provisions.

The Duke of Medina Sidonia has issued orders forbidding, upon pain of death, any information about the Armada to be sent to anyone. This causes great difficulty in procuring news; all the same I am informed that the departure of the Armada cannot take place for many days, and that many ships are lying in the ports of Galicia too badly damaged to be able to join the rest of the fleet. They whisper that more than one ship is actually lost; though the Duke writes to the King that they are all safe in the ports of Galicia. But the Ministers declare that in eight days the Armada, all entire and united, will sail for England. His Majesty, who insists upon studying and directing every detail, has even sent to the commander-in-chief the order and plan of an engagement with Drake, a copy of which I enclose. I was able to have it copied from the original which lay on his Majesty's table (*et il Re che vuol intender et ordinar tutte le cose, ha fino mandato al detto Generale l' ordine et desegno col quale si ha da presentar alla giornata con Draco; una copia del quale sarà qui aggionta; havendo havuto commodità di farla cavare dal medesimo che sua Maestà tiene sopra la sua tavola*). Many details may be gathered from it, *among others is the determination to take Flushing, so that in case no other operations can be carried out, and no junction between the forces of the Duke of Parma and the Armada be effected, the Duke of Parma will attack that fortress, and will block the channel by sinking ships, and so prevent the city from being relieved by the enemy, who also would be debarred from any attempt at succour by the presence of the Duke of Medina Sidonia's fleet.*

The wiser wonder what can induce the King to insist, quite against his natural temper, that the Armada shall give battle to the English who are known to be awaiting the attack with eager courage, and so they surmise that, over and above the belief that God will be on his side, two motives urge the King to this course; first, that he has some secret understandings which will fail if there is any delay; secondly, that these expenses of a million of gold a month cannot be supported for long, and so he has resolved to try his fortune, believing that if the enemy win a battle it will have been so bloody that they will immediately be compelled to make peace, whereas if they lose a battle they lose all at one blow.

Madrid, 12th July 1588.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

July 13. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

688. Giovanni Mocenigo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

News from Dieppe that the Spanish Armada has been sighted near the coast of Ireland. This is believed not so much because it is generally reported, but because it is quite possible that the Armada has taken that route in order to avoid the English fleet.

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A courier from Milan has reached the Spanish Ambassador; he is believed to bring half a million in gold.

Paris, 13th July 1588.

[*Italian.*]

July 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

689. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

By couriers from Corunna with letters of the 7th and 8th, his Majesty is assured that all the ships are safe except one, though they still hope that it is on the coast of Britanny. Seven ships, among them the Venetian "Balanzara," have been as far as the Scilly Islands, and there, hearing that the Catholic Armada had not passed ahead, they returned safe to port. They confirm the news that the English fleet consists of one hundred and eighty sail, divided into three squadrons, and that it is determined to give battle to the Catholic Armada. On their return voyage these seven ships saw a Scotch ship, and brought another into Galicia.

At Court they blame the Duke of Medina Sidonia for very bad seamanship, and for turning back and making for Corunna at night-fall, when many ships could not understand his manœuvre, more especially as it was quite contrary to his first orders; and they say that it is not his merit if many of the fleet have not fallen into the enemy's hands, to the total ruin of the enterprise. His Majesty accordingly has written to him telling him to keep his council of war always on board his own ship, and to show a little more pluck and courage before his troops in a matter of such moment. He is to sail as soon as possible. But while in harbour his men are to be fed on fresh meat and bread without touching any of the provisions. The King is raising as much money as he can.

Madrid, 14th July 1588.

[*Italian.*]

July 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

690. GIOVANNI GRITTI, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

His Holiness complains that after forty-seven days there is no news of the Armada. He has been assured by the Spanish Ambassador that the fleet has not gone to Scotland.

In France they have not the smallest notice of the Armada. The Spanish Ambassador has spread the report that it has gone to Scotland; but that is a pure invention of his own, and the King of Scotland openly shows himself hostile to the Catholic and favourable to the Queen.

Rome, 16th July 1588.

[*Italian.*]

July 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

691. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

We hear from England that the fleet of the Queen is lying at Plymouth, at the extreme west of the kingdom; while off the islands Granse (Guernsey) and Larse (Jersey) are some small

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ships on the look out for the coming of the Spanish. The English are so disposed as to be always to windward of the Spanish fleet, and to fight it at a vantage should it enter the channel and attempt to effect a junction with the forces of the Duke of Parma. To prevent this fifty English ships are kept cruising off Flushing to blockade the forces of the Duke. They consist of one hundred and fifty great boats, besides some ships.

The other day there was a rumour that the Catholic Armada was steering a course outside Ireland, and making for Scotland. A very long and dangerous route, which even the English themselves think insecure on account of rocks, shoals, and the extraordinary tides. The bad season is coming on, when the galleys will find it impossible to sail these waters. Others say that the Armada, owing to great sickness, has returned to Corunna in Galicia.

Fuller information is expected soon as to the place chosen for a landing. Meantime the English desire an engagement, and show that they do not fear all these forces.

News from Scotland that the Earl of Morton, who has been for long in Spain, has been sent to prison by the King on suspicion of having recommended the despatch of the Armada. The King shows himself daily more and more concerned for the fate of the Queen of England.

Paris, 18th July 1588.

[*Italian.*]

July 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

692. Giovanni Gritti, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

The Earl of Morton has been imprisoned on the charge of being a Catholic, and therefore favourable to the Armada, a clear proof that nothing is to be expected from the King of Scotland.

Rome, 19th July 1588.

[*Italian.*]

July 19. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

693. Vincenzo Gradenigo, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the Doge and Senate.

Martin Schen (Schenk) has come back from England. He was very well received, and has brought a large sum of money to raise troops. The peace in Flanders was still under discussion. One of the Commissioners, Ricardot (Richtordot)* inclined to yield the two points of religion and the expulsion of foreign troops, but the others held firm. He frequents the road that leads to the Duke of Parma. The Duke is pushing on his troops to Dunquerque, where a galleon of the Armada has already arrived to embark men. News from Cologne that the Armada has had an engagement with the English fleet, and been victorious, taking one hundred ships, and losing forty ; but little credit is given to this.

Prague, 19th July 1588.

[*Italian.*]

* *See* Froude, *History of England.* xii. p. 411.

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July 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

694. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The exorbitant demands which Guise presents to the King of France do not displease here. Guise will either supersede Navarre or come to a fierce struggle with him; and this, perhaps, will give most satisfaction as allowing Spain to carry on the war with England and Flanders in security.

The Duke of Medina Sidonia writes to his Majesty, on the 13th, that he has used all conceivable diligence to fit up his ships, leaving two behind as unseaworthy; and that he will sail in five or six days at the longest. Orders have been sent calling on all ships in other ports to join him. In place of the sick he has taken on board fresh troops from those garrisons. Six ships have left Lisbon for Corunna with biscuits and provisions; and from Seville twelve others are going to sail, to be followed by others every day. The King is in retirement to the great disgust of all the Court. His Majesty is preparing a million of gold to send to Flanders.

Madrid, 23rd July 1588.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

July 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

695. Giovanni Gritti, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

The Pope said that the King of Spain had intended, by sending out the Armada, to facilitate the conclusion of a treaty, but the Queen of England was too astute. Her agents in Flanders put off and off; what was settled at night was undone in the morning. He has no news of the Armada.

Rome, 23rd July 1588.

[*Italian.*]

July 26. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

696. Vincenzo Gradenigo, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the Doge and Senate.

They have no news of the Armada, and this causes great anxiety.

Prague, 26th July 1588.

[*Italian.*]

July 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

697. Giovanni Mocenigo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The English, tired of lying idle so long, sailed on the 14th towards Galicia to look for the Spanish fleet, and to give it battle.

Paris, 26th July 1588.

[*Italian.*]

July 29. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

698. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The Armada sailed from the port of Corunna on the 23rd of this month; the weather was excellent, and the fleet in good order. We now await the news of its voyage, which, pray God, may be successful.

Madrid, 29th July 1588.

[*Italian.*]

1588.
July 30. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

699. Giovanni Moro, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

On Sunday the English Ambassador kissed the Sultan's hand, and took his leave. He did not receive the usual banquet, for it happened to be the first day of the Turkish fast; that they keep for a whole month; during that time they eat at night only.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 30th July 1588.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

July 31. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

700. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

We have no news of the Armada, except that the weather is fine.

Madrid, last day of July 1588.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

701. Giovanni Mocenigo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

We are not sure yet that the Armada has sailed again after being driven back by contrary winds into Corunna, with the loss of some ships.

Paris, 1st August 1588.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 2. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

702. Vincenzo Gradenigo, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the Doge and Senate.

News has been received that the Catholic Armada is in Scotland.

Prague, 2nd August 1588.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

703. Giovanni Mocenigo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Spanish Ambassador came to inform me that according to news from England the Armada was close to Plymouth.

Paris, 6th August 1588.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

704. Giovanni Mocenigo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Spanish Ambassador complains loudly that the English are allowed to victual in French ports, contrary to the terms of the treaty signed with Guise.

A French ship has come into Havre-de-Grace, and reports that having met the Catholic fleet close to England the Spanish took four of its crew as pilots; shortly after the Frenchman fell in with Drake, who took four others to help him to follow up the Spaniards.

Paris, 7th August 1588.

[*Italian.*]

1588.
Aug. 9.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

705. Giovanni Mecenigo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

This morning the Spanish Agents publish the news, from Havre-de-Grace, that on Tuesday the Armada fell in with Drake near the Isle of Wight. Drake did all he could to take the land side, as also did the Spanish; they say the Spanish got the best of it after fighting a bit, sinking fifteen ships, among them the flagship; the rest fled towards Dover and Calais, where the body of the English fleet is lying. They add that three ships which had lost their masts were captured, and one large ship took fire. A Breton, who was taken by Drake, and served on board one of his ships, has come home. He declares that a galleass attacked the flagship, and with the first broadside cut down her masts, and at the second sank her; and that Drake escaped in a boat under cover of the thick smoke. The English Ambassador has informed me that he disbelieves these Spanish reports, for he has despatches from Rouen of the same date, announcing that the fleets were close together, but had not attacked.

Paris, 9th August 1588.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 11.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

706. Giovanni Mocenigo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

I sent your Serenity the news from Havre-de-Grace and Rouen. The Spaniards withdraw somewhat from their assertions, but declare that they have routed Drake. Those who are unbiassed relate the affair thus: When the English learned that the Catholic Armada had sailed from Corunna, the Admiral withdrew towards Flushing with a view to holding the Duke of Parma in check, and also to be near Scotland in case the Spaniards should sail outside Ireland and take that route. Drake, with sixty ships, pushed out westward in order to observe the foe, and if they kept outside Ireland he intended to return up the channel, and join the Admiral and meet the enemy; if, on the other hand, the Spanish continued up the channel, he intended to sail back to join the Admiral, and to offer battle. They say that Drake pushed out so far towards Spain that the Catholic Armada, having a favourable wind, passed ahead of him, thus dividing the English and rendering its own junction with the forces of the Duke of Parma quite feasible. But Drake, who had the lightest ships in the English fleet, finding that his designs were upset, put out all his skill to reach the mouth of the channel before the Spaniards. At daybreak on Tuesday, 2nd of this month, owing to the narrowness of the channel, the two fleets were close together, Drake determined to pass ahead, the Spaniards resolved to prevent him. The Spanish used oars to help the sails, and followed Drake up for the whole day, both fleets being within range of each other; at last night fell, and the English, thanks to their good sailing powers, drew away to join the Admiral. It is thought very likely that some English ships have gone to the bottom, but not as many as is said; nor is it believed that Drake's ship is sunk. This brush will do

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much to restore the spirits of the Spaniards, which were rather depressed after the storm in Galicia. There is no news that the Catholic Armada has approached the coast of Flanders, and they say it will not until it has engaged the enemy. The battle will be bloody, for the English never yield; and though driven back and thrown into confusion they always return to the fight, thirsting for vengeance as long as they have a breath of life (*la quale sarà sempre molto sanguinosa, perche gli Inglesi non cedon mai, anzi cacciati et confusi ritornano sempre pien di vendetta a rinfrescar l' assalto fino che vi è spirito di vita*). In this present case they would consider themselves victorious, even if they died to a man along with the enemy, provided they could save the kingdom, as they propose to do by one bloody battle, which shall so weaken the Spanish forces that they dare not venture on a landing. But in nothing so much as in war does the result differ from the design, and errors committed in war cannot be remedied; it is therefore possible that English calculations may fail, as they nearly have done already, for had Drake delayed a little longer to make for the channel he would have been cut off from the rest of the fleet at Dover and Calais.

Paris, 11th August 1588.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

707. Giovanni Mocenigo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

At any time the navigation of these waters is a difficult matter for light boats, but in this season the Spaniards are making actual proof of the fact, for some of their light vessels, four galleys and some others smaller, being unable to stand the weather, have been cast ashore on the coast by Bordeaux; one went to the bottom, the others are rendered useless; the shore is strewn with wreckage. The Spanish Ambassador has gone to the King to do all he can to recover the gear, although such wreckage belongs to the Admiral of France. From Flanders we hear that no sooner was it known that the Catholic Armada was in French waters than all troops began to join the Duke of Parma at Nieuport. The Duke is occupied with the embarkation of his troops, and with making all preparations, so that nothing may be wanting on the arrival of the Duke of Medina Sidonia.

The English militia has been drawn up along the coast to repel a landing, and they say that at the points most favourable for such an enterprise, sixty thousand good fighting men are concentrated, while all the ports are fully armed. The Queen has been able to do this all the more readily now that she is quite certain that the King of Scotland does not favour the Spanish, of which she is finally convinced; for the King of Scotland has put to death some great nobles suspected of having secret relations with the King of Spain. They say the Queen has begun to pay him a pension of one hundred thousand crowns a year, and has promised him the succession to the throne of England. All this is of the highest service in the defence of England; but it will be of the greatest

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disadvantage to the English if the Armada is allowed to make use of French ports. The Queen believed that this could not happen under her conventions with the King, but Spain, favoured by the Pope, has made continual representations on the subject, and has obtained what it desired; besides, even had the King refused, Havre-de-Grace is held by a member of the league, a dependant of the Guise, who would not deny conveniences to the Catholic fleet, owing to his obligations to the King of Spain.

Paris, 11th August 1588.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

708. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

After the news that, on the 27th of last month, the Armada had entered the English Channel, and that three galleys had gone ashore on the coast of France and been broken up, and the Turkish slaves set free, we have no further tidings of the Armada. This causes great anxiety here, and they imagine that other couriers must have been detained in France. The litany of the forty hours is recited in each parish. The Secretary at War, Andrea d'Alva, is collecting large supplies, chiefly biscuits, in Galicia, to send them after the Armada; and the same is being done in Seville, Lisbon, and elsewhere. The general muster is to be made at Corunna. Meantime the greatest mischief is being done to the people, subjects and merchants, for they are taking goods out of the very houses, and for the most part without paying for it.

The peace of France is not disliked here, chiefly on account of the secret clauses between his Majesty and the Duke of Guise. They are sure, however, that it will not last long. I am informed that lately eight boxes of gold passed from Bilbao to Nantes under passport of his Majesty, directed to Don Bernardino di Mendoza, his Ambassador in France.

Madrid, 12th August 1588.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Aug. 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

709. Giovanni Mocenigo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

When closing my despatch news from Calais that the English fleet is off the town with the Spanish fleet opposite, near Dover; each watching for any advantage in offering battle.

Paris, 12th August 1588.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 13. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

710. Giovanni Gritti, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

His Holiness complains that the King of Spain had not sent out the Armada last September; instead he let the Queen gain time by proposing terms of peace.

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The expenses of the Armada are eight hundred ducats a month, and more.

Rome, 13th August 1588.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 13. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

711. GIOVANNI MORO, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Polish Ambassador was to leave this morning. The English Ambassador is going with him. A Secretary of the English Ambassador will remain behind with the title of Agent until the Queen sends a new Ambassador.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 13th August 1588.

[*Italian ; deciphered.*]

Aug. 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

712. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Everyone is awaiting news of the Armada. The Catholics fear; the Huguenots fear ; a great blessing or a great misfortune for France hangs upon the issue.

Paris, 15th August 1588.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

713. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Drake in rejoining the Admiral received no damage, although one of the Venetian ships harassed his flagship somewhat. For four days continuously he kept to windward of the enemy, thanks to the better sailing of his ships, and pursued and bombarded them without ceasing. He can repeat this manœuvre as often as he pleases, for the Spanish ships are heavy and difficult to handle.

Eight days ago, on the 6th, while the Spanish were lying between Dover and Calais, Drake designed to fire the fleet in order to throw it into confusion, and to inflict a deadly blow ; accordingly, at midnight, he sent forward seven ships, which presently burst out into flame. The Duke of Medina Sidonia, perceiving the enemy's intention, weighed anchor at once, and in doing so the rudder of a great galley became jammed. She, rendered unmanageable, drifted under the walls of Calais, where she hoped to be covered by the fort; but as not a shot was fired she fell into the hands of the English, who cut off the head of Don Ugo de Moncada, the captain, son of the Viceroy of Valencia, and of all the other Spaniards on board, but set the Italians and other nationalities free ; among them some Sclavs, who have now come to my house and given me the above information.

They say that all day long they heard the sound of guns, and imagine that Drake was following up the Armada, which left as a rear-guard all the galleasses, which are the most handy vessels owing to the fact that they can use oars. The number of ships is equal on each side, but the Spanish are far larger and stronger,

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which makes the English cautious about boarding them; but day and night the English are on their weather beam, and they are forced to fight whenever the enemy choses, with continual losses. For the Spanish, having no port into which they can retire, are driven about here and there, the object of the English being to force them on to some bank, as may already have happened, they fear.

Despatches from London announce that the Queen has appointed my Lord Robert, Earl of Leicester, as her Lieutenant-General, and has sent him along with the Earl of Essex, in command of thirty-five thousand men, to the shore at Margate, where it is thought that the Spanish may attempt a landing. The Queen herself has gone out of London at the head of as many more men. She has about her all the nobility, and Lord (Gravé) Adjutant-General, and Lord Norris in command of the infantry.

The English ships, to the number of one hundred, were lying in the roads of St. Jean off Boulogne, while Lord Seymour was at Dunquerque to prevent the Duke of Parma from coming out. They were expecting that heavy seas would do much to throw the Armada into confusion, and as the ships are large it is unlikely that they will find any harbours big enough to take them in, at least in France, unless they withdraw to Brest at the extremity of Britanny. At present the waters are so low that the Spanish have not been able to get within three leagues of Dunquerque to support a sortie by the Duke of Parma, who is now blockaded by the Dutch ships, and will remain so till the next spring tide, when the English will have to put out all their strength if they wish to prevent a junction of Parma and Medina Sidonia.

Paris, 15th August 1588.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

714. Giovanni Mocenigo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Spanish Ambassador has returned here from Court. He told the King, on behalf of his master, that the sole object of Spain in attacking England was the glory of God and the good of the Church; he begged the King of France to allow no one of his subjects to assist the Queen of England. The King of France replied that he had two kinds of subjects, one kind which obeyed him, the Catholics who needed no injunction not to assist England, the other which did not obey him; with these he would do his best.

The English, besides burning the Catalan ships, on board of which fifty thousand crowns were lost, captured a galleon belonging to Don Pedro de Valdez, with four hundred amd fifty Spaniards on board, and a great quantity of field artillery which had been used as ballast. After Drake's attempt to fire the Armada, which saved itself by cutting its cables, the Spanish have never ventured to cast anchor. On the 10th a heavy storm from the south-west blew up, and drove the Armada out of the Straits of Dover, followed by the English, which never left it alone for a minute. Drake himself

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sent home word that the storm was getting heavier, and it was likely that the Armada would be cast away in the North Sea off the coast of Scotland where even the English find the navigation difficult. As he harassed the enemy day and night he was always picking up a vessel or two, and they were at the last extremity for water, as they had taken none in since they left Corunna, and he hoped to prevent their being able to get any.

Up to the present the English have shown that they are in fact the skilled mariners which rumour reported them to be, for while they have always been on the enemies' flank they have not lost a single ship. Nor has the Queen, on her side, lost her presence of mind for a single moment, nor neglected aught that was necessary for the occasion. Her acuteness in resolving on her action, her courage in carrying it out, show her high-spirited desire of glory and her resolve to save her country and herself (*fino ad hora gli Inglesi si mostrano con veri effetti essere di quella prestantia et peritia nelle cose del mare che suona la publica voce, non havendo con il star sempre a canto li Spagnoli perduto pur un solo vassello. La Regina parimenti con molta intrepidezza non si smarisse punto nè pretermettendo a qual si voglia cosa che sia dovuta al presente bisogno, scopre con la sua accortezza nel determinare et ardire nel comandare non meno grandezza d' animo per desiderio di gloria, che affetione di il Regno et se stessa ancora*).

Paris, 19th August 1588.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

715. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

Great supplies of biscuits, munitions, and men are being prepared at Corunna to send reinforcements to the Armada. Don Bernardino de Mendoza announces from France, in letters of the 2nd August, that the Armada has given battle to the English, sunk some of their ships, won a victory, and passed on to join the Duke of Parma; but the report is so confused, and that Ambassador is so accustomed to deceive himself (*et tanto solito esso Ambasciatore ad inganarsi*) that they are waiting confirmation of the news; no public rejoicings have taken place, nor have the Ambassadors congratulated the King. His Majesty exclaimed that he trusted God would favour his cause to the full, for he was moved by no desire to increase his possessions, but only to increase the faith and the Catholic religion; and even if he conquered England he would not in many years recover the expenses of the Armada for a single day.

The King has raised a loan in Genoa of one million of gold for four months, at nearly twenty-five per cent.

His Majesty will give audience to no one until he has more certain news of the Armada.

Madrid, 20th August 1588.

[*Italian.*]

1588.
Aug. 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

716. Giovanni Gritti, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

The Ambassador of Spain has announced in Court that the Armada sailed on the 22nd from Corunna with fine weather. But letters of the 28th from Iran, and of the 5th from Lyons, announce that four light galleys have been cast away. On news of the departure from Corunna it was believed that the Spanish Ambassador would ask the Pope for money assistance, but that he would proceed in such a way as to secure the dignity of his master, and to avoid any refusal or repulse.

Rome, 20th August 1588.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

717. Giovanni Gritti, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

The Pope showed me a model of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. He said it would be possible to buy it from the Turks, but he did not wish to prove to the world that he had abandoned all hope of recovering it by arms. The King of Spain's forces alone would be sufficient for this purpose, but he is now engaged in a war with England. With the monies that have been spent on England this expedition might have been made, for those expenses amount to upwards of thirteen millions, and nothing has been done. The King goes trifling with this Armada of his, but the Queen acts in earnest. Were she only a Catholic she would be our best beloved, for she is of great worth. Just look at Drake! who is he? What forces has he? And yet he burned twenty-five of the King's ships at Gibraltar, and as many again at Lisbon; he has robbed the flotilla and sacked San Domingo. His reputation is so great that his countrymen flock to him to share his booty. We are sorry to say it, but we have a poor opinion of this Spanish Armada, and fear some disaster. The King should have sailed when we told him, in September of last year. Rapidity is of prime importance; what can the King do? He has no money, and has borrowed three hundred thousand ducats from Mantua and two hundred thousand from the Archbishop of Toledo. Twenty thousand of his troops have been lost through this delay, some dead, some killed. The Queen has had time to arm. It is an error to spend so much time in preparations. And so his Holiness continued to talk with his usual frankness for a considerable while.

Rome, 20th August 1588.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 23. Original Minute of the Senate, Venetian Archives.

718. To the Secretary in Naples.

Having received news of the success of the Armada in England we order you to present our congratulations to the Viceroy.

23rd August 1588.

Ditto; to the Ambassador in Savoy; to the Secretary in Milan.

[*Italian.*]

1588. Aug. 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

719. Giovanni Mocenigo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

After my last news nothing more has been heard of the Armada. It is supposed that it has been driven by the wind to the north, and is now in Scotch waters unknown to the Spaniards, full of rocks, and with shores hostile to the fleet. They must be hard up for provisions, for even while they were in these waters they were on short rations.

The Queen is getting ready other ships, and the Catholics of the country offer to serve and show great devotion to her Majesty.

Paris, 23rd August 1588.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 24. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

720. Giovanni Mocenigo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The King is informed that six thousand Spanish have entered Bearn. It may be true; they may have been sent to prevent Navarre from assisting England.

Paris, 24th August 1588.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

721. Giovanni Gritti, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

On Tuesday night letters from Savoy to the Spanish Ambassador. On Wednesday morning his Excellence went to the Pope and announced that, according to news from Rouen, the Armada had fought and sunk fifteen English ships, among them the flag ship, without suffering any loss itself, except the burning of one ship. His Holiness did not seem inclined to believe the statement; but the Ambassador all the same sent to inform the Cardinals and other Ambassadors, and after dinner received congratulations at his house. On Friday morning despatches arrived from the Spanish Ambassador in Paris, under date of the 11th, confirming the news and adding that the Duke of Parma had effected a junction with the Armada, had seized the port of Foreland (? Forman), landed eight thousand infantry and thirty pieces of artillery. Every one is surprised that if this news is correct, nothing should be heard about it from the Legate in France.

Rome, 27th August 1588.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

722. Rouen, 7th August 1588.

Yesterday I gave you what information I could of the Armada. Now, thanks be to God, I can send you this good news, that on Tuesday last, off the Isle of Wight, the Armada fell in with Drake's fleet. Drake tried to take the shore, but our fleet secured it. They fought for twenty-four hours, and victory remained with us, as we

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sank fifteen of the enemy, including the flag ship. The rest fled towards Dover and Calais, where the other English are lying. Moreover, we captured three ships that had carried away their masts; and one of ours took fire. The galleasses did most of the work. This news comes from Havre-de-Grace, written yesterday. A Breton, who was on board Drake's ship, says he was attacked by a galleass, lost his masts at the first broadside, and sank at the second; Drake fled under cover of the smoke.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 27. Original Minute of the Senate, Venetian Archives.

723. To the AMBASSADOR in SPAIN.

From many quarters we hear of the success of the Armada, and we rejoice. We order you to offer our congratulations to his Majesty.

Ayes - - - -	186
Noes - - - -	1
Doubtful - - -	1

27th August 1588.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

724. GIOVANNI GRITTI, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

In audience with the Pope, I congratulated him on the good news of the Catholic Armada. The confirmation of the news had just been conveyed to him by the Secretary of the Spanish Ambassador. His Holiness said he did not give it full credence, and that he desired further verification. He pointed out that this confirmation came from the same source as the original news, and even if it were true, the victory was not very great, for the body of Drake's fleet had escaped. Unless the Duke of Parma and the Duke of Medina effected a junction, nothing else mattered much.

Rome, 27th August 1588.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

725. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

To their extreme annoyance they hear every day of the capture, by Huguenots, of couriers on their way to and from Spain. His Majesty declares that the King of Navarre has given orders that at that dangerous place, the landes of Bordeaux, all papers are to be seized; and this to help the Queen of England, and to annoy the King of Spain in retaliation for the favours he has shown to the Guise, his foes. The King of Spain has ordered the post to try the line of Provence and Languedoc. I am informed from Ayron that the Huguenots stopped two great deeds in parchment, sealed with lead, and addressed to me; and that they cut the strings and used the lead to make bullets.

Madrid, 28th August 1588.

[*Italian.*]

1588. Aug. 30. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

726. VINCENZO GRADENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Here the news of the Armada is so confused that I do not know what to say of it. All the same the Spaniards have to-day sung a Te Deum in the Cathedral. The only news they have, however, comes by way of Gratz, from Dorimberg, announcing despatches from Bruges under date the 3rd of this month.

I and some others have news from Antwerp dated 11th, from which it appears that an engagement did take place and that the Spanish had the worst of it, losing many ships. It is a matter of amazement that the Emperor has no news, yet such is the case. In this perplexity I do not venture to affirm anything.

Prague, 30th August 1588.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 3. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

727. GIOVANNI GRITTI, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I enclose a letter from the Duke of Parma, written on the 12th August at Dunquerque. The letter dispels the rumoured capture of English ships. It seems that a galleass has gone ashore at Calais and a galleon at Nieuport. As the fleets were within range of each other at the date of the letter, it is thought that we must soon have news of an engagement.

Rome, 3rd September 1588.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

728. The DUKE OF PARMA writes from DUNQUERQUE on the 12th August.

While standing on the look-out for the Armada of his Majesty with all its ships, and considering how to carry out the desired manœuvre (of embarking), Captain Don Rodrigo de Guzman arrived with letters from the Duke of Medina Sidonia, announcing that he had sailed from Corunna on the 22nd July and was now in twenty-four degrees of latitude.

On August 6th, Lieutenant Juan Gil arrived with despatches announcing that the Armada was abreast of Plymouth; that same evening Captain Pedro de Leon brought word that the fleet was off the Isle of Wight. They both stated that from the moment the Armada came abreast of Plymouth till the time they left the fleet, shots had been exchanged continually with the enemy who had been waiting them in Plymouth, and had let them pass ahead. The English followed them up, always annoying them but refusing to join in a general action. The Duke of Medina Sidonia was unable to force on an action though he tried his best. One of his ships was burned and others which had carried away their masts, were lost though the crews were saved.

On the 7th came a pilot with news that the Armada was off Calais; whereupon the Duke of Parma left Bruges to hasten on the embarkation of his troops and to be nearer the Armada.

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On the morning of the 8th came d'Areco, Secretary to the Duke of Medina Sidonia, with confirmation that the fleet was lying in the roads of S. Jean, close to Calais, and that although the enemy continued to harass them and fire shots, still the whole fleet was in excellent order and complete, though the Duke had not yet been able to force the enemy to come to an engagement as the wind was always against him.

The Duke of Parma left at once for Nieuport where the detachment of twelve thousand men were to embark; and then came early to Dunquerque where everything was ready so that within that day the embarkation might have been carried out at Nieuport and at Dunquerque. At this juncture came the Superintendent-General, Don Giorgio Manrique with further despatches of the day previous, explaining the danger to which the Armada was exposed if caught by a storm in the Channel, and urging the Duke of Parma to put out to sea with his ships and troops and to effect a junction with the Armada; so that in a body they might attack the enemy's fleet or secure a port for our own. This operation was impossible owing to the set of the wind which was such as to prevent even ships specially constructed for navigating those waters from putting out, to say nothing of the enemy's which barred the egress.

While the preparations for embarkation were rapidly progressing, the Prince of Ascoli and other personages arrived in Dunquerque on board a small ship; they had been commissioned by the Duke of Medina Sidonia to reunite all the ships which had been separated from the Armada. They reported that on the morning of the 8th, very early, the enemy had sent eight fire-ships down upon our fleet, and although they had done no mischief, still the Duke of Medina Sidonia thought it well to give the order to cut the cables so as to avoid the danger. The fleet, finding itself thus free, and the same wind blowing as before, it was swept towards that part of the English coast which faces the north. The enemy did not miss the opportunity to give battle to some four ships which had become detached from the Armada. One of these, a galleass, went on shore under Calais, and a galleon on shore at Nieuport. For the rest our fleet will keep together and it is to be hoped that it will not receive any further damage, even if the wind prevented it from bearing down on the enemy. The Duke of Parma has all his men embarked and ready.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 3. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

729. Giovanni Gritti, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

His Holiness said to me that it was the work of God that the Turk should now be occupied in the Persian war. He talked of Hassan Pasha, and of the English Ambassador who had left Constantinople. "The Queen of England" he remarked, "has no need of the Turk to help her. Have you heard how Drake with his fleet has offered battle to the Armada? with what courage! do

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you think he showed any fear? He is a great captain;" and with that his Holiness went on to recount Drake's enterprises at San Domingo, at Cadiz, at Lisbon; the fleets he had captured; the riches he had acquired to his great glory. Then he proceeded to discuss the handling of the Armada; repeating his previous remarks, but adding two new points, all with his wonted remarkable frankness; first he said, "that last year the Marquis of Santa Cruz refused to set sail from Spain, so as not to put himself under the Duke of Parma, and now, I hope to God that the Duke of Medina Sidonia has not been the cause of other difficulties by insisting that the Duke of Parma should come to meet him. For Sidonia was only a few hours distance from Parma, and the junction could easily have been effected, but it has not. The King of Spain exhausts himself by so much consideration for his captains; he is in straits for money, which he is raising from Mantua, from the Archbishop of Toledo, a hundred thousand from Naples, the same from Sicily; we will send him five hundred thousand in fifteen days time, for five hundred thousand have been spent in fifteen days and yet were not sufficient." And with that I took my leave.

Rome, 3rd September 1588.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 3. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

730. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The King is determined that not many ships shall sail together to carry provisions to the Armada, because Drake being so strong in the Channel there would be a danger if all were united in one squadron. He has given orders that they are to sail four and five at a time; as they have begun to do. The ships will carry three hundred thousand crowns to the Duke of Medina Sidonia, though some more will be sent to him through France. This is to replace the money which was lost on board the ship which took fire. In order to raise this money, however, all salaries have been suspended for two months more, and they think this operation will be repeated until the war is finished.

Madrid, 3rd September 1588.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 6. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

731. Vincenzo Gradenigo, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the Doge of Senate.

Here Don Guglielmo (di San Clemente) has given no good news of the Armada, which has lost two galleasses on the banks between Flanders and England, and another under Calais, while the Armada itself has been borne northward. All the same, the Spaniards here declare that the landing will take place, though the heretics loudly affirm the contrary, with many scandalous and dangerous expressions. For instance, Kuischky, held to be a leading heretic, said the other day, in a company of Italians, that unless they kept their eyes on Spain they would one day find themselves under Spanish yoke; but that Germany had no intention of allowing such a thing to

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happen to them, and were on the look out; as is indeed the case, for the diet of Saxony follows the movement of the attack on England and all its resolutions are governed by the issue of that.

Prague, 6th September 1588.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

732. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The bad news received in despatches from the Duke of Parma, and dated the 10th August, though kept strictly secret, yet pain the King and the Court all the more that they were unexpected, and moreover quite contrary to the news sent by Don Bernardino de Mendoza, the Ambassador in France, who by three different couriers confirmed the statement that the Duke of Medina Sidonia had sunk many of the enemy, and was on the point of effecting a junction with the Duke of Parma. The despatches from the Duke of Parma detail the misfortune which befel the Armada on the 8th August, and how it has been driven towards Scotland and Norway. But what distresses them most is the news that Drake is following up the Armada, harassing it continually and picking up all the vessels that become separated from it. In this way he has augmented his own fleet since the Catholic Armada entered the English Channel; and all his men are fired by the courage of their leader and his successes. Furthermore, they fear that as the Armada is being driven towards Scotland, it may be cast away on the shores of that hostile country, whose King now shows himself thoroughly averse to the Spanish after the many promises they made to him, as I have already explained; and the small account which they showed that they set by him, has, as it were, thrown him into the arms of the Queen of England, in spite of the injury she did him by the execution of his mother. So the Armada with its troops all storm-tossed and worn out, will find the Scotch in front and Drake on their flank, and every one augurs ill for the issue of the enterprise; and they think that, even if no worse disaster befalls the Armada than that which overtook it on the 8th August, still it will be impossible to attempt any further operations this year, unless they are resolved to ruin their fleet and jeopardise the army in Flanders. It is evident that they have no harbour or place where it is possible to make a stand, and to shelter the fleet from the attacks of the enemy; and now that secret understandings have failed, it proves a most desperate task to capture such a place by force. Again, if the enterprise is put off or delayed the consequences will be very serious for the King, and will place him in very great difficulties, as he is in want of the sinews of war, money, which is so scarce that it is hard to see how he can maintain his army and fleet much longer, for they have drained the country of men and other substance. But the worst of all is that in face of the bad news they are unable to decide on a line of action. If supports are sent after the Armada they will run great

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risk; if they do not send supports, that part of the Armada, if any, which has escaped the storm and the foe will be exposed to grave danger, for it is known that both provisions and ammunition have been consumed. These fears produce doubt not resolution; and it is clear that they now regret having trusted too much to fortune and held the enemy too weak. The remedies they adopt, and the orders they issue are confined to two objects, first to keep the bad news secret, and to colour it as they please, for which purpose they detain many letters addressed to private individuals; and, second, to continue with fervour both prayers and processions; and so the nobles and gentlemen of the Court, in great disgust, cry out to heaven that his Majesty, without consulting experienced and veteran officers, but solely upon the advice of Don Juan d'Idiaquez and Don Cristoforo de Mora, has all by himself embarked upon an enterprise so difficult of execution that it may bring down upon the kingdom grave loss and ruin. Nor do they refrain from accusing the Duke of Parma as though he were the cause of a large part of these disasters, both because he did not instantly effect his junction with the Duke of Medina Sidonia, and because he should have prevented the muster of the army being made in Lisbon; for that armament would have been sufficient to effect a landing (had it been mustered in Flanders). But be the blame where it may, now that it is too late to remedy them many mistakes are pointed out; and the Marquis of Santa Cruz, who was formerly condemned, is now lauded as a prudent, wise, and valorous soldier. In short, every one says just what he likes, all of which I need not repeat to your Excellencies. It is a blessing that the bad news did not reach Spain while the King was suffering from fever, for though his Majesty professes to allow no occurrence to disturb his equanimity, yet this war moves him in such a way as to prove clearly that on other occasions he was only acting, and that now he is unable to do so, perhaps, because this war is entirely conducted by himself alone; and that it should not succeed brings to light all his anxiety. He lives very retired and gives audience to no one. He has lately re-made his will, and spends hours together with his confessor; though many say that this is owing to the question of appointment to benefices.

Madrid, 6th September 1588.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Sept. 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

733. Giovanni Mocenigo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The English fleet, on account of the great and continual storm, was unable to follow up the Spaniards, and has returned to England to provision itself, as it had begun to run somewhat short. Nothing is known about the Spanish Armada with certainty, although the Duke of Parma has sent out ships in various directions to gather news. The most experienced seamen think that it must be now off the coast of Norway, in great distress for provisions and

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munition, and with its fittings riddled by artillery, or partly left in the sea when they cut their cables to fly from the fire ships. No one believes that the Armada will return to English waters; the English have been reinforced both in men and ships, thanks to the advantage which they enjoy of being at home. This same view is taken by the Spanish themselves, who believe that the Armada, being unable to undertake any operations against England, will return to Spain, sailing round Ireland, in order to secure, as best they may, the remains of the fleet. After Drake's arrival on the scene, when the galleasses and other ships had been captured, as I wrote to your Serenity, an attack from various quarters was delivered, beginning at eighteen o'clock and ending at twenty-two. Seven of the enemy were sunk, and Drake followed the Spanish as far as Scotland in the North Sea, and there, as that sea is considered very dangerous, he left them and returned home, thinking that the Armada, especially the galleasses, could hardly resist the storm which was blowing and increasing.

Drake reported to the Queen that he left the enemy with eighty-two sail out of the original hundred and thirty-four. They have lost fourteen of their biggest ships with eight thousand men between killed and prisoners, while the English have not lost a single ship nor any person of importance, only some two hundred soldiers.

The English Admiral, who was victualled for three months, will put out again when he has repaired some of his damaged ships, with one hundred sail, far finer and better armed than the first, for the Queen had prepared fifty ships to await the Duke of Medina Sidonia if he should sail round Scotland; and as that voyage is a long one this fleet will come on the scene in a very damaged condition, and so these fifty ships may give the Armada a great deal of trouble before it reaches the shores of Spain.

From Holland we learn that the Dutch were present at the capture of three Spanish galleons, and were so tempted by the booty which they made, that they have gone out with forty well-armed ships to hang upon the flank of the Spanish and to pick up any of the Armada which, by stress of weather or bad seamanship, may become separated from the rest.

The Duke of Parma is dividing his army among the various fortresses, and all the nobility that was with him is being disbanded. He has had with him the most experienced captains and the finest troops drawn to his service by the desire for glory, and also because both rumour and the statements of the Spaniards represented the prizes as larger than have ever been heard of. The Spaniards, however, are not satisfied with the Duke; they accuse him of negligence and of little will to embark his troops so as to avoid placing himself under the command of the Duke of Medina Sidonia, and for fear of leaving the government of Flanders in the hands of Sidonia.

Paris, 9th September 1588.

[*Italian.*]

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Enclosed in Despatch from Rome, September 10.

734. A REPORT of what has recently taken place in the STRAITS OF CALAIS, between the SPANISH and ENGLISH FLEETS.

On the 6th of August M. Gourdain (?) (*Ingorda*), Governor of Calais, had notice that the two fleets, of Spain and of England, were in the roads of St. Agatha, two leagues from Calais, and went off at once to reconnoitre them.

The Duke of Medina Sidonia, being warned of the Governor's approach along the shore, sent a gentleman to beg for some fresh supplies for his own personal use. These the Duke received the following day by means of a captain of Calais, to whom he showed all his fleet, to the number of one hundred and twenty sail; great ships with twenty thousand men on board, so they say. The Duke's own ship had eighty pieces of cannon and a crew of from one thousand to one thousand two hundred men. Besides these were four galleasses, the most lovely and largest that ever were seen. The two fleets were at anchor half a league apart.

On the evening of the 7th the English fleet was increased by the arrival of thirty ships, so that it was composed of more ships than the Spanish, but not so large or so well armed. At the moment that these ships joined the English fleet, the English sent out seven fire ships, which were carried by the tide towards the Spanish who found themselves forced to abandon their anchorage, and to draw away towards Dunquerque to escape from the fire. One of the galleasses, the finest of them, while weighing anchor jammed its rudder, and drifted under the walls of Calais. Seeing the danger they sent to beg the Governor to cover the ship with some shots from his cannon against the English fleet which was trying to capture the galleass. To this M. Gourdain replied that he was not at war with England nor with Spain, and that he could not do as requested without orders from the King.

On the 8th at daybreak a detachment of the English fleet came up to attack the galleass, which, being aground, was unable to defend herself except on one broadside; and part of her soldiers had deserted, and the crew being galley slaves, when they saw themselves cannonaded thus, jumped overboard, and saved themselves in Calais. The English seeing this put some harquebussiers in a light boat, and went to board the ship whose commander, the son of the Viceroy of Valencia, refused to give in, and fought for long and valiantly with those few men who stood by him. At last he was killed by an English bullet, and the English seized the ship. They sacked, slew, or took prisoners all they could. The English wished to carry off the galleass, but M. Gourdain sent men to beg them not to offer him this insult, for the ship was grounded on the coast of France, and the French had not interfered in the fight. The English replied that this was a point which they could not abandon without their Admiral's orders, and to him they sent a messenger at once.

M. Gourdain, seeing that they did not agree to his request, but were trying to set the ship on fire as they could not carry her off,

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sent again to inquire what reply the English Admiral had returned. He was told that the orders were to carry off the ship if they could, if not, to set her on fire. The Governor, learning that they were trying to carry out these last instructions, was compelled to fire some twenty-five or thirty shots to force them to desist, which they did.

The same day the Duke of Medina Sidonia, aware that there was no more hope of recovering the galleass, and that the English always avoided an engagement, pushed forward in his own ship to attack the English fleet, which at once gave him battle with four ships.

The Spanish fleet seeing him engaged came up to his support, and to attack the English in earnest. In this way an engagement between the two fleets was brought on about four hours before midday and lasted till about four hours after midday, with an inconceivable roar and resounding of cannon, both fleets drawing gradually away to the open sea till, at Calais, both sight and sound were lost in the distance.

It is held for sure that some days before, a great wind having sprung up, two vessels, on board of one of them being a favourite of the King of Spain and forty thousand ducats, were separated from the Armada and, in their attempt to rejoin the fleet, were captured by the English.

It is said that the Duke of Medina Sidonia, when at the mouth of the channel, wished to attack as he had the enemy to leeward, but the English retired to Portland (*Porclena*) to let him pass, and thus they gained the windward position.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

35. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The courier who is to carry my last despatch has not left yet, though he is to do so in an hour's time. I therefore wish to inform your Serenity that a messenger from Don Giorgio Manrique has arrived from Flanders by the sea route. He landed at Corunna, having left Dunquerque on the 22nd of last month. The Ministers here as usual will not publish the news which he brings. I have learned from a secret source that the King is in the greatest distress because he has no other information about the Armada than that in its flight towards Scotland it was followed and harassed by the English. Those who are best informed think that the remains of the Armada will sail right round Scotland and return direct to Spain, abandoning, for the present, all idea of a junction with the Duke of Parma, both in order to avoid the danger of the English Channel and also because they will be able to refit here in Spain more rapidly and to better effect. Some there are who, considering that the Armada has been so storm-tossed, hold that very little of it will ever return to Spain. I add no more for your Excellencies will have earlier and fuller news from France.

This same courier says that Don Giorgio Manrique was sent on shore by the Duke of Medina Sidonia the moment he reached

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Calais in order to urge the Duke of Parma to carry out the junction, and that Manrique came to high words with the Duke of Parma, of whom he writes all sort of evil to his Majesty. He declares that the Duke was not ready, although he was so anxious that the Armada should sail; and that the Duke had affirmed with great heat that where he was no one else should command, nor was he responsible to anyone for his actions except to the King. These quarrels add not a little to the King's troubles.

The King is in doubt lest the Pope should refuse the million he has promised. He has given orders to the Count d'Olivares to take all steps to induce the Pope to pay it down as soon as possible, promising that he will not abandon the enterprise, but will fit out another armament, and will imperil all his kingdoms in order to punish that wicked woman.

Madrid, 10th September 1588.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Sept. 12. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

736. Vincenzo Gradenigo, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the Doge and Senate.

News from Antwerp that Drake has had to take shelter in the Thames; very severely handled by the Armada.

Prague, 12th September 1588.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 17. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

737. Giovanni Gritti, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

The Cardinals and others of the Spanish party complain that the money which was promised to his Catholic Majesty when the Armada disembarked its troops in England has not been paid, for it is not the King's fault if no landing has been effected. And if things have not gone well that is a reason for consoling, not for further harassing his Majesty.

Rome, 17th September 1588.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 17. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

738. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

As the misfortunes which have befallen the Armada up to the 10th of last month have caused great anxiety to the King and his Ministers who keep the news secret, so the reports from Rouen and Don Bernardino di Mendoza, the Catholic Ambassador in France, have done much to console his Majesty, for they announce that the English fleet, in its endeavour to prevent the Armada from entering a certain port in Scotland, has been severely damaged, with the loss or capture of many ships. They are anxiously awaiting more positive news of this event from the Duke of Parma and from the Duke of Medina Sidonia, who is, according to Don Bernardino, now lying in an open roadstead in Scotland, recovering his ships and men, and waiting to see whether his condition will compel him to return to Spain, or whether he can follow up his victory by joining

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the Duke of Parma, not allowing time for the enemy to recruit himself and to call in foreign aid. The Ambassador affirms that the Queen and the whole country are in a panic, for only thirty ships have come home, and those very roughly handled; also that in various parts of the English army mutinies have broken out; and much more which, if true, your Serenity will already have heard from elsewhere. We only know what is published here, and all letters and despatches pass into the hands of the King and Don Juan d'Idiaquez only. All I can say is that after the last news his Majesty was in excellent spirits, and so were his Ministers.

These last news have caused the attacks on the Duke of Medina Sidonia to cease. They at first accused him of being the cause of all the disasters through his bad leadership, as, indeed, they have openly accused the Duke of Parma of treachery to the King. His Majesty is very angry at these rumours, especially with Don Giorgio Manrique who has written a lot of lies, for the Duke of Parma has completely justified his conduct, and has demonstrated that he alone, with only small boats, was quite unable to cross over to England, as the Queen had other fifty ships lying in the river of London to repel a landing; nor was he able to effect a junction with the Armada after its arrival at Calais, for it was compelled to remove from its anchorage by the enemy's fire ships. The inventor of these ships was here in this Court for a long time, but no attention was paid to him, and in disgust he went into the service of the Queen of England.

The preparations they are now making consist of provisions for the ships which are lying in Corunna, which number thirty. They will determine whether they are to sail or not when they know whether the Duke of Medina Sidonia intends to return home or to go on with the campaign. They continue to raise money in various ways, but the chief method is by suspending all payments.

The question of new recruits has been before the Council of War, but it was deemed wise to suspend action till further news from the Duke of Medina Sidonia. Spain is quite denuded of men and of all other provisions chiefly owing to the very bad harvest of this year.

Madrid, 17th September 1588.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 17. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

739. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

I am informed by a person of importance that his Majesty has sent despatches by sea and by land to the Duke of Parma and the Duke of Medina Sidonia with orders that they are to effect a junction, if possible, and to continue the enterprise; but if the Armada has suffered too severely, then the Duke of Parma is to do everything in his power by treating with the Count of Emden (*Henden*), a Catholic, to obtain that port of his which is very convenient and safe, where the Armada can, while remaining near the royal army, take shelter and repair its damages. His Majesty promises shortly to

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send out another fleet of one hundred good ships to be added to all his other forces. He has also enjoined on the Duke of Parma that, if the Duke of Medina Sidonia has already sailed round Scotland on his way back to Spain owing to the injury to his ships or his lack of munition and provisions, he is to make as much way as he can in Flanders, for his Majesty will send back Medina Sidonia and his fleet as soon as possible.

Six ships laden with munition, which sailed from Lisbon for Corunna, have met with severe weather, and have put back.

I learn from a very secret source that for reasons of State a great nobleman of Portugal has been arrested. It appears that he was trying to raise the country in rebellion. The Portuguese are extremely dissatisfied at being under Spanish rule.

The King is about to raise a loan from Augustin Spinola, the richest gentleman of Genoa, and his company; the amount is three millions of gold, and it is secured on so much of the crown lands as will yield an interest of seven per cent.

Madrid, 17th September 1588.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Sept. 17. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

740. Giovanni Gritti, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

The Pope said to me that he has had no news of the Spanish and English fleets; that the despatches of the Legate in France, though they might more properly be called a horary than a diary, containing as they did hourly notice of all that took place, still gave no sure information on the subject of the fleets.

Rome, 17th September 1588.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 20. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

741. Vincenzo Gradenigo, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the Doge and Senate.

The Emperor has caused a complaint to be made to the Agent of the Duke of Parma, Marc' Antonio Rizzo, because the Duke sends no news of the Armada. From the time when the Emperor was in Spain there has always been some ill-feeling between these two Princes, which explains the little cordiality which is now displayed.

Common report says that after the first battle there has been no other engagement, but that the Armada is following the route outside Scotland, and will return to Corunna.

Prague, 20th September 1588.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

742. Giovanni Mocenigo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The English Ambassador told me that the Queen of England now sees how little good she has got from her convention with the King of France, who, at a moment of such importance in her life, has, at the instigation of the Guise, done all he can to assist her enemies.

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From Spain I hear that several boxes of gold have been sent to the Catholic Ambassador here, to be dispensed to those who may be of service to the Spanish.

We have no news here of the Armada. The English fleet is out again. A detachment of the fleet has passed over to Havre de Grace to capture a Spanish galleon which has been driven in there by storm. The galleon lies outside the harbour, and has put on shore forty thousand crowns and other provision of war. The Ambassador found some difficulty in recovering this property, which was claimed by the Admiralty; but the King has sent orders to surrender it all. The Queen of England has returned to London to comfort her people. There is a scheme for fortifying all the coast on both sides of Margate, which is the place where a landing might most easily be effected, and where it was discovered that the Spaniards actually intended to land. This can be done at very small cost, and in a very short time.

Paris, 23rd September 1588.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Sept. 24. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

743. Giovanni Gritti, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

The Spanish Ambassador having applied to the Pope for money assistance in the war, his Holiness has shown his willingness to advance eight hundred thousand ducats, provided that security be given in Rome or in Venice that this sum will be restored if the English enterprise is abandoned.

Rome, 24th September 1588.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 24. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

744. Giovanni Gritti, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

The Pope then took up the despatches which were lying on his table, and read me the one from London by way of Lyons. The Spanish Armada, reduced to ninety sail, is in Scotch waters. It endeavoured to secure a port from the King of Scotland, but failed. His Holiness said that from Turin, on the other hand, he had news that the Armada had secured a port, had defeated Drake and driven him to seek refuge in the Thames, and he added, "one day or other we shall know the truth." The positive information which his Holiness gave me was that there was jealousy between Medina Sidonia and Parma because Medina Sidonia would not obey Parma in land operations as the King wished and had ordered; and, further, that Sidonia insisted that Parma should come to join him, and follow him in his attack on Drake, although Parma had ships which were fit for nothing but for transporting his troops from one shore to the other. This quarrel between the leaders was no new thing of the moment, but began in the days of the Marquis of Santa Cruz, who for this very reason would never sail on the English enterprise.

Rome, 24th September 1588.

[*Italian.*]

1588. Sept. 29. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

745. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

On the 23rd of this month Don Balthasar de Zunica arrived at the Escurial; he had been despatched by the Duke of Medina Sidonia on the 20th of August, while the Armada was off the Orkneys, in sixty degrees of latitude. He made a report of all that had taken place since the fleet left Calais, and of the bad state in which it was at present. The fleet will return to Spain, as your Serenity will gather from the enclosed letter written by a friend of mine on board the fleet. All this has made still clearer the falsity of the news which Don Bernardino de Mendoza has been publishing to the world; and for his conduct in this matter he is in but little favour with his Majesty. Yesterday we had news that the whole Armada had reached Biscay, but to-day a courier from San Sebastian announces that only the Captain Oquendo, with ten ships, had sailed into that port on the 24th of this month, having been separated from the rest of the Armada by a great storm. God grant that it may come home safely after all these misfortunes; and its return at all would be taken as good news by the Ministers, who at one time expected much worse.

His Majesty feels these misfortunes profoundly, but shows that he is more than ever determined to follow out his enterprise with all the forces at his disposal. He is resolved that by March next a most powerful fleet shall be ready to put to sea. Orders will be sent out to raise men in Italy and also in Spain. All ships of every build will be seized, all the corn throughout Spain will be made into biscuits, and every other sort of provision will be got ready. Six ships with provisions have sailed from Lisbon for Corunna, and another six in their company, and this will be a most useful reinforcement when the Armada comes into that port. His Majesty has given orders to build in Lisbon twenty galleys fit to sail in English waters; they are to be shorter and higher than the usual model, and already the wood is prepared.

The Portuguese who was arrested for conspiracy has confessed that he had secret understanding with Don Antonio, and wrote to him. His name is Emanuel Gomes Gielvez. It is thought that by this time he is drowned.

Madrid, 29th September 1588.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

746. Our fleet left Calais through fear of the enemy's fire ships and made for the open sea in the endeavour to avoid the mouth of the channel. God wished to punish us for our sins, and more to that than to aught else must be attributed the fact that the wind was in our teeth, and kept blowing up so strongly that, all against our will, we were forced into the channel with the enemy always to windward of us.

On Monday morning the enemy, having reconnoitred our fleet, drew out with his own and began to chase thirty of our ships along the coast by Calais, keeping along the shore and trying to drive

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them away from it. The rest of their fleet, in order of battle, bore down on us, and began a furious infernal cannonade. The battle lasted about nine hours, in my judgment. This ship and the "S. Matheo" have been so badly damaged that of the few survivors some were transhipped with the Adjutants Don Francesco di Toledo and Don Diego Pimentel. The "S. Matheo" is held for lost.

Another ship, a Biscayan, called the "Maria Juan," went to the bottom. Her captain, Castion, was saved along with a Navarese gentleman, called Don Gaspro d' Espoletta, all burned about the face as a page of his told me. Don Martin and Don Juan di Viamonte, sons of the Medinetta, perished with her.

The enemy's fleet numbered upwards of one hundred and thirty sail. The flag-ship of the galleasses, which made for Calais, was attacked and cannonaded; we do not know if she was captured; for my part I think so, and we saw that the Castle of Calais fired its guns and tried to shelter the galleass.

Don Felippe di Cordova perished; may God pardon him; so too Don Pedro di Mendoza and other gentlemen, soldiers, gunners, mariners in great numbers, all from the district of Carrion; others went to the bottom. It was a disgusting spectacle which we have seen these last few days.

There are many who think that in two days more than 1,700 shots were fired. No one of importance was killed.

On Wednesday, the 8th August, in the morning the enemy came out against us so vigorously and so arrogantly, that our leader had some apprehensions, but the grace of God miraculously favoured us. On this day the enemy won the advantage owing to the disorder in which we sailed, the bad weather, and the fear of the last action, in which the Duke, with four other ships, while leading the fleet, was so hard pressed that we thought our destruction had come. Fortune was not content with giving us a single foe, she brought out the Flanders galleys as well. The enemy then turned off, took the windward of us, and continued his course in perfect order, and never letting our rear-guard out of sight, but keeping just out of cannon shot; and thus he followed us for all Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday.

On that day, at nightfall, the enemy forced us back, and on Saturday morning he drew up in order of battle, and came down upon us, but keeping just out of range; and as we stood waiting the onset the enemy made a tack, stood out to open sea, and gradually drew away from us so that by sundown he was out of sight.

Our route outside Scotland is long; pray God we come safe home. It is the historian's business to comment on events. I reserve all remarks till I arrive at Court, when there will be much to say. For myself I can only add that I am very hungry and thirsty, for no one has more than a half pint of wine and a whole one of water each day; and the water you cannot drink for it smells worse than musk. It is more than ten days since I drank any. The voyage is not so short but that there remain to us four

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hundred leagues of road. They say we are to go straight to Corunna, and the troops are to be lodged in Galicia.

The Gulf of Scalloway (Vacallaos), 20th August 1588; in 60 degrees of high latitude.

[*Spanish.*]

Oct. 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

747. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The Armada begins to reach the coast of Spain; it is in a very bad plight, to say the truth, the result of the enemy's attacks and the long voyage. They calculate that from the time when they left Lisbon they have sailed five thousand miles. The three Venetians are all safe. I have no other news except that the Commander-in-Chief complains loudly of some captains, and has hung one and is trying others for refusing to fight and deserting.

The King has to-day proposed to the Cortes to levy a tax of one real per sack of corn ground. Though Spain is in great straits, the King will not be able to abandon the enterprise against England. A loan of a million of gold has been raised to-day, and the Viceroy of Italy and the Governor of Milan are instructed to ask for a large donation. But as no one is paid, as the King gives no audience and does not despatch business the cry of his people goes up to heaven; and Father Marian Azzaro, who speaks very frankly, said to the King the other day, that although his prayers and processions were very good things yet it was certain that God gave ear to other voices before his; when the King asked "what voices" Father Marian replied, "those of the poor oppressed who stay about the Court in pain, without being paid and without having their business attended to."

At this moment a courier has arrived with news that the Duke of Medina Sidonia, who is in ill-health, reached Santander in Biscay, on the 20th of last month; he has twenty-four ships all in a bad way; and especially on board of one all have died of famine and misery. Don Alonzo de Leyva has been left behind in a storm. The King has ordered all the ships to Corunna, for repairs. They say that there are serious differences between the Duke of Medina Sidonia and the Duke of Parma, each one trying to throw the blame on the other.

Madrid, the 1st of October 1588.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

748. Vincenzo Gradenigo, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the Doge and Senate.

The Duke of Parma, finding that his troops are not needed now for the attack on England, has divided his forces into three parts; one is lying under Ostend, another is in Brabant, and the third, under the Count Mansfeldt, is marching towards Germany.

Prague, 4th October 1588.

[*Italian.*]

1588, Oct. 5. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

749. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I wrote to your Serenity announcing the arrival first of Captain Oquendo with ten ships, at San Sebastian then of the Duke of Medina Sidonia with twenty-four at Santander in Galicia. I am now informed that ten more ships have reached the coast; nothing has been heard as yet of Don Alonzo de Leyva, of Don Martin de Recalde, and other commanders, with upwards of fifty vessels which became separated from the rest by a great storm. They think that they may have gone to the Azores, which would be the least disastrous thing that could happen, for it is known that they were very much damaged and without food.

Comments are very various, and the whole expedition is considered very difficult. For, supposing that they refit the Armada and send it off again to join the forces in Flanders, then it will run precisely the same dangers as it has met this year. If they determine to make the muster of the whole armament in Spain, then there is the difficulty of transporting the Flanders veterans to Spain. Then but small account can be made of the survivors of the Armada, for almost all on their return fall ill, many die and many, in spite of precautions, succeed in deserting, and only to-day news has arrived that Captain Oquendo, a brave soldier and brother of the Marquis de Vigliena, along with other commanders and persons of quality, died at once on reaching land. In these misfortunes and seeing that the Duke of Medina Sidonia has asked permission to retire to his own house, his Majesty has written to the Duke of Parma requesting him to state his opinion on the situation. *At the same time, if the Duke thinks it advisable, he is to leave Count Mansfeldt as his lieutenant in Flanders, and to come to Spain secretly about Christmas time, either by land or by sea, coasting along the shores of France. The King will then place him in command of the navy, and at the head of the whole expedition with power to manage it as he shall think best. His Majesty thinks of going to Lisbon in person to animate the preparations and to arrive at various decisions as regards the war.* The King shows a determination in spite of all obstacles and opposition to overcome every difficulty, and, with a view to achieving his purpose, for he notes a great reluctance in his subjects to accept the grist tax, and money is absolutely necessary, and that promptly, he has resolved to apply to the eight kingdoms for a donation of six millions in gold to be paid in two years, and pay for a certain quantity of troops; and the Cortes are sitting at this moment on the question at the Escurial, where they are caressed and honoured by his Majesty beyond his wont. It is expected that they will satisfy his Majesty if not in full yet in large part. The King is annoyed by the attacks which the Spanish are making on the Duke of Parma, and has let it be understood that he is perfectly satisfied with the Duke's conduct; the Ministers say the same, and as a proof Don Giorgio Manrique has been deprived of his post because of the annoyance which he caused to the Duke when sent on shore by Medina Sidonia. Diego Flores de Valdez will be sent

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Madrid, 5th October 1588.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Oct. 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

750. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The Duke of Medina Sidonia has once more begged leave to go to his own home, to recover his health. The King has replied that the Duke should come to Court when he feels himself well enough. The Duke of Parma has sent the Knight of Malta, known as Mores, he who usually transacts business with the Guise, to make his excuses for not having been able to effect a junction with the Armada, and to answer the many attacks which are made on him, especially by the Spanish.

One ship of the Peruvian fleet has reached Lisbon. The rest are said to be coming, with two millions and a half of gold for the King. The Cardinal of Seville assures me that after Christmas the King will go to Portugal, and next year the war will be made in earnest. He said that it was absolutely necessary to mass both army and navy in Spain, and not to attempt to send them through the Channel but to make a descent direct upon Ireland or England. As regards the commander, there is no doubt but that the Duke of Medina Sidonia will go home; and four other names occur, though all present some difficulties; the two most prominent are Don Hernando, son of Alva, and Prince Doria; neither would willingly obey the Duke of Parma. The other two are Don Alonzo de Vargas and Don Alonzo de Leyva; the first too timid, the second too rash. And so the Duke of Parma will receive the supreme command of both sea and land, and will choose his own lieutenant to command the Armada; for which post either de Cortez or Alvaro Florez would be well suited. The English corsairs are making themselves felt. The other day, within sight almost of Lisbon, they took, sacked and burned three small ships.

I have no other news of the three Venetian ships which formed part of the Armada. I know that the Commander-in-Chief told his Majesty that the "Regazzona" had done very well in that brush with the enemy.

Madrid, 7th October 1588.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

751. Giovanni Mocenigo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The King of France desires to bring about a universal peace, but Navarre talks loftily, and declares that he is strong enough to fight anyone who ventures into Poitu. He says he has between six and seven thousand infantry, one thousand horse, and the Queen of England's promise to send him a large contingent.

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Against the Duke of Parma there are charges of gross negligence, made, however, only by partizans; nor are there wanting those who affirm that for many days he was ready to embark and that he had already begun to do so, but that the Duke of Medina Sidonia, though he sailed by Parma, did so in his flight from the fire ships, and never had the occasion to pick up the Duke of Parma's troops.

Paris, 8th October 1588.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

752. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Duke of Parma is before Bergues, and is investing it from the land side. If the English do not support the city it must soon fall.

Two ships of the Armada have reached Dieppe, a sign that it is much scattered, and may be yet further injured by the English. My Lord Robert, Earl of Leicester, is dead.

Paris, 9th October 1588.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

753. GIOVANNI MORO, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On one and the same day contradictory news of the Spanish and English fleets arrived here, and so they do not know what to make of it. Alvaro Mendes was the first to report that the Spanish Armada had been routed by the English the Ragusan representatives declared the contrary, then when the English agent went to confirm the news of the Spanish defeat the Pashas merely replied, "God grant it may be so," and showed that they doubted it.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 9th October 1588.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Oct. 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

754. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I have received your Serenity's instructions to congratulate his Majesty on the success of the Armada. I, however, have not mentioned the subject, and, as your Excellencies will know by this time, there is occasion to condole rather than to congratulate, and this office had better be deferred to the happier issue of next year's enterprise.

The Duke of Medina Sidonia, after setting out on his journey to Court, has fallen seriously ill at Burgos. His Majesty has sent to tell him to attend to his health, and to vex himself about nothing, and when he is better, to go and see his wife; as there will always be plenty of time for him to come to Court.

They say that twelve thousand men are to be raised in Italy, and that very soon orders will be issued for the continuation of the

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enterprise against England; meantime everything is suspended till the Duke of Parma's answer arrives.

Madrid, 12th October 1588.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

755. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Don Juan d'Idiaquez and Don Christoforo de Mora are in perpetual consultation as to the best means for carrying out effectively an expedition against England in the coming year. But now more than ever all those obstacles which I have so frequently indicated, are made apparent, especially since the return of the Duke of Medina Sidonia to Spain. I am assured, however, that they have resolved to put together a powerful armament without any regard to the cost; to change the Commander-in-Chief; to alter the whole plan of campaign, as they now recognize many errors and many fallacious presuppositions in the plan of this year's campaign. They hold that the most important point of all is the possession of harbours in which at least a part of the Armada can take shelter. The King of France has shown a friendly disposition by offering to the Armada every help he could at Calais and elsewhere, and they accordingly propose to ask his most Christian Majesty, in confirmation of his kind disposition, to grant the use of French ports to the Spanish Armada; they promise that if he does so he will not only be acting in a way which is worthy of his title of most Christian, but that he will enjoy the merit of having assisted in an enterprise which must approve itself to God; and the King of Spain will acknowledge this help and endeavour to repay it on all occasions.

Furthermore, it is said that now that Ibrahim Pasha is no longer Capadun but has been succeeded by Hassan Pasha, a restless and ambitious spirit, who is extremely hostile to Spain and determined to seize the kingdom of Fez so as to secure the port of El'Arisch for the Grand Signor, it is all the more necessary to keep an eye upon the Turkish fleet lest it should inflict some injury on Spanish dominions, or, at the instance of the Queen of England, put out to sea and so create a diversion from the English enterprise; and for this purpose they are going to send Giovanni Stefano Ferrari to Constantinople to negotiate a truce. Ferrari accordingly has been summoned to the Escurial, and Don Juan discussed the matter with him very intimately for a couple of hours. The conclusion arrived at was to wait for Benveniste's reply from Constantinople, and that Ferrari should return to Madrid whence he can be summoned at a moment's notice. Ferrari told my secretary all this. His Majesty has also been advised that if the Queen of England would abandon the protectorate of Zealand and Holland by restoring the fortresses, it would be as well to conclude a treaty with her and so put an end to all these expenses and troubles. And it would be no dishonour to the King, who in this way would have achieved the principal object for which he

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undertook this war, namely, the recovery of those provinces. Those who urge this line of action say that the Queen of England will in all probability be ready to agree to these terms, for she feels that she has acquired great glory by having, this year, defended her kingdom so successfully against all the power of Spain; and she will not care to risk this reputation and continue in so dangerous a position; for she must expect a most formidable attack next year, while she lacks the men, money, and means to resist it. I hear, however, that his Majesty is not favourable to this idea. He holds that such a line of conduct is too timid, and but little to his honour. Besides such a treaty would not be the real end of the war, for its conclusion would be all in favour of the rebel provinces in whose hands the forts would be placed; and it is possible that after the disbanding of the Armada, the forts might be handed over to the Queen in virtue of secret understandings with her. Further the King argues that if the Queen is in such straits as is represented, he can either conquer that kingdom or she will be forced to offer more honourable terms, by restoring Holland and Zealand without reserve, and withdrawing entirely from all public or secret engagements towards those people. In this opinion his Majesty stands firm; and time will show whether it is sound or false. No one has had the courage to urge anything in opposition. In a matter of such importance I consider it my duty to report all I hear from secret sources; and so I inform you that preparations are pressed on with all rapidity; though the final decisions will be taken when the Duke of Parma's answer is to hand, and the rest of the Armada comes to port.

Don Bernardino de Mendoza, hearing that the King is little satisfied with his conduct and especially for the false reports which he scattered about, has asked leave to retire; he alleges that he is nearly blind and therefore no longer fit for service. It is thought that in a few days his request will be granted, chiefly with a view to satisfying his most Christian Majesty who looks on Don Bernardino's reckless character with little favour.

The King has addressed a letter to the Cortes on the subject of the donation which he wishes them to vote. It is said that they will give him the money but will refuse the men on the ground that Spain is ruined by the large number of troops that have been drawn from her in so short a time. The City of Seville has promised the loan of one million which his Majesty asked for; and has moreover advanced another two hundred thousand crowns to his Majesty for this war. Madrid offers one hundred thousand and it is thought that the other cities will do likewise.

A great mortality is still raging in the ships of the Armada which have reached Spain.

In Lisbon another prominent merchant has been executed for treasonable relations with Don Antonio.

Madrid, 15th October 1588.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

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Oct. 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

756. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

A courier from Corunna with news that Recalde has arrived with two more galleons and three zabre; all in a very bad way. He has no news of the missing ships, for in the storm off Ireland each one looked to himself. For the last few days there has been fine weather and news is hoped for.

His Majesty has made arrangements for lodging all the infantry in Old Castille this winter and has written to the bishops near the sea coast to help and succour the sick.

Madrid, 15th October 1588.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

757. Specimen of the communication from his Majesty to the Procurators of the Cortes.

The King.

I have entrusted the defence of the kingdom to my men, and all that regards the attack on England, to which, the Lord knows, I was not moved by desire for new kingdoms; I am well content with those given me by his divine Majesty. I have consumed my patrimony. The cause is God's and touches the honour of myself and my kingdom. Read this, take counsel among yourselves and listen to what the President will say on my behalf.

I, the King.

San Lorenzo, 7th October 1588.

[*Spanish.*]

Oct. 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

758. Giovanni Gritti, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

On Sunday Count Nicolo Cesis, a dependant of the Duke of Parma reached Rome. He brings letters from Flanders of the 12th of last month, announcing that Drake, abandoning the pursuit of the Armada, has returned towards London; and conjecturing that the Armada would go back to Spain by the outside route. The Count has brought credentials to the Pope and to all the Cardinals and does what he can to justify the Duke his master's conduct by showing that on his side he had not failed to carry out the King's orders; for he had embarked fourteen thousand men, and being unable through stress of weather to go to join the Duke of Medina Sidonia, he waited the Duke in a place where it was quite easy for the Duke to put in; but Medina Sidonia had not chosen to effect the junction and Parma could do nothing.

Rome, 15th October 1588.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 17. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

759. Giovanni Mocenigo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Six companies of English have entered Bergues, and that brings the garrison up to twenty-four companies in all; these together

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with the six city companies and the three cavalry squadrons are judged sufficient for the defence of the town.

An English gentleman, who has circumnavigated the globe, as Drake did, has just returned home. He brings great wealth and also some natives from India who, they say, accompanied him of their own accord through a desire to see the Queen.

San Dié, 17th October 1588.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 18. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

760. Vincenzo Gradenigo, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the Doge and Senate.

News from Poland that an English Ambassador on his way home from Constantinople has passed through that country. Pallavicino, agent for the Queen of England, is in Saxony raising troops.

Prague, 18th October 1588.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

761. Giovanni Mocenigo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Letters from London of the 29th of last month bring news that the Catholic Armada having appeared off the coast of Ireland, the people of the place ran to arms; but when no more than forty-seven sail were counted the alarm died down, especially as they saw the Spanish hoist a flag of truce, for they were in the direst straits for food and especially for water, as was gathered from some forty of them, who under the fury of hunger, came to shore and were forthwith taken and hanged. Some of these ships sank at sea, others were knocked to bits on the rocks.

With the return of an Ambassador sent by the Queen of England to the King of Scotland we have received the information that while the Duke of Medina Sidonia was off the coast of Scotland he sent one of his gentlemen to the King to inform him that the Spanish were in those parts for no other reason than to avenge the Queen, his mother; and when the nobles of Scotland took umbrage at the presence of this Spanish gentleman, the King declared in a public assembly that whatever quarrel he might have with the Queen of England nothing would induce him to draw towards the Spanish, and he dismissed Sidonia's ambassador without even seeing him, as he did to another agent sent by the Duke of Parma.

In London they held solemn functions and sermons in St. Paul's when the flags of the conquered were deposited there, and the Queen was received with great applause on her way through the city.

News from Havre de Grace that a Spanish galleon has put in there, and reports that she was separated from the rest of the fleet by a tremendous storm off Cape Finisterre.

San Dié, 19th October 1588.

[*Italian.*]

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Oct. 20.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

762. Giovanni Mocenigo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The English Ambassador has informed me that he has received despatches announcing that the Armada while sailing round Ireland had lost nineteen ships, most of them sunk in the sea with the death of four thousand men among them persons of importance as the Prince of Ascoli, the Controller of Castille and Don Miguel d'Oquendo. The Queen received this news from Ireland with tears of joy in her eyes, as it were the final liberation from this attack, the power of which has been estimated rather from the length of preparation and Spanish confidence in its success than from any secure foundation in the enterprise itself.

Colonel Norris has left England with two thousand men for the relief of Bergues; and this force in conjunction with the rest is considered sufficient not merely to hold the town but to attack the enemy.

San Dié, 20th October 1588.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 22.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

763. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The King has sent twelve galleys of Castille to Cape St. Vincent, on account of the English corsairs who are harrying this coast. *Ten others are at the Straits of Gibraltar to try to capture the English Ambassador on his way home from Constantinople, or his successor on his way out to the Porte.*

Madrid, 22nd October 1588.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

764. The King.

Right Reverend Archbishop of our Council, the fortunes of the sea are so various, as is well known and has but now been proved by the example of our Armada, that, as you have heard, the Duke of Medina Sidonia has arrived with a part of his ships at Santander, and the rest have found a refuge in other harbours of Biscay. Some of these are somewhat badly handled owing to the long and troublesome voyage which they have made. And seeing that it is our duty to thank God for all that it has pleased him to do, I have returned him thanks for this and for the pity he has shown to all, for owing to the violent storm which attacked the fleet a much worse issue might reasonably have been looked for, and I attribute this favour to the devout and incessant prayers which have been raised to Him. But seeing that it is impossible for me not to feel some regret both for the damage to the ships and for the sufferings of those on board them, I wish to inform you by this letter that I consider that the prayers and public orations have done their work for the present and may now cease. In their place, upon a day to be appointed by you, shall be said in your cathedral church and in the other churches of your diocese, a solemn mass of thanksgiving; and let all ecclesiastics and other

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devout persons continue in their particular and private orations, recommending to our Lord, with all fervour, each action of mine, so that it may please his divine Majesty to direct them to that issue which shall be most to his service, the exaltation of His church, the good and preservation of Christendom, which is my only object and desire.

Given at San Lorenzo, 13th October 1588.

I, the King.

[*Spanish.*]

Oct. 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

765. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The ships of the Armada are so slow in arriving in Spain that already there begins to exist great anxiety less the larger part of them should have been lost, either through violence of the weather or from lack of provisions; especially as they parted company from the Duke of Medina Sidonia in sixty degrees of latitude and in seas unknown to them, covered by thick mists and full of dangerous shoals. After Recalde arrived at Corunna, with six ships, four more have reached harbour, among them the "Regazzona" a Venetian, but all of them so damaged that they could hardly be worse, for on board Recalde's galleon, which suffered less than the others, one hundred and seventy of the ships company died from sufferings and famine, being reduced to such straits as to serve out only four ounces of biscuit a day to each man; and owing to their sufferings many still continue to die. Recalde, who is very ill, reports that having entered a deserted harbour in Ireland compelled by their extreme need of water, and lying there for thirteen days waiting for fair weather, two other ships of the Armada came in sight, one a Biscayan which sprang a leak and sank in the open sea with all her crew of four hundred souls, the other a Ragusan which likewise went to the bottom in the same place though her crew was rescued on board his vessel, as well as some pieces of artillery. It is said that one of the first six ships to reach Corunna was in such a serious plight through the loss of her rudder, her cables, and most of her crew, that had she not by chance fallen in with a galley which took her in tow, she too would have been lost in sight of Spain.

These reports and the news that Don Alonzo de Leyva has been made a prisoner in Ireland, the absence of all information about the missing ships, which number fifty and more, cause a vast amount of comment; but what is heard on all sides is the bad generalship and the timidity of the Duke of Medina Sidonia; and everyone lays the blame of all these misfortunes upon his inexperience and lack of valour. *The better informed begin to think that if all these ships are lost it will be impossible to make another expedition next year; as indeed they hold that it will be difficult in any case, and this will become evident the further the preparations are pushed, unless the fixed resolve of his Majesty to avenge his honour and his injuries, causes him to drive them through*

1588. *by shear force of gold; and gold, though he is not in want of it, he will not spend as freely and as largely as the circumstances call for. At the same time they do not wish to see the King so fired by a wish for revenge that he will commit himself to some perilous enterprise when he finds that the provisions for the successful issue of so dangerous an undertaking cannot be got ready rapidly. At the very latest the Armada should be in England by April of next year if it is to escape the disasters of this year which came upon it because it was delayed so long that the bad weather set in. Accordingly they desire to see his Majesty change his policy and his intentions just now, and confine himself to gathering an armament for the defence of his kingdom only, while still encouraging the rumour that its destination is England, and this with the double object of preserving his dignity in the eyes of the world and of keeping the Queen of England in alarm and expenditure with a view to inducing her to come to some honourable terms. Such a policy would also allow the King to raise more money from his vassals which he could lay by till the occasion for a certain victory offered itself.*

All the above considerations have, I learn from a sure quarter, been submitted to his Majesty by his Ministers. But the King, who cannot bear to have it said that the Queen of England may possibly be able to defend herself against his forces which he hopes to have ready very soon, brings forward many other considerations, such as the weakness and weariness of the Queen, her want of money, the miserable state of her people who are downtrodden, some by the burden of taxes, others on the score of religion. Furthermore the Persian war which is raging will induce the Turk to conclude a truce, and they are only waiting Benveniste's reply before sending Ferrari to Constantinople; while France, notwithstanding the reconciliation with the house of Guise, is so disturbed and unquiet that there is not the smallest chance of its being able to interfere with an attack on England at present; and so it would be unwise to wait till Turkey is at peace and France, grown stronger, abandons that favourable attitude which she has recently displayed, under which circumstances the whole enterprise could be rendered much more difficult and doubtful. But what is more important than all else is that the King has so fully made up his mind that the late disasters are to be attributed not to the ability of the enemy nor to the unfavourable weather, but rather to the want of courage shown by his officers. He declares that if they had lost, as they have, fighting instead of flying—for one must call it flying when they showed no heart for the fight—he would have considered all his expenses and labour as well invested. Above all he feels the stain on the Spanish name, and declares that with a prudent and valorous commander they can still recover the honour they have lost. In short, his Majesty outwardly displays a fixed resolve to try his fortune once again next year; though it is quite possible that he may have a different design in his head, perhaps because he recognises the actual impossibility of carrying out the enterprise owing to his

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inability to furnish a sufficiently powerful armada ready by the time required. Any way, during the next few days we shall be able to judge from the quality of the preparations which are going on whether they are intended for offence or defence. Whatever decision is taken everyone is agreed that prayers for the life of the King are needed, for though he maintains the contrary, he is really deeply wounded by these disasters; and should he die at this time of war, while the Prince is so young, the grandees and people so ill content, Aragon, Catalonia, and Portugal so disaffected, the Council of State so feeble, serious misfortunes might arise, as I, who am living on the spot, know full well. For the whole is held together by the authority and wisdom of the King; and if he were to die everything would fall into confusion and danger. And indeed no small trouble would arise now if Drake should take the sea and sail to meet the Peruvian fleet, or make a descent on the shores of Spain, where he would find no obstacle to his depredations, and might even burn a part of the ships that have come back for they are lying scattered in various places along the coast, without any troops to guard them as all the soldiers reach home sick and in the bad plight I have reported; besides which some of these ships are in harbours which have no forts. On this account the King has sent Don Juan de Cardona to Galicia, to gather all the ships into Corunna, and to see what is wanting for them, with a view to supplying it as soon as possible.

Couriers have left the Escurial for Italy, with orders to the Viceroys of Naples and Sicily and the Governor of Milan to raise troops, and to send ships and as large supplies of provisions as possible, along with munition, sails, and cordage. The Ambassador of Spain in Genoa has orders to raise as many sailors as he can; there being a great want of such.

It is said that when the Duke of Parma comes here the Cardinal Archduke, who is in Lisbon, will be sent as governor to Flanders. But this is not certain.

Madrid, 22nd October 1588.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Oct. 22. Original Despatch, Venetian, Archives.

766. Giovanni Gritti, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

The Duke of Parma's justification is not very well received here by the representatives of the King of Spain. They think that in exculpating himself he has thrown the blame on the Council, and been wanting in respect to his Majesty, by making his excuses for his attacks on Medina Sidonia to any other than his Sovereign.

As regards the arrival of the Armada in Spain, Cardinal Dezza has declared that it is subject for congratulation, for though it might have fared better, it might also have fared worse.

The paying off of crews and disbanding of troops is taken as a proof that they wish to conceal the mischief as much as possible.

Rome, 22nd October 1588.

[*Italian.*]

1588.
Oct. 24.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

767. Giovanni Mocenigo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The day before yesterday the English Ambassador came to see me. I reminded him that my predecessor had discussed with him the question of removing the new customs dues on one side and on the other for the common benefit of trade; and now that England was relieved from the pressure of war I ventured to broach the subject once more. The Ambassador replied that he wished to use all confidence in speaking to me, and that as the Queen at first had shown all solicitude to give us every satisfaction while we had been slow to arrive at any decision, so now he doubted whether she would be willing to act rapidly; but he would write for instructions.

He then went on to say that he knew how acutely her Majesty felt it that your Serenity had never sent an Ambassador to her Court as to that of her predecessors, and more especially to that of her brother, who was of the same religion as herself. I endeavoured to assure his Lordship that the esteem of the Republic for his mistress was in no way diminished by this fact. The Ambassador replied, "I do not desire to go into the motives which govern Venice, but I would only point out that at the present juncture of affairs it would be as well to foster friendly relations by all possible means." After the entry of the English into Bergues all hope of a successful issue to the enterprise has been abandoned by the Spaniards, who say that the Duke of Parma having ruined the Armada now wants to lead all the Spanish troops to death beneath the town.

San Dié, 24th October 1588.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 24.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

768. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The Duke of Savoy, paying no heed to the remonstrances of the Governor of Milan and the Spanish Ambassador at his Court, has given effect to the negotiations which for long he has been carrying on with Lesdiguieres about the Marquisate of Saluzzo. The King of Spain is very angry, as he professes to desire above all else the peace of Italy. *All the same the better informed think that the Duke has taken this step upon an understanding with Spain, made at a time when they hoped matters were going ill with France, and the preparations against England were promising success. Now, however, the Spanish Ministers think the moment inopportune, and are afraid lest his most Christian Majesty may resent this insult, which will possibly bring about the pacification of France and Navarre, and large assistance to the Queen of England and to the rebels in Flanders. The French resident here, M. de Longlé, says openly that the Duke of Savoy would never have dared to take this step without hopes and support from Spain, and this is a poor return to make for the assistance which France rendered to the Armada under Calais, nor is it the way to obtain*

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from his master ports for the use of the Armada this coming year, and free passage for the Flemish troops through France into Spain.

Every day some of those who volunteered on board the Armada arrive here, and their reports arouse the deepest compassion. Fears for the missing ships grow daily, lest they should have been lost through famine and tempest, or, as is whispered secretly, have been captured in Ireland. The wisest heads are certain that it is impossible to think of an expedition against England next year; the King, however, as usual, declares that he will overcome all difficulties, and urges the Cortes to give him a speedy answer and to justify his confidence in their fidelity and devotion.

Madrid, 24th October 1588.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Nov. 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

769. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I hope to send, by the ordinary post next week, the royal order for the release of the "Sumachi" and her cargo.

Giovanni Steffano Ferrari went to the Escurial, and after much talk with Don Juan d'Idiaquez he has been told to get ready for a journey to Milan where orders will be sent to him on the subject of his mission to Constantinople to negotiate a truce.

Madrid, the 1st of November 1588.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Nov. 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

770. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Peruvian fleet has arrived at last. It has brought a million and a half of gold for the King, and the like amount for private merchants. It reports that on the high seas thirty sails were sighted; it escaped as though by a miracle. They were taken to be English pirates cruising towards the Indies on the look out for the fleet; and as the Mexican squadron has not arrived there is some alarm lest the English have captured it.

Half the ships of the Armada are still missing. Since my letter of the 24th only two more have arrived, and one great galley which put into a port of France, and then came home through the English Channel, fighting its way bravely against some English ships. The worst fears are entertained for the remainder of the Armada, which includes all the levantine vessels except the "Regazzona" and the Tuscany galley which have come back as I reported. On board the ships which have arrived it is calculated that half the crews and soldiers are missing, and your Excellencies may judge from this what a terrible slaughter there has been; and to crown all, news to-day from Galicia that the ship of the late Captain Oquendo has been burned with a hundred men on board her; her powder magazine took fire. All the same in spite of everything his Majesty shows himself quite determined to carry on the war; and the other evening sitting at his table and talking

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of this subject he said, "We will sell these candlesticks if no other way of raising money can be found." The President of the Royal Revenue declares that in six months the King will have as much money in his treasury as he has spent these last two years on Flanders and the Armada, which amounts to ten millions, he says, and upwards. It would seem that the chief cities are spon taneously offering their help. From one point of view this is a good thing, but it will lessen the amount of supply voted by the Cortes. Toledo offers four hundred thousand crowns; Toro, a small city, wine and victuals to the value of one hundred thousand crowns, and other places in proportion. Moreover, the Cardinal of Seville has offered the King eight hundred infantry during the war, and the Cardinal of Toledo a hundred thousand crowns. A private citizen of Seville has promised his Majesty a fully armed ship to be paid for by himself for six months. They are discussing the place for the muster, Portugal or Corunna, and the King appears to lean to the latter. If Corunna be chosen he will go to Valladolid to superintend the preparations and will proceed as far as Santiago de Compostello to discharge a vow.

The King will make use of every kind of vessel upon which he can lay hands. Don Alonzo de Bazan, brother of the Marquis of Santa Cruz, has been summoned here. They talk of giving him command of a squadron of twenty-five or thirty galleys; and desire his advice on the plan of campaign.

The new Viceroy of Peru has orders to hold himself ready to depart; and he is charged to raise from New Spain a large subsidy for the purposes of this new Armada, a thing which has never been done before; the King expects a vast quantity of gold, and promises to sweep the pirates from the sea. Six English ships have just gone home with a large amount of booty. Six thousand ducats are to be laid out in anchors.

Madrid, the 1st of November 1588.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 3. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

771. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

Juan Martin de Recalde, a brave officer, has passed to a better life, and every day brings the like news of other gentlemen who sailed with the Armada. I am sorry to say that the "Regazzona," whose master with twenty of his crew is dead, has gone to pieces.

Madrid, 3rd November 1588.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

772. Giovanni Mocenigo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Spanish Ambassador had an audience of his Majesty the day before yesterday. He thanked the King in his master's name, for the kindly treatment given to the Armada and to the Spanish ships which entered French ports; he assured the King that his master would never fail to repay such acts of true and genuine

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friendship, especially if it were a question of the service of God by a war with England. And for this purpose he begged the King of France to abandon all his relations which might hamper such an enterprise, be it in Flanders or elsewhere, and he promised that if the King of France would do this, his Catholic Majesty would lend him support against the Huguenots. He furthermore formally invited the King of France to join in this enterprise, and to renew the truce of Cambray.

All of this shows how much the Spanish value the amity of France as necessary to permit them to attend to the English enterprise with greater freedom. The King of France replied in general terms, declaring that he would communicate with his Council and then make answer. The Spanish Ambassador made a special request that the King of France would not allow his subjects to go to the assistance of England, declaring that in his peace with the Guise the King had sworn to abandon his alliance with England.

The Queen of England has complained through her Ambassador that in France they are publishing statements subversive of the good friendship which exists between the two crowns. The King replied, "let them say what they like," endeavouring in this way to discontent no one.

From Flanders we hear that the English in Bergues by continual sorties and courageous fighting are giving no small trouble to the army of the Duke of Parma; and the Queen sends over fresh troops day by day.

San Dié, 6th November 1588.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered*]

Nov. 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

773. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The decision of the Cortes is about to be published. It is said that they will give the King every assistance to continue the war against England, if the King will proceed in earnest. We shall soon see how matters really stand, every day brings to light fresh difficulties and losses. To-day, for example, we learn that the Duke of Medina Sidonia on reaching his home was attacked by fever so fiercely that he has become delirious and is in great danger of his life. The ships that have not arrived by now are counted for lost. Some of the owners whose ships have been cast away or burned have applied to the King for pay. The question was referred to the Council of State and these owners have been told quite frankly that the King is under no obligation, any more than a private individual who has hired a ship, and that the contention that the ships were taken by force is of no weight against the privilege of the King. Moneys due will not be refused, but as men and ships' books are all lost it is doubtful what will happen and the affair will drag on for long.

Madrid, 11th November 1588.

[*Italian.*]

1588.
Nov. 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

774. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

I send the orders for the release of the "Sumachi." I inquired of Secretary Idiaquez whether all the crew were to be liberated, and he replied that all those in the hands of the Viceroy would most certainly be set free, but there might be some English at the Holy Office and the King was not accustomed to interfere in such matters.

The courier sent by the King to bring back the advice of the Duke of Parma upon the plan of campaign has returned from Flanders. Although everything is kept secret, yet I learn from a safe quarter that many difficulties arise in way both of sending troops to Flanders and of bringing the Duke of Parma into Spain.

Madrid, 12th November 1588.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

775. Giovanni Mocenigo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Besides the troops which the Queen of England has sent to Bergues under Colonel Norris, which numbered three thousand men, she has sent as many more under the Earl of Cumberland. She expects that the Duke of Parma will retire from the siege owing to the ease with which she can send reinforcements into the town.

San Dié, 16th November 1588.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

776. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

His Majesty discusses the question of war but has arrived at no decision. The representatives of the Cortes have been with him secretly and have told him that they will vote four or five millions of gold, their sons, and all that they possess so that he may chastise that woman and wipe out the stain which this year has fallen on the Spanish nation; but they have two petitions to make, one is that he will act in earnest, the second that their own agents may have the spending of the money which they shall vote; for in this way his Majesty will not be so robbed, and all the affairs will go far better. This does not at all please the King, who wishes that everything should be placed in his own hands.

Madrid, 16th November 1588.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

777. Giovanni Gritti, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

News from Spain informing us of the bad condition of the Armada that has returned from England, of the death of many officers, the King's disgust at the Duke of Medina, and the great preparations for next year.

Rome, 19th October 1588.

[*Italian.*]

1588.
Nov. 21. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

778. Giovanni Mocenigo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Spanish Ambassador in conversation with me said, "The war with England is beginning now, and the end must be either that the King of Spain becomes King of England too, or that the Queen of England becomes Queen of Spain. Peace we shall never make; and she has not one shore only to defend; we have now to attack her on all sides of her kingdom, and what is more we have learned from experience that her Armada is not invincible" (*disse che adesso comminciava la guerra, et che convenirà per necessità o che S. M^ta Cat^ca sia Re d'Inghilterra overo che quella Regina sia patrona della Spagna; aggiongendo, pace non faremo mai, et ella non ha da guardar una sola riviera, convenirà defendersi per ogni parte de suoi stati perche in ogna banda noi sapresimo assalirla; et quella che piu importa habbiamo per experientia conosciuto che la sua Armata non è invincibile*).

San Dié, 21st November 1588.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in Despatch. Prague, November 22. Copy of Original Venetian Archives.

779. News Letter from Antwerp, 30th October, and from the Camp, 29th October; forward from Cologne on November 2nd.

News from England that the Queen is making preparations for war, and evidently desires it. She is securing help from other quarters for the coming summer.

The riots at Utrecht continue. The English party has been driven out. An heretical preacher who stirred the people one against the other has been seized.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

780. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The King has been ill but is better. He is attending to business. Those who are about in his apartments say that piles of papers lie upon his table and that all day long he sits and reads them, making marginal notes of his orders.

Don Juan de Cardona writes from Galicia that he has now lodged all the soldiers that have returned with the Armada. They do not amount to five thousand out of the eighteen thousand and upwards which embarked, and they are all in a very bad way. He also announces that in obedience to orders, he has sent two ships well found and manned by sailors who know the English seas, to find out what has happened to the missing ships. In order that Cardona may give all his attention to naval matters Gutieres de Vega has been sent as military commissioner.

The King has amalgamated the Councils of State and of War, and many deliberations on the question of war next year take place. Nothing is certain though the Ministers declare that the expedition will take place. The opinion of many commanders is invited.

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Biscay has offered to make a certain number of ships of light build such as they say are required for that undertaking. I do not know yet if his Majesty has accepted the offer. Cities and kingdoms continue to make offers, and recently the Count of Bondia has promised one hundred and thirty thousand crowns, which is thought to be a great deal from a private gentleman and not very rich. M. de Lansac has sent an agent to offer to let to the King sixty ships and more, of four hundred tons apiece. The agent is in treaty with Don Juan d'Idiaquez, secretly at night. The Duke of Medina Sidonia who was at death's door is better, and has some hopes of living. The King sent him a very kind letter calling him still by the title of Commander-in-Chief of the Ocean. The rumour has spread about the Court that Prince Andrea Doria is to receive the supreme command, and the Spanish openly declare that if such is the case they will not sail, for though they have been defeated this year that is no reason for bringing in the Italians to conquer next year.

Don Juan d'Idiaquez has expressed to the French agent the satisfaction of the King of Spain at the conduct of his most Christian Majesty towards the Armada when it was off the shores of France.

The Spanish Ambassador in Rome writes that his Holiness will pay up the million in gold if the attack on England is carried out.

Giovanni Steffano Ferrari is to leave immediately for Milan and Constantinople. Orembey and Benveniste have written to say that Schiavas Pasha has declared that he will entertain negotiations for a truce.

Madrid, 23rd November 1588.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

781. The fleet which Biscay offers to make for the service of the King.

Four cities of the Asturias offers ten galleasses of one hundred and twenty tons apiece.

Six ships, three of five hundred and three of four hundred tons each.

Province of Biscay fourteen galleons.

Province of Giupusca fourteen or fifteen galleons, and a zabre attached to each.

This fleet to be ready by April 1589, or May at the latest. But to be fully fitted out except as regards bronze cannon. The crews at the rate of fifteen men for every hundred tons. All at the risk of the Biscayans and to serve his Majesty for six months consecutively. The hire after that period to be fifteen reals a month for each ton, six months anticipated.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

782. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The Chevalier Mores who was detained in France for some days near Bordeaux and then ransomed, has reached Madrid. He has

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been sent by the Duke of Parma, and publishes a memorial in justification of the Duke against the calumnies of the Spaniards. He also says that the affairs of Flanders are not going very well not merely as regards the enemy, but among the Spaniards themselves who are all furious with the Duke.

Madrid, 27th November 1588.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 29. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

783. VINCENZO GRADENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Cologne courier has been plundered, and so I have not my usual despatches from my friend, all the same I hear that the siege of Bergues cannot last long, for the great quantity of water makes it impossible for the troops to remain in the forts and trenches. But they go on working all the same.

Prague, 29th November 1588.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

784. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King, though still very weak, has begun to grant audience to some of his Ministers, but not as yet to any Ambassador.

The members of the Cortes are more than ever resolved that the money which they will vote to his Majesty for the English expedition is to be spent by officials named by themselves. And though they say that their object is to prevent the King from being robbed yet everyone knows that they insist on this point through a dread lest the King may make some other use of the moneys in the coming year, and put off the expedition till the year 1590, *as most people now begin to believe, on the strength of orders which have been given in Flanders for the construction of galleys suited to those waters, and these cannot be built in such a hurry. If this were so the Cortes might find themselves called upon for a further donation. All this annoys the King who would like to have a good subsidy at his own disposition to spend as he likes.*

Madrid, the 1st of December 1588.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Dec. 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

785. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

There is news from England that some Spanish ships driven by stress of weather on to the coast of Ireland, have there disembarked one thousand men. The absolute want of all necessaries rendered it almost impossible for them to go any further. These troops entrenched themselves close to the shore not with any design of making an attack upon the inhabitants, but because they were in fear of death. They hoped also to come to terms favourable for their safety.

The son of Don Antonio is said to have gone to the King of Fez, and Drake with twenty of the Queen's ships and as many

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Dutch is all ready to embark Don Antonio himself and seven thousand men just returned from Bergues under Colonel Norris and to sail for Portugal. On his way he will touch at Corunna and other places on the Spanish coast in order to pick up any vessels of the Armada, which, owing to the stormy weather, are very much out of order, and very carelessly guarded.

The Queen has sent an agent to all the German Protestant Princes to raise troops with a view to arousing the suspicions of the Duke of Parma, and thus to prevent his Catholic Majesty from making use of the troops in Flanders for an attack upon England. On the other hand the King has given orders to Parma to keep the Queen's forts in Flanders as closely invested as possible so as to prevent her from employing those troops to his damage in the west. The Queen of England has obtained from the King of Denmark and other northern powers a promise that no grain shall be sent into Spain to relieve the effects of this year's very bad crops in that country. A similar request will be presented to the King of France, but it is extremely unlikely that the governors of the various provinces will prevent the export of grain which is a matter of profit to them. The Duke of Parma has raised the siege of Bergues and has divided five thousand troops among the various towns so as to prevent the English from scouring the country.

San Dié, 1st of December 1588.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 5. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

786. Giovanni Mocenigo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Queen of England omits no opportunity of hampering Spain in its attack upon her. Accordingly she has, through her Ambassador, preferred a request that the King of France would issue orders forbidding the export of grain from France into the Spanish kingdom, which, in the scarcity of provisions, would thus be hindered in its preparations for war. This step might be taken upon pretext of the present war in France, and such a course of action would avoid any difficulties which might otherwise arise; for the Queen of England, at war with Spain, was obliged to do all she could to cut off supplies from that country, and if her ships on the coast of Spain fell in with Frenchmen carrying provisions to the enemy they would be entitled to compel the French to turn back, or else to seize them; both courses of action she wished to avoid and therefore she preferred this request which she hoped would be granted as reasonable in itself and without prejudice to his Majesty's affairs, but rather a benefit in securing the repose of his kingdom. The Queen took this step under the influence of those considerations which urged her to leave no useful course of action untried, rather than from fear of Spain, for she would have still the same men, the same ships, and more, the same God who has so well protected her, as were on her side this past year. The Queen, moreover, formally complained of the Governor of Havre de Grace who had shown himself an open enemy of England by taking guns

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out of the castle to fire on English ships which were attacking a Spanish galleon, and she asked for satisfaction in this incident.

The King did not give an immediate reply, but said that he would send a note in answer. And as last year he felt some suspicion of the Spanish Armada he promised that he would do all that in him lay to prevent the export of grain into the Spanish dominions; and that he was anxious to take every possible step for the preservation of the kingdom of England which he considered of the highest importance in his affairs. Nor is there any doubt but that if the King were not under the observation of the League, which is entirely in the Spanish interest, he would make some secret but efficacious display of friendship for the Queen.

The King continues to deal with all affairs of State himself; and this gives little satisfaction to the Queen Mother, and to all the principal nobles of the Court; and as no one supports his policy and many criticise it in a hostile sense, *declaring it to be inspired by some few only and those suspect of heresy and disaffection,* it is not at all impossible that his Majesty, moved by these public murmurs and the voices of the pulpits, may call a new council of persons whose character will give weight to his decisions.

San Dié, 5th December 1588.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Dec. 9. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

787. Vincenzo Gradenigo, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the Doge and Senate.

We have news that the siege of Bergues has been abandoned by the Duke of Parma on account of the great quantity of water which renders it impossible to camp.

Prague, 9th December 1588.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

788. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

News arrived recently by sea, that Drake was on the point of sailing from England with forty ships, and though this has not been confirmed, still they suspect that he will really do so. Some stray pirate ships have been off this coast; and the King has issued orders for all to stand on their guard, and to Don Juan de Cardona to look after his ships and also to send half the men and fleet into Portugal; *and this is owing to a dread that the Queen of England and Don Antonio may have secret understandings in that country. A bastard son of Don Antonio has gone to Africa to bring galleys into Portuguese waters.*

Those who understand declare that if Drake were to go now to the Azores he would not only ruin the whole of the India traffic but could quite easily make himself master of those islands; especially as the garrison is said to be dissatisfied; and if the Azores were captured that would be the end of the Indies, for all ships have to touch there.

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The Councils of State and of War have orders to consider the proper means for carrying on the English campaign. After many days of secret consultation they have come to the conclusion that if his Majesty desires to continue the war he must put together at least one hundred light ships as skirmishers and sixty great ships to support them, six great galleys and forty light galleys to effect a landing in England or Ireland. A French ship from the coast of Ireland has just brought the news that nineteen ships of the Armada went on shore in those parts, and of the crews all who survived were made prisoners.

The King has sent to consult in secret some theologians and to inquire if, in an undertaking so great and so righteous, he may with a clear conscience appreciate the gold and silver in these Spanish dominions of which he is absolute master (il Re ha mandato a consultar secretamente ad alquanti theologhi perche lo dicano se in bisogno cosi grande et giusto come è questo dell' Impresa d'Inghilterra, puo salva conscientia in questi Regni di Spagna delli quali è assoluto patrone accrescer il pretio dell' oro et dell' argento) and levy new taxes on the nobles called Hidalgos, who are now exempt; and whether he may still further burden the clergy, always with the consent of the Pope. All these questions are considered of the highest importance and the proposals so dangerous that they may cause some serious outbreak in this country.

At this moment I learn that Don Juan de Cardona has built and armed a fort on an island at the mouth of the Corunna harbour.

Madrid, 10th December 1588.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Dec. 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

789. Giovanni Mocenigo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

After the Spaniards who landed in Ireland had done all they could to protect themselves and to exact some honourable terms of surrender, which were always refused by the Irish, who were very fierce against them, they got on board ship once more as best they could; the ships were all out of gear and storm-tossed, and so they had not sailed far before a gale carried them to the north of Ireland, and there among the rocks they were wrecked and every soul was drowned.

San Dié, 14th December 1588.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

790. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The preparations for the Armada are going very slowly, and the Cortes are less than ever able to make up their minds. Accordingly it is easy enough to conjecture how much can be done in the way of an attack on the Queen of England next year, for the preparations, as I have already said, bear the stamp of defence rather than of offence.

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The Nun of Portugal, who was universally held for a saint, has been found out at last. The stigmata are proved to be artificial, and the whole trick invented to gain credit in the world. She was induced to act thus by two friars of her order of S. Domenic, with a view to being able some day to tell the King that unless he handed Portugal over to Don Antonio he would be damned for ever; and with the further object of raising a rebellion against the King. The friars are in the prisons of the Inquisition, the nun in a convent, awaiting sentence.

Madrid, 14th December 1588.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Dec. 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

791. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

During the last few days an embargo has been laid on all shipping of whatever nationality now lying in the Atlantic ports. The Queen of England unwilling to send her ships and merchandise into France causes it all to be carried to Gurnsey and Jersey (Gransè et Garbe) so that if the French want to buy English goods they must go to her territory for them.

Various comments are made upon this mutual suspicion. It is said that the Queen of England seeing the Duke of Guise arising to such a pitch of authority, is afraid lest he should induce the King to take some steps hostile to her. Others think that the embargo was imposed with a view to preventing the export of grain to Spanish territory.

San Dié, 19th December 1588.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Dec. 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

792. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

As the losses of the Catholic Armada in ships, men, and officers are continually proving to be greater than was thought, the English are now talking of not awaiting the attack of Spain again, but of sailing themselves to Portugal, as soon as the season is a little better. The Dutch, tempted by the booty of last year, will send a large number of ships to the Queen. Her reputation with all the northern powers stands so high that there is no fear of her lacking forces sufficient to further her designs against Spain.

The King of Scotland has put to death some of his subjects who carried provisions to the Armada. He has sent to congratulate the Queen on her success.

San Dié, 20th December 1588.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 24. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

793. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

His Majesty naturally is greatly disturbed at learning the continued misfortunes of the Armada. For on the 8th of this

1588. month, the day of the Immaculate Conception, a general storm destroyed many ships on the coast of Galicia, and in the very harbours themselves. What especially vexes me is that the "Regazzona" making that day from Muros (*Porto di Mur*) to Corunna, distant fifteen leagues only, went on shore at Cape Finisterre, although for the present I do not know if she is completely wrecked. God in his mercy protect us in this great misfortune, for here they are filled with a most lively fear, since the English have taken the sea with many ships; and it is uncertain whether their intention is piracy in Spanish waters, or some attempt on Portugal, or an attack on the Azores, or perhaps, the worst of all, to attempt each of these in succession. The Ministers are in council morning and evening, but are unable to discover any adequate remedy. They have determined, it seems, to protect the shores with troops, and to man fifty ships as coastguards. Don Diego Flores de Valdez, one of the council of war on board the Armada, who persuaded the Commander-in-Chief to abandon Don Pedro de Valdez whose ship was the first to be lost in the channel through the carrying away of her masts, has been imprisoned in Burgos on the King's orders. He is to be tried along with others who have failed of their duty on that occasion, as the Duke of Medina Sidonia pleads that he always acted upon the advice of his council, which he was expressly ordered to obey, while many on the contrary refused obedience to him (*iscusandosi in somma il Duca di Medina Sidonia d' haver sempre fatto quello che si è deliberato nel suo consiglio, al quale teneva ordine espresso di ubbidire, accusando poi molti che hanno disubbidito a lui*).

They have deferred the departure of Giovanni Stefano Ferrari, who has been waiting here some days with his boots on, ready to leave. The King wishes to have further news from Constantinople and to know whether the Queen of England has sent another Ambassador there. Ferrari, however, tells me that he will end by going, only he fears that he will be too late in the Levant; he is in despair, and declares that in Spain nothing is ever done in time, and if negotiations fail blame is thrown on the agents.

Madrid, 24th December 1588.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Dec. 31. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

794. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Having learned from a secret quarter that a courier was leaving for Rome to-night with despatches from the King about Saluzzo, I am able to say that the "Regazzona" is out of danger, though she has lost two anchors and a sail. She reached Ferrol the same day, and while making the port she went on the mud bank.

I hear that the Queen of England has sent an Ambassador to the King of Fez which rouses suspicion.

I enclose the sentence on the Nun of Portugal who was held for a saint. They found that she had received presents in jewels and

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gold to the value of forty thousand crowns and upwards, and several letters in the King's own hand, one of them commending his actions to her prayers, and declaring that he desired to come to Portugal to visit her and kiss her hand. It is not clear yet who prompted her conduct.

Madrid, 31st December 1588.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

795. SUMMARY of the SENTENCE pronounced in Lisbon on the 8th December 1588 by the ARCHBISHOPS of BRAGA and LISBON, and the BISHOP of GUARDIA, Inquisitors of Lisbon, against the Prioress of the Annunciation in Lisbon, by name Mary of the Visitation, for feigning to be a saint and to possess the stigmata and wounds of Christ our Lord on her body, which stigmata were painted, without intervention of the Devil; and on other charges of deception.

First, she is condemned to perpetual prison in a convent not of her own order outside the city.

She may not receive the sacrament for five years, except on the three Easters (*tre Pasque*) or *in articulo mortis*, or on a Papal jubilee.

Every Wednesday and Friday in public, in the nuns chapter house, she shall receive discipline as long as it takes to chaunt the Miserere.

She shall eat in the refectory in public, on the ground, and no one may eat what she leaves, she shall lie on the ground at the door of the refectory and all the nuns shall walk over her as they come in and go out.

She shall fast perpetually; she may not be elected to any office but shall be counted below the meanest nun in the convent.

She may speak to no one of the nuns nor to anyone else without leave of the prioress.

The bread she uses, the tumblers and all else shall be given to the Inquisition or to its delegate.

She shall not wear a veil. On Wednesdays and Fridays she shall fast on bread and water.

Each time she leaves her cell to eat she shall recite her sin aloud.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 31. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

796. GIOVANNI GRITTI, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Cardinal of Mondovi has letters from one who was secretary to the late Queen of Scotland, informing him that towards the north of Ireland some Spanish ships appeared, and landed two thousand men upon an island, in a very secure position. There they repaired their ships and sent a despatch boat to Spain to ask for succour. This part of Ireland is inhabited by savages who gave the Spaniards food. The Queen of England is arming

1588. troops to send into Ireland against these Spaniards, likewise a force to be sent with Don Antonio into Portugal.

Rome, 31st December 1588.

[*Italian.*]

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Jan. 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

797. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

By the last ordinary post I have received your Serenity's despatches of the 5th and the 19th November. They arrived very much behind hand on account of the dispute between the Post Master of Madrid and the French post, and also owing to the carelessness of the postmen themselves.

As you have authorised me to condole with his Majesty upon the misfortunes of his Armada, I will do so dexterously, avoiding the form of condolence which displeases him; and assuring him that on account of its great affection for him the Republic sympathises in all the fortunes of the Royal House as if they were its own. It is the more advisable to keep to generalities because the others who have touched on the subject, such as the Pope, Tuscany, and Mantua, have made offers of money, men, and other assistance.

I will do all I can for the Venetian ships, and if those interested in the "Labbia" and the "Balanzara" are sure that the ships have been lost, and will send me a power of attorney, appointing me their agent, I will not only endeavour to recover the sums due but will try to secure for the owners some gratification, such as a contract for grain in Sicily or something of that kind.

I am deeply grateful to your Serenity and your Excellencies for the satisfaction which you continue to evince at my slight services. I only regret that every day I become less capable and less sound, either on account of the bad climate of this place, which is most prejudical to my health, or because of the fatigues and continual sufferings endured throughout the many years that I have travelled the world on your Serenity's service.

Madrid, 7th January 1588 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

798. Giovanni Mocenigo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

On the night of the 4th the Queen Mother was seized with violent fever; the doctors visited her in the morning and discovered inflammation of the lungs; to this was added a stroke of apoplexy

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and she died on the 5th, after confessing and receiving the sacrament and extreme unction with contrition and piety, so that her death causes deep grief to all, but also consolation from the hope that she is now in glory.

Vendome, 6th January 1588 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

799. Giovanni Mocenigo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

I have been in this city three days along with the Ambassadors of England, Savoy, and Ferrara.

The Spanish Ambassador has not arrived, and has given it to be understood that he will not take up his abode in this city because it belongs to the King of Navarre, although the King of France is in possession. His Most Christian Majesty has sent an answer to the Spaniard that if Vendome does not suit him he may go to Spain. He has applied for a passport for Havre de Grace, where one of the Spanish galleasses is lying, and if he receives instructions to return to Spain, he will sail in her.

Vendome, 6th January 1588 [m.v.].

[*Italian ; deciphered.*]

Jan. 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

800. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

We hear that Ceuta, a city in Africa belonging to the Crown of Portugal, is going to give itself over to the King of Fez, through the negotiations of the bastard son of Don Antonio, who is in those parts, and of the Queen of England's Ambassador, who has made the King of Fez understand that unless he proves himself an open enemy of Spain he may expect a large and powerful Turkish fleet at any minute to arrive from Constantinople to harry his kingdom, and to seize El Arisch, as the Grand Turk is suspicious of him on account of the continual presents he is receiving from Hassan Pasha, and thinks he will one day hand that port over to the King of Spain. Pray God the news be not true, for it would be very serious. I fear it is, for the Ministers here try to cover it up ; some, however, do not absolutely deny it.

Don Alonzo de Bazan and the other sea captains have arrived, and are in daily conference with Don Juan d'Idiaquez. No result is seen, though these gentlemen declare that the King will not fail eventually to send a fleet against England. But it will be no small achievement if even those fifty ships for coast defence are ready by the appointed time. They are urging on the preparations for the fleet of New Spain, so that it may sail at the end of this month if possible. It will consist of thirty sail, and will have three thousand infantry on board. The new Viceroy will sail, and engineers and builders to make forts.

The new Nuncio has broached three subjects, in a very lively fashion, with his Majesty, declaring that his Holiness is determined

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to settle these questions, but in a proper way. The first point is that the Royal Council of Castille shall not, under whatever pretext, meddle with affairs ecclesiastical; the second, that the ecclesiastical abuses in Sicily shall be reformed; the third, that a ship laden with alum on its way from Civita Vecchia to England shall be released; it was sailing under a passport from the Duke of Parma, and was seized by the Spanish galleys nine months ago at the Straits of Gibraltar; the commandant claims the confiscation of the cargo. This was a point upon which the late Nuncio could never obtain satisfaction. I hear the King has promised to give satisfaction upon all three points.

Madrid, 7th January 1588 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

801. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

At this point I learn that a courier has arrived from Galicia with letters dated the 2nd of this month. Some English ships have arrived in those waters, and had they not been prevented by a fort built at the mouth of the harbour of Santander, they would have sailed in, and without any difficulty would have seized the ships which were being repaired inside the harbour.

Madrid, 7th January 1588 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

802. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Giovanni Steffano Ferrari has at last received orders to set out for Milan. Thence by Venice and Ragusa to Constantinople to treat for a truce. The Republic is to be included. He asked me not to speak of this on account of the Emperor and of France, but more particularly of England. In Venice he will lodge with my brother, Messer Paulo.

Madrid, 9th January 1588 [m.v.].

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Jan. 13 Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

803. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Spanish Ambassador has been in Blois up to yesterday without being able to obtain a passport for Havre de Grace. He has removed to a place about one league from Blois, not a very comfortable place.

Vendome, 13th January 1588 [m.v.].

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Jan. 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

804. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

When the King heard of the death of the Guise, he stood for a space with his eyes on the grounds, musing; then he said "This is a matter for the Pope."

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Giovanni Steffano Ferrari has left secretly for Ragusa and Constantinople.

The Cortes, seeing preparations for war are dying down, are now raising difficulties about granting moneys. Many officers and men from the Armada are arriving here with claims for payment and gratifications. The King has published an order that all are to go back to the Armada under severe penalties, a step which they very unwillingly take.

Madrid, 15th January 1588 [m.v.].

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Jan. 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

805. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I was very suspicious that some secret resolution was under discussion here. The attitude of the Ministers and the knowledge that extraordinary meetings of the Council of State were held every night in the house of Don Cristoforo de Mora, awakened this doubt, and it was confirmed by the fact that on the 15th the King sent out despatches to all his agents. Accordingly I made use of those means which are now common everywhere, and found out, under promise of profound secrecy, that his Majesty as long as the Guise were alive was assured that the King of France could take no steps as regards the Marquisate of Saluzzo. Now that they are dead his Majesty must make use of other means to keep the French out of Italy. The Spanish are now resolved to stick at nothing to prevent the Duke of Savoy from restoring Saluzzo, for they consider that to expel the French from Italy will countervail the loss they have suffered in the Armada; and also that the imperative need to follow this policy and to secure the position of Spain and the King's son-in-law, the Duke of Savoy, will serve to cloak the shame of not facing another attack on England, an undertaking which they now recognise to be of the greatest difficulty and danger. This summer then they would act merely on the defensive, and if the Queen of England would only leave them in peace they would not readily think of harrassing her; but it is impossible that she should not make herself felt in order to cause the King as much annoyance in as many quarters as she is able. This she can do all the more efficaciously if these two great Kings of Spain and of France should come to an open rupture.

Madrid, 18th January 1588 [m.v.].

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Jan. 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

806. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The death of the Guise, the risings in Paris, the death of the Queen Mother, if it is true, will all prevent the King of France from attacking Savoy.

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Orders have been sent to Seville that the fleet of New Spain is not to sail till further instructions are received from the King, as they are afraid that Drake may go to that part.

Madrid, 20th January 1588 [m.v.].

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Jan. 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

807. Giovanni Mocenigo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

M. de Bernet, Governor of Boulogne, has been killed in his bed by one of his servants, who is said to have had part in a design to hand that place over to the house of Guise. *Persons of weight are strongly persuaded that the servant was really in the pay of Spain, to whom that port would be of the highest value in an expedition against England.*

Vendome, 26th January 1588 [m.v.].

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Jan. 30. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

808. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The night of the 23rd of this month the King was attacked by fever; between cold and hot fits it lasted perhaps ten hours. The two nights following it returned again, but lighter. For the last three days he is free of it. He has the gout in one knee and a good deal of pain. The doctors have purged him, for fear lest the fever should return which would have been a very serious matter as his Majesty is very feeble and worn in body and in mind; and the doctors are anxious as he is entering on his sixty-third year, a period considered to be very dangerous. From Lisbon they say that forty English ships are out, divided into various squadrons of eight and ten ships each. They are doing much mischief, and it is feared that they will all unite under Drake and make an attempt first on Portugal, where it is conjectured that they have secret relations, and then will go to the Azores and finally to the Indies. The fifty guard ships are being hurried on. The command will be given to Don Alonzo de Bazan. But it is thought that two months must still elapse before they can be ready; and then one does not see what they can do against such light ships as the enemy's. The grandees are ordered to hold themselves ready with all their following to march either into Portugal or towards Navarre, as it is thought likely that if the King of France makes peace with the Huguenots the King of Navarre may make an incursion into Spain from that quarter while the Queen of England attacks from the other. The Venetian ships in port at Lisbon dare not put to sea for fear of these English pirates.

The Ministry of the Royal Revenue has raised a loan of two and a half millions in gold for Flanders and Italy from Agostino Spinola the Genoese, called Ricco.

Madrid, 30th January 1588 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

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Jan. 30. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

809. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Contradicts the news of the murder of the Governor of Boulogne. The Queen Mother's funeral ordered for Wednesday.

Vendome, 30th January 1588 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 2. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

810. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I have repeated to the English Ambassador your Serenity's demand for the liberation of the crew of the "Balanzara," detained in Ireland. His Lordship promised so to act that the Queen will give every satisfaction.

Blois, 2nd February 1589.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

811. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King is better; he rises at midday and sits in wheel-chair, as he cannot walk yet.

The Venetian ships trading with England will be confiscated on the ground that they carry to that heretic, excommunicated Queen, the enemy of his Majesty, not only provisions but sulphur, saltpetre, and other munitions. Twelve English ships have passed the Straits of Gibraltar. It is thought that the larger part of them are on their way to Constantinople to convey a new English Ambassador to the Porte, which will greatly disturb the Spanish.

The fear of a rising in Portugal has caused the King to summon several of the leading Portuguese, of whose faith he has doubts to come to Court.

The Cortes have resolved to grant the King large supplies, a million and a half in gold for four years, but the King asks for two millions a year.

Madrid, 4th February 1588 [m.v.].

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Feb. 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

812. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King is much better, he walks about his room with a stick.

Orders have been given to the Duke of Parma that if there is any proposal for an accord advanced by England, he is to treat for the release of the Spanish prisoners in England. It is thought certain that the Queen of England is in treaty with the Schereef of Fez.

The Cortes have voted the eight millions on condition that their own officials raise it.

Madrid, 11th February 1588 [m.v.].

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

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Feb. 14.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

813. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain to the Doge and Senate.

On Carnival Sunday the gout returned to both his Majesty's feet, and they fear that this relapse may be a long affair.

The King and Court have gone into mourning for the Queen Mother of France.

The King desires that the fleet of New Spain shall sail during this month ; and eight good ships are being got ready as an escort for it, and will bring the whole fleet up to forty sail. It is doubtful, however, what will take place. Everything is entrusted to the Count of Orgazo, the Governor of Seville, and to the new Viceroy of the Indies, who will come to a decision according to the news they receive about Drake. They say that the compact between the Queen of England and the King of Fez, is that the Queen shall send her fleet to Portugal, while the Schereef advances against Ceuta, Tangiers and Asila, places on the Straits of Gibraltar held by the King of Spain in virtue of the Crown of Portugal. But here they believe that they have discovered and traversed these designs by the orders issued to Portugal and Africa (*dicendosi che il concerto con quel Re di Fez et la Regina d'Inghilterra . . . sia ch' ella mandi la sua Armata in Portugallo et che il detto Seriffo dall' altra parte si muove contra Ceuta, Tanger et Arzilla piazze del suo regno al stretto di Gibilterra che sono tenute da questa Maestà sotto la corona di Portugal. Ma qui stimano d' aver scoperto et rotto li loro disegni con diversi ordini dati nell' una et l'altra parte*).

Don Pedro de Valdez, prisoner in England, who was captured at the mouth of the Channel, because his ship carried away her mast and fell behind, has now implored the King for the love of Justice, to condemn the Duke of Medina Sidonia to pay his ransome and, the ransome of all his ship's company, because the Duke refused to come to his rescue as he might quite easily have done. The King has endorsed the petition with his own hand and said that the case shall proceed. And so they are now beginning an action against the Duke, not merely for this, but for many other mistakes.

Madrid, 14th February 1588 [m.v.].

[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Feb. 18.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

814. Giovanni Mocenigo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Spanish Ambassador, who is half a league out of Blois in a village on the river, has been told to remove from that place, and lodgings have been provided for him six leagues away. I hear that the Ambassador has replied that he was sent by his Sovereign to reside at Court, and that if his Majesty intended to send him far away from Court, he should give him a pass to Havre de Grace. I hear that courier of the Ambassador has lately been intercepted with despatches to M. du Maine, giving him information of all

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that was going on, and encouraging him to pursue the enterprise he has begun.

Vendome, 18th February 1588 [m.v.].

[*Italian ; deciphered.*]

Feb. 21. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

815. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King is very much better. All the same he lives retired as usual, though attending to affairs. Although he believes that he has broken the Queen of England's designs against Portugal and in the kingdom of Fez, yet he continues to issue orders to be ready to resist Drake should he appear, as there are persistent rumours that he will arrive with a large fleet and Don Antonio on board. The King has commissioned Albuquerque to be ready on the frontiers of Portugal to march wherever Drake threatens to land.

The fleet of New Spain delays its departure ; Orgazo and the Viceroy of the Indies write that they do not venture to put to sea.

The Duke of Terranova has induced the Milanese to make a present to the King of two hundred thousand crowns ; and has thereby won the King's favour. The King's Factor General has been imprisoned for misappropriation of three hundred thousand crowns.

Madrid, 21st February 1588 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

816. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Last night the Prince was very ill with violent sickness. To-day the doctors gave him a medicine which he could not keep on his stomach. The King ordered him to take another dose, but the Prince refused, declaring that he could not endure it. It is thought that humours which used to run off in his legs through sores which were closed a year ago, have now fastened upon his body, and chiefly upon the stomach ; but as there is no fever they hope for the best.

The Schereef has marched from Marocco to Fez.

In Council they have debated whether the fleet of New Spain is to sail or not ; no decision has been reached ; but the majority is against on account of Drake, and because it would now be sailing to meet the season of the great heats.

The Duke of Medina Celi tells me he will not go as Ambassador to France till after Easter. He does not see what route he can safely choose. The country is so disturbed that the King can trust neither Catholics nor Huguenots, and neither of them can trust him ; and so there is no cause to fear the Crown of France.

Madrid, 23rd February 1588 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

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Feb. 24. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

817. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

His Majesty, recognising that he can no longer with safety stay in Blois, which has Orleans on the one side, and on the other Amboise in which he can place no confidence, has made up his mind to go. The Council have considered which place would best suit him. Tours was rejected; Angiers proposed because in that city he could thus more easily receive assistance from Navarre and from the Queen of England.

Vendome, 24th February 1588 [m.v.].

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Feb. 25. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

818. GIOVANNI MORO, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

A letter from Count Marigliani was given me, your Serenity knows by whom. I enclose a copy.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 25th February 1588 [m.v.].

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

819. *Recommends the despatch of an Ambassador from Spain.*

The Spanish Armada has returned to Spain, thanks be to God, after routing Drake several times; he always refused to fight. The cold coming on the Spanish sailed round England and came home. This first journey will make the Spanish acquainted with those waters, and the attack on England will now be quite easy. Already the Spanish provinces have promised to furnish and maintain fifty thousand men to fight the English, and so your Lordship may guess whether the expedition will cause any difficulty or not. Has any one ever heard of a like offer made by a people to its Sovereign.

Milan, 8th November 1588.

Your most affectionate servant,
COUNT RUGIER MARIGLIANI.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Feb. 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

820. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

If the King goes from here to Moulins, eight days' journey from here, the whole country will be turned upside down. There will be no posts, nor can I send my lacqueys, for everything will be stopped and searched; there is no doubt but that this district will be overrun by Navarre or by Maine.

Blois, 27th February 1588 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

821. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The last few days the Prince has caused great anxiety to all the Court. He has been suffering from violent sickness, on the top of

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which came a sharp fever. As a last remedy they gave him Belzuar stone, which did him much good, for whereas previously he had vomited his food fourteen times, after taking the powder he kept his food on his stomach, and next day shook off the fever.

The King has been in great distress, though he endeavours to hide it. He signed papers and despatched business, nor did he once go to see his son, and has visited him to-day for the first time.

I had an audience of the King to-day at four. I thanked his Majesty for the liberation of the ship "Sumachi." I informed him how deeply your Excellencies felt the misfortunes of the Armada, and how greatly you hoped that God would one day grant his Majesty the time and the way to punish the enemies of Christianity.

Madrid, 27th February 1588 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in Despatch of March 11 from Constantinople.

822. Letter to the Count RUGIER MARIGLIANI.

Informs him that if he will come as Ambassador from the King of Spain he will be well received and all proper honours will be paid to him.

Constantinople, 10th March 1589.

[*Italian.*]

March 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

823. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The English Ambassador has left. The object of his journey is to persuade the Queen to interest herself in favour of a large levy of troops in Germany. The King is obliged to take this course because the Duke of Maine and the rebellious cities will not hear of any accord. The revolt of Lyons is most important, for the money to pay the mercenaries was assigned there; and it is now impossible to give the Swiss that gratification without which they will not move. The King cannot obtain the help of England and Navarre without some equivalent. The King of Navarre will not risk his life and his forces unless the King of France comes to an understanding with him, for after obtaining relief through his assistance, the King will make terms with the League, and will turn his forces against Navarre as he has frequently done before. Meantime, Navarre has reduced Châteauroux, has taken le Blanc in Berri, and promises soon to have Argenton. The Queen of England will not give her aid without some advantage in return. It is certain that the League will openly make use of the troops of Spain to protect certain places like Boulogne.

Tours, 14th March 1589.

[*Italian*; *deciphered.*]

March 30. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

824. TOMASO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

In this kingdom of Catalonia, and above all in this City of Barcelona, every one is far from well disposed towards his Majesty,

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who, it seems, some few days ago, attempted to contravene the privileges which, ratified by authority and by custom, are held most tenaciously by this population. In the administration of justice the people thought they saw a violation of their rights, they gathered in the public streets and by resistance and by obstinacy they compelled the observation of their constitution. All the same these assaults are quickly quieted, and his Majesty is both feared and obeyed for the vastness of his preparations which are said not to be for England only.

Barcelona, 30th March 1589.

[*Italian.*]

April 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

825. Giovanni Mocenigo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The English Ambassador after a long interview with the King of Navarre in Châtellerault, withdrew to La Rochelle, whither Navarre has also gone. He is expected back in four days at Moulins where he has left the larger part of his people. The Queen of England keeps her eye on the Spaniards throughout this revolution in France, and holds a part of her fleet in readiness to make a diverson in the interests of Navarre.

Tours, 6th April 1589.

[*Italian*; *deciphered.*]

April 29. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

826. Hieronimo Lippomano and Tomaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassadors in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

News from Seville that the carvel which was sent from New Spain, ahead of the fleet, to announce its departure, has only arrived just now, two months after the fleet. This long delay made people fancy that it was lost for certain. But bad weather and other reasons have caused this delay; among those reasons is the fact that it had to fight five days running with an English ship, and it escaped by a miracle from four other big English ships. But come at what hour it may it is always welcome especially if it brings money as this does to the extent of 150,000 crowns. There is news from Corunna that two boats sent out to get information off the English coast have arrived. They say that although Drake is arming in all haste yet he will not take the sea very early owing to the disturbances in France. On their way back these ships seized an Englishman and brought it into Spain. And so one may say that these two ships have done more than all Sidonia's Armada for he brought not even a skiff into port.

Madrid, 29th April 1589.

[*Italian.*]

April 29. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

827. Hieronimo Lippomano and Tomaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassadors in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

In Portugal the preparations for war continue. Orders have been given that two thousand five hundred Spanish infantry are to go to various districts of that kingdom. The preparations are

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such that even if Drake should make a descent there is no more danger from him, nor yet that the Portuguese will rise.

Madrid, 29th April 1589.

[*Italian.*]

May 13. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

828. Tomaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The King is at the Escurial. The journey to Valladolid has been delayed, though the King has a mind to it. All those who are called on to serve on this journey are preparing for it. Militia to the amount of 6,600 is being called out, but it is inferior in quality of men and horses, though report will exaggerate their number and their worth. The Constable of Castille will take the command. He is young and will do more through his ability than through his experience. The reasons why his Majesty undertakes this journey against the advise of his doctors, to the danger of his health and at great trouble, are possibly three. First to repress seditions which easily arise in Portugal where the population is so impatient of the present rule that neither the severity of penalties, nor the garrisons of soldiers, nor the ability of governors have succeeded in quieting these contumacious spirits. This causes a dread lest the English fleet and Drake, who is acquainted with those waters, may furnish pretexts for fresh risings, and they wish to be ready to crush them. The second reason is that the disturbed condition of France tempts all her neighbours to occupy a portion of that kingdom. The King of Spain desires to create an ample state for his son-in-law the Duke of Savoy, and then to secure his own frontiers against France. This induces the King of France to lean towards Navarre and the heretics; and the King of Spain suspects that the population of Catalonia which is hostile to this Crown may join the people of Navarre, and so he goes to Valladolid, a point admirably suited for suppressing disorders in Portugal and for reaching out his arm towards France. The third reason is to exact the eight millions of gold from the kingdom of Castille and its dependencies, and Valladolid refuses to submit to the burden.

Madrid, 13th May 1589.

[*Italian.*]

May 13. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

829. Tomaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

Although the English fleet delays putting out much longer than was expected, and although this delay leads people to conjecture weakness and fear on the part of the English, all the same there is no relaxation in the preparations for the kingdom of Portugal. They are continually making sure of all who might take the lead in any movement, either by putting them to death or by banishing them. On the other hand, they do not fail to supply troops for the garrisons of Portugal, although the men are raw levies, and more valuable for their quantity than for their quality. All these preparations are necessary, for the new Armada cannot be of much importance this year, and the Cardinal of Austria, who is governing

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Portugal, writes that that kingdom is in open and violent commotion, and that government cannot be maintained without vigorous reinforcements, especially if Drake or some other leader should offer the occasion for a rebellion. For these and other reasons already explained, his Majesty is undertaking this journey. He will have with him Don Christoforo de Mora and Don Juan d'Idiaquez, who are his principal advisers just now.

Madrid, 13th May 1589.

[*Italian.*]

May 13. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

830. Tomaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

Drake, after having laid to sleep all anxiety in Portugal and caused a relaxation in the preparations for war by his unexpected delay in putting to sea, has all of a sudden left England with a fleet of one hundred and thirty sail. This has astonished everyone, and most of all the Government, which is usually watchful and alert in anticipating events, but in this case has been completely deceived by the art of the enemy; they expected anything rather than a descent of the enemy on the coast, as the relaxation of preparations and the neglect of orders abundantly show. Drake then, with all his fleet, appeared off Corunna, striking terror into the habitants of that city and the surrounding country. He seized the cattle and the people who were in the villages near the fortress. He pushed his ships into the harbour, landed troops, and encamping out of gunshot on the banks of one of the rivers which discharge into the bay, he was enabled to make excursions and to pillage at his ease, all the more so as his delay in putting out had encouraged the idea that his forces were weak or ill fitted, or, as was generally held, that he would take the attitude of France into consideration before he moved. After sacking the country Drake led his men to the attack on the fort. It was weak and ill-garrisoned; and although the Marquis of Seralva, who is defending it, is expecting succours from Don Pedro de Sottomayor, still they are afraid that these will arrive after the need for them is passed. But if Drake becomes master of that position he will have a port suitable for his fleet, where it can be reinforced and re-victualled from England. They are very much afraid lest if Don Antonio is on board, as they say he is, Drake may sail along the coast of Portugal and endeavour to cause a sudden and violent rising for which the Portuguese are quite ripe.

All this news came a few hours after I sent off my last despatch. It was sent by express from Corunna to the King at the Escurial. Couriers were at once sent to all the seaports on the coast from Galicia to Cadiz to warn them to be ready against the foe. Officers have been despatched to take command, and all preparations have been hurried on; but unless they make better speed they will be ready too late. The King has named to the command the Prior Don Ernando di Toledo, son of the Duke of Alva, a man of years and experience, who has served for long in Flanders, under his

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father, and was present at some of Charles V.'s wars; he has been employed as Governor of Catalonia, and is now a member of the Councils of State and of War; he has shown valour in arms, and prudence in the conduct of affairs. The naval forces of Spain are not such as to allow them to face the enemy on the open sea. Owing to the want of ships and men they are extremely weak. Workmen, too, are deficient, and so the ships are got ready very slowly. In the port of Santander are forty vessels which are being gradually put in order, and some others in other ports, so that the total may amount to sixty in all. Nevertheless, on account of the garrisons in the cities, and the orders which have been given, they think Drake cannot do any other mischief than to plunder the open ports along the coast, and to bombard the unfortified cities. It is true that from want of soldiers they have adopted a plan which may prove more hurtful than helpful; they have enrolled Portuguese, and so have armed the very people whom they have cause to fear; but perhaps they think that as they have destroyed the leaders of the movement they have made themselves safe. All the Ministers urge one another on to fresh provisions. By the King's orders Don Pietro de Medici is to raise six thousand troops in Italy, two thousand in Tuscany, three thousand in Calabria, and a thousand in Lombardy, with these troops he is to come in person into Spain. The Italian galleys, also, are to come into Spanish waters, as there are signs of movement on the part of the Schereeff, and they fear that the Turkish fleet may put out; both of these are the work of the Queen of England, against whom they are making preparations which will be good enough if they are ready in time.

Madrid, 13th May 1589.

[*Italian.*]

May 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

831. TOMASO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The French Ambassador will go to-morrow to the Escurial to have an audience, which they say he will obtain at once. The consultation and reply will then follow; and this will be greatly influenced by the present action of England, which is troubling the King seriously.

Madrid, 15th May 1589.

[*Italian.*]

May 17. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

832. TOMASO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Yesterday, by order of the King, the Council of War was summoned to the Escurial to consult about provisions for the kingdom of Portugal, which require acceleration. Everyone in the kingdom not only blames but openly condemns the slackness with which they proceed. They say that if proper diligence had been used the kingdom would have reaped benefit and safety.

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For it was well known that the English fleet was being got ready and was on the point of setting sail, but owing to a conviction that the fleet was weak, or that it was destined for another quarter, the blow fell before they even knew that the enemy had moved. All the same it is hoped that the ability of the King and the strength of his empire will be able to oppose the enemy, and to curb the turbulence of the Portuguese.

When paying a visit of congratulation to Don Ernando on account of the command which has been conferred upon him, I learned much of what they think will be the course of this war; and how long it will take them to put their forces together. He told me that Corunna, which is beseiged by Drake, is very weak, as it has only one line of ancient walls without flanking works or earthworks, and he thought it was in inevitable danger of falling. He added that he was only surprised not to hear of its fall sooner. Its capture would cause sorrow not so much for the fort itself as for three galleons which were lying in the harbour laden with arms and munitions and many necessaries of war which would thereby fall into the enemy's hands, and because Corunna was the seat of the Viceroy and the Council of Galicia, and its fall would mean the loss of the Marquis of Seralva, a person of great esteem. Even if Drake took Corunna he could not keep it, for it was neither strong nor safe; nor could he push far inland, owing to his want of troops. He had only fifteen thousand men, of whom five thousand would be required to protect the ships, and with ten thousand, unsupported by cavalry, he could not do much, as there were already ten thousand Spanish troops in Portugal, and when he went there himself there would be twenty thousand infantry and one thousand horse, and with such an army he said he was certain he could expel Drake from Portugal and compel him to take to the sea again. It is true he told me that these troops would be composed of Germans and Italians, whose arrival he must wait; and to secure these waters against the Schereeff and the Turks the Italian galleys would be called to Spain.

Madrid, 17th May 1589.

[*Italian.*]

May 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

833. Tomaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

After Drake's occupation of the suburbs of Corunna we have had no fresh news; either because the Marquis of Seralva, who is in command is shut in and cannot communicate with the exterior, or because his Majesty, who is at the Escurial, forbids the publication of any news. We know, however, that up to the 8th, the fortress has had no succour except from the peasants who, although two thousand four hundred strong, had only six harquebusses; and so here they are afraid that the town must have fallen. If they do take it the enemy can isolate it altogether by cutting through a tongue of land which joins it to the mainland, and this without much trouble. The Prior Don Ernando left on Monday

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to receive the orders of the King, and then to proceed to the places which are in need of inspection and garrisons. The younger gentlemen, carried away by the ardour of youth, set off without arms and without order for this war, but had to return again on the express orders of the King, who thought that their presence might do more harm than good, and although the troops who are to serve under this new Captain General are not yet assembled, still the great money resources of his Majesty lead everyone to hope that there will be no difficulty in raising them; as he has still to draw eight millions from Spain, two millions from other quarters, and other two millions raised on loans from private bankers; so that he will have twelve millions to spend when he has drawn them all. There is, therefore, no doubt but that he will be able to make all the needful provision; but it is generally thought that if he had made them earlier it would have been better. The French Ambassador has returned from the Escurial. He was well received, in appearance, by the King; but the answer given to him was in general terms only. He says that his master and the King of Navarre have made a truce for one year. The object of this truce has been explained in a pamphlet which is being circulated in France, and of which Don Juan d'Idiaquez has a copy. It is hostile to Spain, who at this moment is attacked by England, has news of a revolt in Africa, is in dread of the Turkish fleet in Barbary waters. All these inimical movements are probably concerted. But here they are so confident in their resources that they not only persuade themselves that they are able to resist any attack, but they even say that they will be able next year to prepare a fleet and an army to sack England, and to take a just and an accumulated vengeance on their enemies. May God favour the pious intentions of this King.

Madrid, 18th May 1589.

[*Italian.*]

May 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

834. Tomaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

Let not your Serenity wonder if there is no certain news to send you about the siege of Corunna, for the passes are blocked and news is intercepted so that it may not be spread abroad, not so much owing to the action of the enemy or the weakness of the besieged, as by order of the Ministers of the Crown, who at the pass called Spinal, take care that all letters are directed to the Escurial alone, and to no place else. But these obstacles and these prohibitions make men think that it is the truth which the Ministers desire to conceal; for it is the custom here to magnify successes and minimise reverses. Positive news is expected daily, for it is thought impossible that the fortress can hold out long, owing to its weakness, unless it is relieved; while on the other hand the enemy, owing to the inconvenience of their position and the danger of being attacked, will raise the siege if the place does not surrender in a few days. The rumours at Court are,

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on the whole, favourable to the besieged, for they say that succours are ready, and that this has given courage to the garrison, but as a matter of fact there are no signs of anything corresponding to these rumours. In this uncertainty I do not think it advisable to trouble your Serenity with all the reports which are current, which would cause you more annoyance than profit. It is well known that besides Drake, whose experience in seamanship and knowledge of the coast have led the English safely to Corunna, there is also Colonel Norris, an officer who has fought for long in Flanders, and has acquired the reputation of a bold and able leader. He was charged with the operations on shore, and so skilfully has he effected the landing, the entrenchment, and the attack, and so well disciplined are his troops, that he has placed the town in great straights, and in danger if not quickly relieved of being lost altogether. This causes the King great anxiety, not so much on account of the loss he suffers, as for the insult which he feels that he has received in the fact that a woman, mistress of only half an island, with the help of a corsair and a common soldier, should have ventured on so arduous an enterprise, and dared to molest so powerful a sovereign. And so the Ministers continue to assert that the end of it all will be the ignominious defeat of those who stirred up the war; and in the Council everything is postponed to the question of armaments. They are afraid lest if Corunna falls the English may attack Santander, where the King's ships are. The fortress has been re-garrisoned with troops, and is not deficient in natural defences, for the channel by which the port is reached is so uncertain and so shifting that it is impossible to enter it without a pilot and plenty of time.

The Constable of Castille, who refused to serve in the forces sent to defend Corunna unless he received the command, has now been ordered to Pampaluna to protect the shore towns infested by the English, and to guard the frontiers against Navarre. Don Ernando, who is commander-in-chief, has left the Escurial for Zamora. There is news from Portugal, from persons in the suite of the Cardinal of Austria, that the Government is more afraid of the Portuguese than of the soldiers of Drake.

These movements of the English fleet seemed likely on the one hand to stop the preparations for the King's journey to Valladolid, which it was hoped would prove a check to the enemy owing to the royal presence, but Drake by forestalling him has removed the need for the journey. On the other hand, however, Drake's presence in Corunna renders the King's journey more necessary in order to remedy the errors of the Government. And the preparations are going forward, and the journey will be made the day after Corpus Domini. The Ministers, and especially Don Juan d'Idiaquez who never leaves his Majesty, have given orders that their horses and other belongings are to be brought to the Escurial.

Madrid, 23rd May 1589.

[*Italian.*]

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May 24.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

835. Tomaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

Every care is taken to prevent the real state of the fortress of Corunna from becoming known; and no pains are spared so to represent matters as not to frighten the popular mind, or to diminish the prestige of the Crown. It seems, however, that the present state of the siege is very different from what was represented. The garrison is fewer in numbers than is necessary, their powder is running short, the fortress which was weak by nature has been so bombarded as to be hardly habitable. Moreover, the reliefs which endeavoured to effect an entrance have been vigorously repulsed by the enemy, and forced to retire. The besiegers in order to fortify their own position and to prevent any succour being given to the fortress, have strengthened their flanks by planting several pieces of artillery on the side whence relief might come.

The enemy left England with so favourable a wind that in six days time they reached Corunna. They found the place absolutely unprepared, for the inhabitants were certain that the English fleet was intended for France, and were living in idleness and peace.

The Governor of Galicia, who resides at Corunna, was attending to private matters; the Courts were sitting; the soldiers, as happens in time of peace, had left their quarters and their arms and were scattered all over the country; and in short every one was so far from expecting an attack that they had no time to turn the useless out of the town nor to put their dearest possessions in safety. *The wife and daughter of the Marquis of Seralva, the Governor, fled in their terror, two leagues on foot. This attack has brought as much credit to the English as it has robbed from the Spanish.* They, however, prepared as best they could to defend the town; the Marquis did all he was able, and the troops performed their duty; *but the forces of the enemy, their sudden arrival, the weakness of the fortress, and the want of proper munitions, place the city in danger of falling.* The English, besides the 130 ships I told you about, have many other smaller vessels. On board are 16,000 men, 10,000 seamen, 3,000 sappers, with picks, shovels, and all their necessary instruments, so that it is supposed that this expedition has been planned for long; and that their intention is to cut through the neck of land and to make Corunna an island. They will then make use of Corunna as a place to gather troops and to stir up Portugal; at the same time they will ravage the coast of that kingdom and of Biscay, and so keep the Spanish fleet divided. These are operations which the English could not dream of undertaking against so great a Sovereign did not their rapidity and his slowness render them not merely possible but easy. Already seventy ships have been sighted off the Portuguese coast, sailing from Finisterre near which lies Corunna.

Preparations by sea and land go on here. Thirty officers have been commissioned to raise troops both in Italy and abroad. Italian troops are chiefly in request, owing to their greater ex-

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perience in war. The failure of the Armada was due to the want of experienced Italian men and officers, of whom there were none allowed on board the fleet. New officers have been appointed, Don Francesco Bobadilla, Don Juan Araldonato, Don Andrea d'Alva, Don Giorgio Manrique. The naval command has not yet been publicly conferred. *The truth is there are very few Spaniards fit for so responsible a post; and Italians will hardly be admitted.* They say the Adelantado of Castille will be named; but to save the honour of the Duke of Medina Sidonia, he will keep his old title of General of the Spanish galleys. The Duke of Cardona, however, will not submit quietly to this appointment, for as General of the Neapolitan galleys, he claims an equal rank with the Adelantado

Madrid, 24th May 1589.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

May 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

836. Tomaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

I knew that all information from Corunna was intercepted, and that it was impossible to be sure of any; the good news was suspect and the bad news insecure; and so I sent an agent of my own to that district with orders to push on beyond the point at which the news was intercepted, and to collect information, reaching even Corunna itself if he found it necessary. He returned and reports that Drake having learned that twelve galleys were coming from Lisbon to the relief of Corunna, and that they were gathering troops on their way, in order to avoid any risks withdrew all his troops and artillery on board, on the 19th of May, and set sail with a favourable wind. His destination is uncertain. He was not molested when embarking his troops; indeed the besieged were only too glad to hear of his departure. While he was engaged before Corunna he entrenched his troops so strongly that he never suffered any loss at all. If he had remained a few days longer the place would have fallen, for the reliefs were not as ready as was rumoured. Drake occupied the part known as the Pexaderia (the Fish market); he knocked down houses, seized cattle, killed soldiers, released officers on ransom; and by the pillage of the suburbs and the burning of a monastery, he seemed to show that he cared more for plunder than for glory. They are waiting now to see where he will go. They are afraid that as he is master of the sea with no one to oppose him he will sail to the Azores which are so important for the West Indian navigation, and make himself master of them. They also fear that he may seize some of the fifty or sixty richly laden ships which are about just now. The Spanish are powerless to prevent this, for they have no ships ready, so they are making sure of Portugal in case the enemy should attempt it by sea or by effecting a landing. Besides the three towers at the mouth of the Tagus they have built two more nearer the town; these two have a great chain stretched between them and are well garrisoned with troops and provisions. Three thousand Spanish troops and four

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hundred horse are at Cascaes, and other suitable points along the coast. And in this need of men the Portuguese have been armed and placed under three Colonels. Although risings of the Portuguese are more dreaded than attacks of the enemy, yet it is thought that these troops being divided, and despatched to distant provinces, and surrounded by Castillian soldiers, will not be able to do any mischief. In Portugal, reckoning the three thousand Castillians already there, and those who arrived subsequently, there must be seven thousand infantry and a considerable amount of cavalry and other arms necessary for the defence. Troops are expected from Italy and Germany. Comparing this army of defence with the army of attack on England it is said *that then there was an army without a leader, now there is a leader without an army* (*al' hora si haveva un armat' senza capitano, et adesso s' ha un capitano senza essercito*).

I am informed on good authority that the resident ambassador of France is in treaty with the King to surrender Calais to him in return for a considerable sum of money. This information is not confirmed nor is it probable.

Madrid, 27th May 1589.

[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*]

June 3. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

837. Alberto Badoer, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

The Pope told me that he had letters from Spain announcing that Drake with sixty ships and Don Antonio on board had entered Corunna.

Rome, 3rd June 1589.

[*Italian.*]

June 3. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

838. Tomaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

After Drake had embarked his troops, he left Corunna and sailed along the Galician coast to clear Cape Finisterre ; but contrary winds drove him back again to those waters, and to the country which still bore traces of his ravages. He found no opportunity to pillage or to inflict loss on the enemy, for all the places were now garrisoned. The wind became fair and he sailed away for Portugal again ; he passed Cape Finisterre and came within twelve leagues of Lisbon. He learned that a rich Indiaman had gone into the port of Peniche, eleven leagues from Lisbon. He went there chiefly with a view to landing troops in order to disturb the kingdom of Portugal and stir up the Portuguese, as he clearly intended to do. He landed thirteen thousand men, and it is as yet uncertain what their object is ; for though Peniche is not very large nor yet well fortified, yet they say it is fully garrisoned with infantry and horse, part of them forming its original garrison and part having been sent from Lisbon ; and in all they amount now to one thousand foot and two hundred horse. Accordingly as the siege promises to be either difficult or long on account of the troops which are already there and of those which can continually be supplied from other places,

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everyone is in doubt, and all await the decision of the foe. Drake did not find in the port of Peniche the ship which he was looking for; she had sailed into Lisbon on May 23rd, whereas Drake entered Peniche on the 26th.

The more frequently episodes like the above occur, the more pains they take to conceal them here in Madrid. No one has been allowed to receive the letters which the last express brought from Lisbon as they are seriously afraid lest the presence of Don Antonio should have caused a rising among the Portuguese, who are always ready for any disorderly movement; as is proved not merely by their well known instability of character, but also by these recent conspiracies, in which some of the leading persons in Lisbon were banded to open the road to Don Antonio. Some of these have been executed, some imprisoned with a view to discovering their accomplices. These plots were revealed by a Portuguese Hidalgo, who was always attached to the Spanish Crown, but was forced to follow the faction of Don Antonio, and accompanied him to England. He was with Don Antonio when he was off Corunna on board the English fleet, and seizing an opportunity, he made his escape and came straight to the King at the Escurial, where he was received by his Majesty and rewarded.

It is thought that these events will stop the King's journey to Valladolid; but his own wish to go there is so great that they continue the preparations for the journey. The archers of the body guard have been paid, and the third and last call issued for all horse to be ready on the 15th of this month. All the same, after the date of Drake's landing at Corunna all these preparations go notably slower; and any accident of indisposition or other would be sufficient to postpone the whole journey. But even if the King does not go himself it is thought that the troops will be sent to that part; and a request has been preferred to all feudataries of the Crown that they should pay their retinue for four months. The custom of the country is that when troops are called out by the King the over lords pay them up to their arrival at the place indicated, after that the Crown provides the pay. This demand is therefore a violation of ancient usage and privilege, and on that account it is unlikely that the King will receive a favourable reply.

Don Alonzo de Vargas, who was named to the command of the cavalry, has declined the charge, pleading his age and other excuses of little weight. *But the real reason is that his long services have met with no other reward than hopes and promises which have never been fulfilled; and this has bred in him not only discontent, but a fixed resolve to accept no new office until his past services have been recompensed or in some way recognised. For, although called to the council of war, it seems that he himself was lightly esteemed, and his opinion held of less weight than the opinion of men who have not as much experience and knowledge as he possesses. And now that he knows that they have need of him, and that there is no one better fitted to fill this post he wishes to compel the King to give him those recompenses to which he conceives that he has a right.* But the King when brought face to face with such a situation by his

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Ministers is in the habit of enduring any kind of disorder rather than give way to them upon compulsion.

The troops of the Constable's division are getting ready to march to Navarre, where the Constable has gone already; and they suspect that the object is not so much to guard the frontier as to open relations over the border.

I enclose a paper setting forth all that happened at the siege of Corunna down to the departure of Drake; and to make the account more intelligible I enclose a plan of the fort and fortress of Corunna; *it is a copy of the one which the Council of War had before it when consulting at the Escurial how to relieve the city.*

I also send you an exact account of the booty which Drake found in the fish market quarter of the city and the suburb, and carried off. He found there six thousand salted oxen, fifteen thousand cantaras* of biscuits, six thousand barrels of powder, three thousand hogsheads of wine, all of it provision for the Armada, which went so unsuccessfully last year to England, or else to furnish a new Armada according to the design which they entertain. This plunder will prove of the greatest service to the enemy, who would otherwise have been compelled to bring supplies from England; and here the news has caused much chagrin, and it is hidden or minimised as much as ever they can, or the credulity of others will allow them; and they are in hopes of being able, with time and money, to repair the mischief, and to create a greater naval force than they have ever had in the past.

The King is slightly indisposed with the gout. May God preserve him at this moment of such difficulty and need for Christendom.

Madrid, 3rd June 1589.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

839. Copy of a Letter from the Secretary of the Marquis of Seralva, Viceroy of Galicia, dated 20th May.

On the 4th of May the enemy's fleet arrived at the mouth of the harbour of Corunna. The same day they disembarked and formed into various squadrons round the town. On the 5th they landed some guns, and began to bombard the ships of our fleet and the galleys, which were lying in port. Our ships and the city kept up a good fire. That same evening, the galleys lying without any orders from the Marquis, the enemy came on with many boats against the fish market, and seized it. Next day the city was completely invested, and at eleven o'clock the bombardment commenced, and by one o'clock, under a continuous fire though only from a few guns, the walls, which were very weak, were laid level with the ground; one of the towers was wrecked, and the assault was given; it lasted two hours, at the end of which time the enemy withdrew, having lost a large number of officers; they had for a considerable time kept the Royal Standard down on the ground; in their retreat they left a great quantity of arms. On that day we

* See Martini, *Manuale di Metrologia*, p. 322.

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lost about twelve of our best men, and in the previous and subsequent skirmishes, about one hundred killed and one hundred and fifty wounded. The enemy lost one thousand five hundred men, among them an officer of the Queen, her prime favourite, who had an income of twelve thousand ducats, and bore the Royal Standard. Yesterday, the 17th, and to-day, the 18th, the enemy burned the fish market and all the houses and mills which were round about the city, and the monastry of Saint Domenic, which is a great pity. Of our ships only the "S. Bernardo" remained; she cut her cables and drifted on shore under the city; of the others some were burned by order of the Marquis, others by the enemy.

The enemy's fleet is one hundred and fifty-four sail strong, and between sailors and troops it has on board upwards of twenty thousand men. They are expecting another fifty ships with reinforcements and provisions. Yesterday, late in the day, everyone went on board, and this morning they set sail with a fair wind. The wind freshened to such an extent that it is thought that they will not be able to make Finisterre, but will have to keep to the open. Their route is for some point between the Douro and the Miño; and we are not yet free of anxiety, for we left in the morning for Bayona to support it in case of need, with the miserable troops which the people of this country have shown themselves to be; and the saying is true that great is the shame and the poverty of those who have to live among them. God grant us better fortune than in the past, for it is a sheer miracle that this city was not lost, in defence of which I will not recount the actions of the Marquis; I will only say that we have not more than three hundred men of the Seville reserves who will fight, and some few of the district; we are without provisions which were all burned in the firing of the fish market, and very little ammunition. On the night of the capture of the fish-market Don Juan de Lusia and Don Juan de Monsalutio and other officers were made prisoners.

The enemy lay all night two leagues away from this city, being unable to make Finisterre. The Duke of Alva and the Duke of Francavilla have just arrived with their men, and so the succours from Castille come in before the succours from this kingdom of Galicia.

[*Spanish.*]

June 6. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

840. VINCENZO GRADENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

There has been some trouble in Antwerp on account of the expiry, on St. John's Day, of the four years which were granted to the heretics in which to leave the city or to become Catholics. Many are leaving for England after selling their property.

The Spaniards have captured a fortress of Berg on the Rhine, between Wesel and Rees, and killed all the garrison. News from Antwerp that the English Armada has sailed.

Prague, 6th June 1589.

[*Italian.*]

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June 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

841. TOMASO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

After the English fleet had landed troops at Peniche it did not attempt any operations at that place. The garrison retired into the castle, a strongly fortified one. The English had no opportunity to raise the country, for Peniche is a small place of little importance; and so for the better employment of their time and their forces, which amounted to about thirteen or fourteen thousand men, and a considerable body of cavalry, they marched towards Lisbon, followed by their ships, which took the same direction by sea. They soon reached Cascaes, a place only a short distance from Lisbon. Their object appears to have been to make an assault from the land side, upon two castles which stand at the mouth of Lisbon harbour, and thus to throw open the port for the fleet, then the combined land and sea forces were to attack the place, *not so much in the hope of carrying it by force of arms as to throw the city into confusion by a revolution among the populace, who, the enemy calculated, would rise at the name and the presence of Don Antonio, now with the English army, in accordance with the agreement made with Don Antonio.* But results always fall short of expectations, and the hopes of exiles are usually higher than the inclination of the populace will warrant, and these calculations, it seems, are based on a false and uncertain line of argument. *All the same some turn of fortune may give one or other the advantage, and so the issue is awaited with anxiety.* That issue cannot be long delayed, and, in the opinion of many, the English, neither in numbers nor in other respects, are sufficiently strong to injure the chief cities of that kingdom, and far less Lisbon, unless supported by a movement among the people. Lisbon is thoroughly well provided, and the garrison will have all the more courage that they know now that Don Ernando and his troops are on the move. He has left Zamora and is marching towards Alcantara, where all the troops destined for Portugal are to muster. Between the troops in Lisbon and those of Don Ernando, the total will amount to eleven or twelve thousand men and six hundred horse. *It is true, however, that this operation is being carried out slowly, and they may reach their destination to find that the enemy has already carried out his designs.* This is all I have to report on the movement of the English force, which on its way from Peniche to Cascaes, made conquest of only one small miserable village, which was garrisoned by a few horse, who, after a slight resistance abandoned it, and it readily and with joy placed itself under the rule of Don Antonio. There was a rumour that as a result of these risings some Portuguese gentlemen, who for nobility and wealth are among the greatest, have been imprisoned by his Majesty's orders, but it seems that the rumour is false. The King has no suspicion of these gentlemen, and while there is great fear of a rising among the people of Portugal, the loyalty of the nobles is not questioned. I must inform you that all posts

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here are opened, even some of the King's despatches arrived here unfastened.

Madrid, 16th June 1589.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

June 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

842. Giovanni Mocenigo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

I am the only Ambassador at this Court, all the others on some pretext or another, have withdrawn to the quiet of their own homes.

Tours, 9th June 1589.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

June 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

843. Tomaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The English troops which landed in Portugal reached Cascaes, as I informed your Serenity, and without losing time, as they considered that rapidity of action was the basis of the whole enterprise, they advanced at great stride towards the city of Lisbon, from which, according to the news we have, they were only a very short distance. They expected the populace of Lisbon to rise against the present Government; to open the gates of the town and to welcome Don Antonio as King. And by letters received from Lisbon it would seem that the enemy was already in sight of the walls, while the letter of June 3rd declares that they were in the suburbs and were designing to assault the fortifications which are old and weak, in the expectation that the populace would rise in their favour; which, however, up to the present, has not taken place, as the enemy hoped and as they had cause for expecting from the promises made to them. Accordingly, the Cardinal and the Government crushing the people by the terror of the punishments they inflicted upon those of the garrison whom they suspected, and with the support of their own troops and rumours of others to arrive immediately, succeeded in keeping the city quiet, at least so they say here; and your Serenity will find a few details in the two enclosures. The highest estimate places the number of the English at fifteen thousand men, the lowest at twelve thousand, with four hundred horse and some pieces of artillery. Don Antonio is in supreme command and has under him Colonel Norris.

These troops on their marches in Portugal have observed two rules imposed by their leaders, both well calculated to conciliate the minds of the Portuguese, the one is to refrain from making booty, the other is to show all the marks of the Catholic faith, displaying images of saints and celebrating the sacrifice of the mass; but from the first of these has arisen a great dearth of provisions, and the second causes the heretics in the army to serve unwillingly under such ensigns. These difficulties of the enemy and the preparations which the defenders have made and are making in Lisbon, lead them to hope

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that they will be able not only to keep the town, but also to inflict some damage and defeat upon the English before they can embark again. Already a rumour has spread from the house of the Grand Courier that news from Lisbon of the fifth of this month affirm that Don Antonio with his troops, seeing that no movement was taking place in the city and that relief was being prepared on all sides, had retired from before the walls to the sea. It is thought that if he puts to sea he will make an attack on the Azores, which are but poorly munitioned, or else will lie in wait for the Indian fleet which ought to be arriving at this season. All the same there are not wanting difficulties in the way of the garrison of Lisbon, which if not sufficient to prevent them from defending themselves successfully, will certainly hinder them from following up any advantage; for the munitions for feeding and defending the city were, in far the largest part, stored in the suburbs; and there not being time to take them inside the walls, they were entirely destroyed by order of the Government to prevent them from falling into the hands of the enemy. The garrison, too, being in great part Portuguese, is not to be trusted to obey nor to stand firm in fight. So much is this the case that the Count Fuentes having made a sortie with a company of Portuguese infantry, found his men so unwilling to march and so inclined to Don Antonio, that he was forced to retire without having even seen the face of the enemy, in order to avoid a complete collapse. The chief object of the Government is to secure themselves against those who by money or by correspondence are in relations with Don Antonio. Among others is a Portuguese called Emanuel Gomez de Vas, of vast and famous riches; it was found that he had had long and intimate correspondence with the said Don Antonio, and to save himself from punishment he fled to Africa; his property was confiscated, and his sons proclaimed as rebels. Through Castille and Spain generally they are collecting troops to send to Portugal. The Prior Don Ernando has already gone there with some troops; but the operation is going on so slowly that there is no expectation that the troops will arrive in time; for the nature of the English enterprise, resting entirely on a rising of the people, the issue must be decided rapidly, either by revolution, which would admit the enemy into the town, or by a refusal to rise, which would repulse them. On the other hand, Don Antonio looses no opportunity of improving his position. Drake, who remained with the fleet, has sent a part of his ships to Africa to bring back reinforcements of troops from the Schereef. But as we have heard that the King of Spain has received from the Schereef letters expressing a desire to remain on friendly terms, and as it is affirmed *that the Queen of England has a Jew who is acting for her at the Schereef's Court*, it is thought that Drake will get for answer either a downright refusal or merely promises long drawn out.

The King of Spain not only makes provision for the defence of Lisbon, but is collecting material for a fresh attack on England; being apparently resolved that next year his naval forces shall be so great that he may venture on that enterprise with far better hopes of success. In Catalonia he has ordered ten galleons of six

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hundred tons each, lateen rigged, so as to sail better to wind; they are to be ready by March. For this purpose fifty thousand crowns have been sent to that district. The Catalans, who are entrusted with the order, declare that the time allowed is too short for the importance of the work; and even if all the wood were ready—and it is all to cut yet—it would be a hard task to complete the order in such a space of time. Those who have knowledge of the seas declare that ships of that build cannot sail in those bad and stormy waters. In Biscay, too, they are building ships; and so, provided there is someone to take the command, an Armada will be formed which will not only protect these kingdoms, but will strike terror into the enemy. If the kingdom of Portugal escapes the dangers in which it is involved, his Majesty is councilled to use sharper and weightier methods for keeping it in check; for gentle methods produce no result They say that had the caresses and manipulation bestowed on Portugal been employed in Flanders, and the force which is adopted in Flanders applied to Portugal, the policy would have been better suited to the nature of the respective countries.

Madrid, 12th June 1589.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

844. TRANSLATION of a LETTER from DON FRANCESCO ODONTE, Adjutant-General to the Army of Lisbon, dated 3rd of June 1589.

On the first of this month, I sent your Lordship an account of the rapid advance of the enemy towards the city. Yesterday evening he arrived at the suburbs of S^{ta} Caterina and S^{t} Antonio, where he took up his quarters, and began to search for some secret gate by which he might enter the town, as all the public gates were shut, and well guarded. They say that Don Antonio spent that night in the house of the Duke d'Avero; then early in the morning he completed the investment of the city, and continued his search for some *fausse porte* in the walls. But the garrison harassed him as much as they could. Don Sancho Bravo, with his company of harquebussiers, and Captain Gasparo d'Alarcon, with two companies of light horse, have been skirmishing all to-day outside the city, and between yesterday and to-day they have sent in from twenty-five to thirty English prisoners who have been committed to the galleys; and if they would only do the same by all those who are really fighting us while feigning to be friends, they might man more galleys than are to be found in all Christendom this day; for those who have shown their colours during the last three days and that without a blush, are simply infinite; nor is there any wonder that Don Antonio has attempted this enterprise, owing to the promises held out to him; and as one has seen, from the moment he disembarked he has been supplied with abundance of provisions and munitions, while not a man has offered us his services. To-day a squadron came in by the quarter of S. Rocco, and brought with it fifty or sixty cows. And of all the corregidors in the city,

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we have not seen a single one save two, the rest are all in hiding, and some have even undertaken the task of supplying Don Antonio's troops with food with as little shamefacedness as though they had come with him from England. In this quarter of the city there is not a man left; some have fled to the other side of the river, some are hidden, some have joined Don Antonio. The troops under the four colonels have not been ashamed to declare in public that they will not fight. We know that Don Antonio held it certain that the moment he appeared and sat down before the walls, the city would rise; and on this account we were in great alarm and passed a very bad night. His Highness was ready to go to any place of danger, being fully convinced that if the troops retired at any point the city was lost. He showed himself valorous and prudent and was equal to meeting not only this difficulty but many others. This has encouraged our troops, and the partizans of Don Antonio have not had the spirit to rise, and so we trust to God that each hour matters will mend. The Castillian troops are told off to the damaged wall. The rest of the garrison is divided into three divisions, one at the Palace Square, another at the Rosseo, another at the Enfanci. To-day six hundred men arrived from Oporto. They say the Duke of Feria is coming with a large number of horse and harquebussiers, in short with powerful reliefs. They say that this evening there was a skirmish in the suburb of S. Antonio, where the enemy lost one hundred and fifty men, and we about fifteen or twenty harquebussiers and four or five men-at-arms, because they could not fight so well in the streets as in the open country.

Drake has been half a day at Cascaes, with his fleet. As he has not entered the harbour to-day, and the enemy came by land, it is held for certain that he will not attempt to enter. But should he enter we will teach him how difficult it is to get out again. I trust to God that, if we look sharp and are active in our operations, not a man of them will embark.

Yesterday they arrested a great noble, called Ruy Diazlovo, for secret relations with Don Antonio. A letter was found in his breast, and to-day his Highness has ordered the arrest of Louis Gonzales, lieutenant of the anti-chamber to the Prince Cardinal; he is a very able man, and they say the charge against him is the same, communications with Don Antonio; if that is so then for the last three years Don Antonio will have been well informed about the kingdom of Portugal. Gonzales will not be the only traitor who is discovered. God help us.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

845. TRANSLATION of a LETTER from FATHER FRIAR GIOVAN DALLA CUOVA, Confessor to the Serene Prince Cardinal, Albert, addressed to SECRETARY ZAGIAS, 3rd of June 1589 from Lisbon.

The landing of Don Antonio in Portugal has resulted in his laying siege to Lisbon. The Count of Fuentes took the open field at first,

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and formed his army; but subsequently it appeared more advisable for him to retire into the city, and to fortify it inside the circle of its walls, leaving all that lay outside abandoned. This was done; and now for three days we are under siege. The enemy have made some skirmishes by day and by night; not without causing some alarm and peril. However, thanks be to God that his Highness, by his courage and authority, which have astonished us all, and the Count of Feuntes, through his activity and spirit, and the bravery of the troops from Castille, have worsted the enemy in every encounter. This evening they have been driven back a long way from the walls, with a loss of three hundred men. This has heartened our troops and inspired them with more hope of victory than fear of defeat.

To-day a large relief of one hundred Castillian troops, veterans, marched in from Oporto. To-morrow two thousand five hundred are expected, also six companies of horse. With these reinforcements we hope for victory all along the line, and possibly the English may find that they are unable to re-embark.

Among the Portuguese of this city many things have happened, which are too long to narrate. However, partly on the sight of the Castillian troops defeating the enemy, partly from fear of punishment, as five traitors have already been hung and one had his head cut off, and chiefly thanks to the prudence and calmness with which his Highness conducts the Government, matters have been placed on such a footing that it is not expected that any movement will take place, though some few nobles have joined Don Antonio, and many more have left the town. And even should they wish to make a rising it is thought that they would not be able to do so. I have come to live in the palace, and shall continue there as long as this state of affairs continues; being, as in duty bound, at the service of his Highness.

[*Italian.*]

June 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

846. Hieronimo Lippomano, retiring Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

We are detained in this port by the fear of the fleet of the King of Algiers; in addition to his twenty-two galleys there is reason to suppose that Murad Rays is also out with twelve; and that they intend in conjunction to capture the money which is being sent to Italy.

The King of France is accused of having suggested this operation to the King of Algiers, in order to annoy the King of Spain. The mischief the Algerines are doing is terrible; and if Spain is harried by the English to the west, it suffers no less from Algerines upon the east. The Tuscan Ambassador and I have resolved to send to Montmorency to inquire whether we may safely pass that way.

Barcellona, 12th June 1589.

[*Italian.*]

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June 13.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

847. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, retiring Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I have no news on this question of our voyage. The day before yesterday the King of Algiers captured several ships ten miles out at sea, and some say he has drawn off towards Sardinia.

The courier brings news that Drake has landed four thousand men in Portugal, at Peniche, a place twelve leagues from Lisbon, and has sacked and burned the town. The King's troops arrived and made great havoc of the English. They will retire, and will likely go to the Azores where they will find no more than one thousand men in garrison, and hated by the natives. As the English are masters of the sea it is expected that they will be able to do much mischief at the Azores to the Indian fleets.

Barcellona, 13th June 1589.

[*Italian.*]

June 13.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

848. TOMASO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

After my last news from Portugal I hear by a courier, who, as usual since the opening of this war, went first to the Escurial and afterwards came here, that the English in retiring from before Lisbon lost four hundred men, among them a colonel killed by the peasants who pursued the enemy for some time. The English took up a position with the fleet on their front, and both flanks entrenched. They are either waiting the proper moment to embark, or, as others think, till succour comes from Africa. To make their position safer they have brought some more guns on shore. On the other hand Don Alonzo de Vargas and the Duke of Braganza have collected a large body of cavalry. And so it would seem from what one hears,—though that is only the Spanish side of the case—we must soon learn the upshot of this operation.

What roused the calumnious rumours against the Portuguese nobility was a scene which took place at the Escurial between the Duke of Cardona, who is appointed to the government of Oran, and Don Christoforo de Mora, a Portuguese noble in the Council of the King. During conversation the question of Portuguese fidelity was touched upon; one party defending it, the other attacking. High words passed and to avoid a further scandal by the King's orders Don Christoforo retired to his rooms, and the Duke left the Escurial. This gave rise to a rumour that Don Christoforo had been arrested on suspicion about Portuguese affairs. The matter has been accomodated on both sides.

The French Ambassador has not succeeded yet in receiving an answer. I am informed that there was never any talk of giving *Calais to the King of Spain.*

Antonio Perez, who many years ago was imprisoned, and then allowed to live in Madrid in a house quite close to this which I inhabit, was a few days ago carried in irons to the Torre di Ainto, where, as a rule, they put those who are not to come out again. No

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one knows if it is his old offences or new charges which have caused this sudden severity. Here he is truly beloved by all who knows him.

The ship "Patti," from England with lead, was compelled to put into Cadiz where the King's officers seized her for his Majesty's service in this war. I have secured its liberation, but as long as this need for a fleet continues here masters should steer wide of these waters.

Madrid, 13th June 1589.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

June 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

849. Tomaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Don Antonio retired from before the walls of Lisbon as I have already informed your Serenity, because he saw not merely that any expectations of a rising had failed, for the city was perfectly quiet, but also because his hopes were being steadily crushed by the preparations which the Government was making. In his retreat, however, he did not suffer so much loss as was reported. He retired with ease to Cascaes, where he intended to fortify himself, and did so. Those in command, knowing that their troops, many of whom were Portuguese, could not be trusted, and that the population was in a disturbed state, did not venture to follow him to Cascaes with those soldiers who were required to hold the population in check. The English seeing that they were producing no effect near the city drew away from it, precisely with the intention of tempting the defenders to come out and take the offensive, thereby giving the population an opportunity to rise, but the garrison recognised the danger and abstained.

The English troops were led to Cascaes and cantoned there. They assaulted a small and weak fortress in that place, rather with a view to preventing the damage it might inflict, that with the idea that they were making any valuable acquisition. The fortress was captured without so much as planting a gun against it. As yet we do not know whether cowardice or treachery caused its fall. The commander has been arrested and brought to Lisbon where he awaits the punishment of his fault.

At length Don Antonio seeing that his own forces were wasting away through wounds, infirmity, and death, that the population was not making headway, that no more favourable opportunity was likely to offer itself, and that the Spaniards were gaining strength, on the 14th of this month embarked with all his troops and all his munitions, and thus abandoned his ill-starred enterprise, to which he had been led by the eagerness of the Portuguese people. It seems that he intended to avenge himself on them, for he left behind a great many Portuguese who had joined him so that they might pay the merited penalty of their rebellion against Spain, and their treachery to himself. He also threatened to send to his Catholic Majesty the letters of those Portuguese nobles who had promised him their help and then failed to move. Such was

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the end of his enterprise, founded on the will of the multitude, and not upon his own forces. And, though the Portuguese were very much inclined to Don Antonio, and kept up constant secret understanding with him, some supplying his troops with food, others furnishing money, one even attempting to assassinate the Count of Fuentes with an harquebuss, which missed its effect—yet owing to the absence of concerted action in expelling the Castillians and giving the kingdom to him, the end was failure and the exposure of their own persons to pains and penalties and their country to a sharper and severer government.

It is thought that Lisbon, and by consequence all Portugal, owed its salvation to the days wasted in the attempt on Corunna, where the preparations were great, where the population had time to consider the danger they ran if they revolted and to see sentence executed on some who favoured Don Antonio.

Here they are continuing the preparations to support Lisbon. The city of Salamanca has promised the King four hundred troops paid during the present war; the Marquis of Vigliena gives eighty horse, furnishing the horses and the arms, paying every man a crown a day and the captain fifty crowns a month, and seventeen thousand *maravedi*, which amount to thirty-two ducats, as pension for life to each man who serves. The Admiral of Castille likewise sends a certain number of cavalry. And so the recent events have brought to light the willingness of the King's vassals, and have rendered the contribution of the eight millions in gold which they have to subscribe all the more easy.

Madrid, 19th June 1589.

[*Italian.*]

June 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

850. Hieronimo Lippomano, retiring Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

I am told that his Majesty is determined to attempt the enterprise of England next year. The muster will take place in Spain. Orders have been sent out to hasten the Italian troops under Don Pietro de Medici, and the German colonels under the command of Count Hieronimo Lodron. The Prior Don Ernando will be in the supreme command as the Duke of Parma must stay in Flanders.

Barcellona, 19th June 1589.

[After writing the above a friend of mine has just arrived from Madrid and has drawn up the accompanying note on the news from Portugal.]

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

851. As is already known, the English fleet of 150 sail and 50 boats, on board of which were Drake and Don Antonio with 18,000 men (among these as many as 600 Spaniards), put in at Peniche, twelve leagues from Lisbon, on the 24th of May. They at once began to land four thousand men. These were at first repulsed by

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the son of the Duke of Villareale, with some loss on both sides. The English then landed ten thousand men under Don Antonio, and the fleet sailed to Cascaes, four leagues from Lisbon, where more men were put on shore. These were attacked by Don Sancho Bravo. His lieutenant, Contreras, was killed after slaying many English with his own hand; in revenge for which the English cut him up into bits. Both divisions marched straight for Lisbon, without sacking any places; Don Antonio, indeed, promised the restoration of their ancient liberties, and the destruction of the Castillian yoke. When this news reached Lisbon the Cardinal gave orders for a review of all arms; closed all the gates and sally ports, and placed garrisons at every point. Moreover, his Highness and the Count of Fuentes proposed to meet the enemy in the field; for which purpose they formed a camp at Alcantara, half a league away from the town, and the Cardinal visited it every day and threw spirit into all preparations. Late that same day the English came up to the suburbs of Lisbon. They were repulsed by the Castillian horse; and night coming on, they did not push forward, being in fear of some ruse. Don Antonio lodged in the Apostolic College or the Theatines, where he received many visits from Portuguese Jews, and other low folk. He remained in the suburbs till June 5th, and tried many ways to take the city. Failing in this he thought it better not to await the Duke of Braganza, Don Ernando, and other grandees. He marched to Cascaes to his fleet which the bad weather had driven back to Peniche. They say that Fuentes and the best troops have placed themselves between Don Antonio and the fleet, and will damage him much before he can embark. It is a common opinion that if his Highness had retired into the Castle of Lisbon, as he was advised by some to do, the city would have risen in revolt in favour of Don Antonio.

[*Spanish.*]

June 20. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

852. Vincenzo Gradenigo, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The English fleet has reached Corunna in Galicia. They could do nothing against the city, but they took, sacked, and burned the suburbs. Martin Schenk has been named Captain-General of the States of Holland and Zealand.

Prague, 20th June 1589.

[*Italian.*]

June 24. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

853. Hieronimo Lippomano, retiring Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The day after to-morrow we are all to sail, all five galleys together; we shall keep out in the open sea, and reach Genoa without touching land. I may possibly arrive in Italy before this despatch, but as a coasting vessel is going to sail to-day I take the opportunity to send this by it.

A Portuguese gentleman, in the great dearth of news produced by the King's prohibition against sending any reports from Portugal,

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brings us word that the English have left the suburbs of Lisbon, and have retired to embark again. They suffered some loss on the road. They have captured the Castle of Cascaes, in which they have fortified themselves until their fleet may be ready to support them. But owing to the position of Cascaes, which is sixteen miles from Lisbon towards the mouth of the river, if the English succeed in holding it they may be able to throw all the affairs of Portugal into confusion. It is thought, however, that the Prior, Don Ernando, has reached Cascaes with large reinforcements, and has driven them out.

Barcellona, 24th June 1589.

June 24. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

854. TOMASO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

After Don Antonio and his troops embarked on the 14th of this month we had news, dated the 17th, that Drake had not sailed yet, and that no one knew what his route would be. It is said that he has captured forty ships, laden with grain and provisions, which were coming from Flanders and elsewhere. He intends to make use of these stores. It is believed that he will sail to the Azores, where he could easily capture all the rich munitions lying there in an open place outside the forts. If he does so he will cover all the expenses of the fleet, so I am informed by experts. The activity in shipbuilding does not slacken. Orders have been given at Santander to prepare all necessary material. Don Alonzo de Bazan, brother to the Marquis of Santa Cruz, has been made Captain-General of the sea. It is thought that the fame of his brother, and the experience acquired under him, will allow Don Alonzo to perform good work for the service of the King. Don Alonzo's post of Captain of the galleys of Portugal has been given to Don Francesco Colonna, a knight of Malta, who has served on board the galleys of his order, and promises laudable service. Don Juan de Cardona, who was at the head of naval affairs in Santander, having recovered all the remnants of last year's Armada, has been recalled, not so much because he had completed his task as because he had failed to establish his authority over that population of sailors. The ship "Sumachi," which ought to have been set free in Sicily, has been sent to Lisbon by the Viceroy of Sicily. After great difficulty I obtained a decree for its release.

Madrid, 24th June 1589.

[*Italian.*]

June 24. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

855. TOMASO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I send to your Serenity the enclosed report obtained from a good source. In it you will see all the operations of the English forces down to the embarkation of Don Antonio and his troops.

Madrid, 24th June 1589.

[*Italian.*]

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Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

856. REPORT on the MOVEMENTS of the ENGLISH SQUADRON down to the 14th of June. Translated from Spanish into Italian.

The English fleet set sail from England with fourteen thousand men on board, divided into fourteen regiments of five companies each, composed of Germans, Flemish, Walloons, and French. Two companies were lost on board two ships. These numbers are exclusive of the sailors who serve on board; the fleet reaches a total of one hundred and twenty-five sail, mostly small or middle sized, as is usual in England. Drake was in supreme command, and a certain Norris, a man very famous among the English, led the soldiers. This fleet reached Corunna, which city and port the English intended to capture, as it was very handy for ships on their way from England to Spain. A further object of this attempt on Corunna was to rouse the Portuguese, who had showed signs of an intention to revolt, and also to divert any forces which might be sent to hold the Portuguese in check.

When the Corunna affair came to an end, as it did because the English saw that they were spending too much time over it, and could not afford to stay there any longer without serious damage to their interests, the fleet sailed away to Portugal. It put in at Peniche, a small place and no harbour. There ten thousand men were disembarked, some horse, and some sutlers waggons. Don Pedro de Guzman, with three thousand Portuguese infantry and three hundred Castillians, was sent from Lisbon to oppose the landing. Juan Gonzalez de Ataide held the Castle. Don Pedro could do nothing, for all the inhabitants fled; he attempted to to prevent the landing of troops, but all the Portuguese soldiers took to flight, although their officers did their duty well. Don Pedro received support from two hundred fresh troops; all the same he was forced to retire, for Juan Gonzalez de Ataide abandoned the Castle when his garrison fled, and he himself set off for Lisbon. The enemy entered Peniche, but did no damage, nor did they occupy the Castle, but departed at once towards Lisbon. At Cintra they were joined by four thousand men who had been landed along with Don Antonio. They marched in excellent order, and entrenched themselves every night. They arrived within a league of Lisbon, where a sortie of the garrison took place. The English awaited the attack right merrily, and the engagement was fought with courage. An English colonel died, and five officers, besides many men, and an infinity of wounded. On this account, and because the cavalry of Don Sancho Bravo and others harassed them continually and gave them much to do, they retired to their quarters. That same night our troops gave them a shirt-sleeve attack (*una incamisata*) in which many were slain, and the enemy thrown into confusion. The English drew nearer to the city, and entered the suburbs. They did not plunder, for everything had been carried into the city. Don Antonio was lodged at the house of the Duke d'Avero, and went to the Theatines, where they say he confessed. That day a friar and a rich gentleman of Lisbon, who was under suspicion, were

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arrested. The latter was taking eighteen thousand ducats to Don Antonio. His head was cut off on the spot, and so was the head of one of the Cardinal's household, who during the sortie had tried to desert to Don Antonio. On him were found letters from Don Antonio. The day following there was a sharp skirmish in which the English lost four hundred men and twenty-five prisoners. In all the skirmishes they had the worst of it, always losing men. Their fleet lay at the bar of the river, and prevented all egrees or ingress to any shipping; it intended to sail in the moment Lisbon showed signs of suffering want. On the fifth of the month the enemy retired half a league from the city, entrenched themselves strongly, and kept quiet. On the 6th, unperceived by the Count of Fuentes, they marched off five good leagues. A few of our horse went after them, and killed some few. Had our troops marched out of Lisbon not a man of them would have escaped alive. Up to this moment not a single soldier had arrived to succour the city. The Count of Fuentes, for the sake of Lisbon, for the sake of the Cardinal's personal safety, and because he knew that the Portuguese troops were not to be trusted, did not venture to leave the city and to take the field with those few troops on whom he could rely, which did not amount to one thousand five hundred men; and in this he did well. Two thousand Portuguese sent by the Duke of Braganza, and eight hundred sent by the Duke of Feria, arrived. The English took up their position at Cascaes, and began to bombard the town with five pieces of heavy artillery. The castle surrendered. It was garrisoned by four hundred soldiers, and contained seven good pieces of artillery, eleven barrels of gunpowder, and one hundred and fifty quintals of biscuits, pork, and tunny sausage (*tonina*). At this moment there came into harbour six vessels laden with corn for German merchants, and though they were sailing under a safe conduct from Elizabeth, the English seized them. The Count of Fuentes had already broken the mills of Cintra and of Cascaes so that the enemy should not make use of them, and might not receive provisions, of which they began to feel great want. For our horse would not let a man come out, but instantly charged, and they drove back one thousand musketeers who had gone out to forage. Already some twenty-five Portuguese gentlemen, of those who had not much to lose, have joined Don Antonio well armed and fully equipped, and also some four hundred of the people. He is much visited by priests and friars. On the 13th the English got all their sick and wounded on board. They took the artillery out of Cascaes, and left only one company in the town which was given over to the sack. The same day they began to embark the army, and finished on the 14th. Four hundred Portuguese were left behind because of the want of provisions. A Flemish volunteer, and a competent judge, calculates that from Corunna to Lisbon, between skirmishes and sickness the English lost five thousand men. The Adelantado of Castille arrived with his twelve galleys, all in excellent order, and with two thousand men on board. He could not cross the bar on the 13th owing to the bad weather. It is thought quite certain that his arrival caused the English to withdraw. We are now at

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the 24th, and there are letters from Lisbon that on the arrival of the Adelantado, Don Alonzo de Bazan in his galleys went out to meet him, and both together, with a squadron of twenty-four ships, followed up and harrassed the enemy, who was lying becalmed. But a fresh breeze sprang up, and the English drew off into the open sea; the Adelantado did his best to follow them, but we know that he is back again in Lisbon.

Many English, some say as many as three hundred, have stayed behind of their own accord, and have become Catholics. Among them one gentleman has furnished information as to the nature of the compact between Don Antonio and the Queen of England; in substance it is as follows:—The Queen bound herself to furnish a fleet of one hundred and twenty sail, with seventeen thousand soldiers and six thousand sailors on board, fully munitioned and provisioned. Don Antonio bound himself, in case of the capture of Lisbon, to pay five millions in gold within a certain time; three hundred thousand ducats yearly as tribute, and to allow English troops to remain in all the fortresses of the kingdon. That Lisbon was to be given over to a free sack for twelve days. The bishoprics and the principal prebends were to be given by the Queen to Catholics, except Lisbon, which was to be held by an English subject who was on board the fleet. That all the Castillians who were found in Portugal were to be put to the edge of the sword; the Portuguese were to be unmolested; and other terms of little moment.

[*Italian.*]

June 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

857. Giovanni Mocenigo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

I will execute your Serenity's orders about the galeon "Tizzone" with the Secretary of England. The Ambassador is away.

Tours, 26th June 1589.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

June 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

858. Tomaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

After the English embarked on the 14th they hung about those waters for four days to make some booty and to provision themselves. On the 18th they laid their route south, leaving it uncertain what point they were making for, whether the Azores, as is thought most likely, or to Cape St. Vincent, with the intention of entering Cadiz, and setting fire to the shipping, and sacking the town.

They are seriously afraid that this may be the enemy's design, and accordingly the Adelantado of Castille, choosing nine of his best ships, followed up the English twenty-five leagues out to sea, and drawing close to them did them much damage. He sank five of their ships, and captured eight; killed six hundred, and made one hundred and fifty prisoners. Don Antonio expected help from the Schereef, who had prepared thirty thousand horse for that

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purpose, but as the Schereef was alarmed for his own safety on account of the son of Muley Moluk (Monluco), who was with his stepfather Hassan Pasha, he was forced to refrain from sending this assistance, and sent to inform the King of Spain that he did not wish to break the friendly relations which existed between them. But as the faith of the Moors is always doubtful both parties stand on their guard and in uncertainty, watching the turn of events. It is thought likely that Drake will cruise about not far off, towards the Straits of Gibraltar, where, with the help of the cavalry furnished by the Schereef, he will effect a landing, and will endeavour once more to enter Portugal by another road.

In Lisbon they are restoring order, and punishing the guilty. And already Don Alonzo de Vargas, general of the cavalry, has arrived to act as lieutenant to the Captain-General, Don Ernando, and with a commission to succeed him should he die. *This will augment the jealousy already existing between those two.* Alvaro Flores has orders to protect the King's gold from the English fleet. The commander who surrendered the Castle of Cascaes has been beheaded as a warning to others, his garrison of four hundred has been deceminated, forty being hung as they deserved. The provisions for the Armada in Santander are proceeding very slowly. Still the King is resolved on attacking England again, in order to show to the Queen that though she began the war like a man she will have to end it like a woman.

Madrid, 28th June 1589.

[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*]

June 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

859. Tomaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

Don Antonio has been so unlucky in his attempt to recover Portugal that he not merely has not found that response among the populace which was promised to him, but he was not even able to receive in time those fresh supports which were prepared for him in England.

The Queen despatched these reinforcements of men and provisions to the fleet, but the ships which were carrying them encountered a great storm, and were knocked about; thirty of them took shelter in Rochelle ; but it is too late for them to be of any use in saving the fortunes of Don Antonio, which owing to a variety of accidents and to their weak foundations, have sunk very low.

Madrid, 28th June 1589.

[*Italian.*]

July 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

860. Hieronimo Lippomano, retiring Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

On the 26th of last month we sailed from Barcellona, all five Genoese galleys. Next morning, having reached Palamos, we found a courier there from the Government of Genoa sent to warn

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the commander that twenty-two galleys were cruising off the coast of France in order to catch him.

We therefore laid our route for Sardinia, and thence coasting along by the east of Corsica we arrived safely in this port last night.

The Chevalier Mores and an Agent from Duke of Maine, who was secretly at the Court of Spain, left for Flanders. They carry important orders to the Duke of Parma, who, they say, is growing dropsical, and walking towards a rapid death.

Genoa, 1st July 1589.

[*Italian.*]

July 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

861. Alberto Badoer, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

The Pope said to me that news from Spain was not good. The population of Portugal was flocking with enthusiasm to join Don Antonio, though the nobility stood firm for the King, who sent troops towards Portugal every day. The Duke of Braganza had three thousand men under him. It was therefore to be hoped that the enemy would not make much progress, though there was some fear of their receiving assistance from the Moors of Fez; many ships had been sent to that country to transport the troops which were ready on the sea shore.

I have learned that his Holiness subsequently had news from Spain that his Nuncio, having asked for an audience, was told to communicate in writing with Don Juan d'Idiaquez. The Pope takes this conduct very ill, and does not attribute it to the King's habitual dislike of audiences, but rather to the fact that he has not received the money promised him for the English enterprise, nor any assistance for the Duke of Savoy at Geneva, and therefore is resolved to treat with the Pope only in black and white.

Rome, 8th July 1589.

[*Italian.*]

July 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

862. Giovanni Mocenigo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Queen of England has recalled the English troops that were with Navarre in order to send them to Portugal. In London they are lading ships with corn to succour the King, Don Antonio.

Tours, 10th July 1589.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

July 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

863. Tomaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The English fleet after leaving Lisbon was followed up and harrassed by the Adelantado of Castille. It was reinforced in men and provisions sent out by the Queen of England in forty ships, and then

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returned to Cascaes. The Spaniards were afraid lest the commander would make one of his surprise attacks in that quarter; but at length they saw him set his route towards Cape Finisterre. When passing Oporto he landed some men to take in water and other necessaries, but did no damage, nor did he attempt any landing in force. Then passing Finisterre he sailed along the coast of Galicia, making some prizes, and burning some places as he is wont, and put into Vigo (*Vico*) Bay with a large fleet under him. Vigo is a miserable weak place not far from Corunna. The English took, sacked, and burned it, and set sail for England to repair the losses they had suffered through sword and sickness. Another squadron of the enemy, which was separated from the main body, and may have numbered thirty sail, was sighted off San Lucar which lies towards Cadiz. Their object is not known, whether it be to attempt to force the harbour of Cadiz, and to inflict the same damage as they did once before, or to await cavalry from Africa to be carried over into Spain. But Cadiz is so well fortified that it need not fear their attack, and the Moors are so alarmed about their own affairs that they will not think of depriving themselves of troops just now to support the uncertain and dangerous designs of others. Everyone sees that this attack on Portugal has brought loss to the English in persons and in reputation, and to Don Antonio because it has shown how feeble are the foundations on which he builds, and to the Portuguese, for it has won them little sympathy from the English, who discovered that they would not openly join Don Antonio, and hatred from the Castillians who discovered that they would not serve the King; and so, as is the fate of those who are too stupid to to act well and too cowardly to act ill, they have been abandoned by the English, and are punished by the Spanish, and proving once more that in matters of moment the middle course is not only dangerous but disastrous. For besides those who were left behind when the English fleet sailed away from the coast of Portugal, who had no possible salvation for themselves or their property, all those in the city who have shown signs of favouring Don Antonio, or are even suspected of doing so, are being crushed out by various means, so that in a short time that kingdom of Portugal will be completely deprived of its native nobility, except some few families who openly hold by their allegiance to the King, and that country will never be able to offer any support to any future attack.

A person in Lisbon, who is not a partisan, assures me that the ecclesiastics, including friars and priests, were the most turbulent of all classes; they did not shrink from fanning the flame by private exhortations from house to house, and even took arms themselves against his Catholic Majesty. The nobles, called Hidalgos, were deeply attached to Don Antonio, but made lukewarm by fear, and restrained by the penalties, they may be said to have rather desired than assisted Don Antonio's success. All the same, on the rumour of the English advance, many of these left the city with their families and their more precious goods, and drew away to that part; among these were some of the principal officials of the city. The merchant class which is composed chiefly

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The English left a garrison of three hundred men in Cascaes, and four hundred in Peniche. The former were taken on board when the fleet returned from Cape St. Vincent, as the neighbourhood of Lisbon exposed them to danger of annihilation. The four hundred of Peniche held on till they were warned by a Portuguese that Don Pedro de Guzman and Don Sancho Bravo were coming to recover the place. They then fled on board their boats, as many as they could, and reached the fleet; but one hundred and fifty remained behind, and were overcome by the Spaniards and slain.

The English troops on leaving Portugal, when they saw they had no more chance of gaining it, showed how they despised the true religion which on their entrance they had feigned to revere. For they hurled everything to ground, kicked the images, fired shots at the statues, profaned the churches, robbed the priests' vestments, and left signs behind not so much of valour as of impiety. And now that Portugal is freed from these scenes of violence and danger, and now that Ministers are aroused and stirred up to think not merely of the safety of that kingdom, which is now secured, but also of vengeance for so many and so frequent injuries, they are preparing an Armada which for number of troops and of ships shall be quite able to fight the enemy on the open sea, or to attack England once again. The experience of last year has taught them that it is not possible, in one and the same season, to make the preparations and to carry out the expedition; and so they intend to bring the Italian and German troops which they are raising into Portugal this winter in spite of the great expense it will entail, so as to have them ready at the right moment to send on board.

It is true that this year, owing to the excessive dryness of the season which has hardened the ground, there is a great scarcity of grain and all other crops necessary for provisions. Everything is at an exorbitant price, and we have suffered want even in this city. And it is urged that if so many foreigners are introduced who have to pass several months in this country, the poverty of the country and the discomfort of the inhabitants will be increased beyond the power of remedy.

In the meantime, for the present year they are getting ready as large a number of ships as they can. These preparations are taking place in Santander where almost all the provisions are.

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Don Alonzo de Bazan, who has been named Captain-General, has left Lisbon and gone to the Escurial to kiss hands on his appointment to this office. He has received his orders, and must already be on his way to Santander to push on the preparations and to take the sea as soon as he can with his fleet, which after all cannot really number more than fifty or sixty vessels. These are larger and of a greater capacity than the English, and so they say they have no need to fear the enemy, although more numerous, an opinion I leave to the judgment of others. Anyway this armament will increase the reputation of the Spanish power, and will encourage the inhabitants of the sea-board, and will hold the enemy in check. Further, should the enemy think of going to the Azores, as is thought likely, he will have to use greater precautions, the more so as a captain and five hundred men have been sent there to garrison the island.

Another good result will spring from the formation of this fleet. For the States which voted the eight millions of gold, now that they see Portugal quiet and the English expedition postponed, are showing themselves reluctant to pay this burden, which they wish to ensure being spent in the expedition against the Queen of England; and it is thought that the sight of this fleet of Santander will prove very efficacious in overcoming their doubts.

The war in Portugal being concluded in the way I have reported, the Prior, Don Ernando, received orders to return to his Majesty to fill the post of Councillor, as that of Captain on land is now suppressed. He has done nothing except pass from the Escurial to Zamora and from Zamora to Alcantara, where he massed his army corps to drive out the English from Portugal. The massing of troops, however, took place so slowly that very few horse and foot had joined his flag; and various events led the enemy to be more rapid in flying than the Spanish in forming.

Madrid, 10th July 1589.

[*Italian.*]

July 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

864. Tomaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

Giovanni Andrea Doria has sent two couriers to Madrid, one by land the other by sea; the news they convey is that the Turkish fleet will put out from Constantinople; it will be of that force which has already been indicated, and its objects will be those described.

The general belief is that it is taking the sea at the instance of the King of France and of the Queen of England, with a view to harrass the Spanish dominions, and thus to divert the Spanish forces from an attack on England, or from offering aid to the enemies of the King of France, which, in truth, they do not fail to do. Only the other day an agent was despatched to carry a large sum of money to the Duke of Maine. The Duke's representative left along with this agent. He has been for long in Court, which, when it came to the knowledge of his most Christian Majesty, gave

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him occasion to complain and lament. Someone who is very intimate in the house of Idiaquez, who conducts all this business, told me that it is perfectly certain that the King of Spain will not allow the Duke of Maine's party to be utterly crushed, but will grant every kind of support to keep it on its feet. This he will not do openly, but through a secret channel, furnishing the Duke with funds as he may require them from day to day. The King holds that he is justified in this conduct now that the King of France has allied himself with the heretics. They also remember the difficulties placed in the way of Spain by the King of France as regards the affairs of Flanders and the acquisition of the kingdom of Portugal. This line of action is further strengthened by the monitorum issued by the Pope against the King of France.

I endeavour to keep correspondents in various parts of this kingdom; but he who supplies my Portuguese news was unable, while the English were in that country, to send me full information; and so it was only after the enemy had left that I obtained details.

Madrid, 10th July 1589.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

July 18. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

865. Vincenzo Gradenigo, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the Doge of Senate.

The Turks under Hassan, Capudan Pasha, have been taking soundings at the island of Pantellaria (*Pantalanea*), with a view to occupying it. Though the island is deserted, still the occupation of it would be a danger to Sicily. The Spanish Ambassador is seriously disturbed on account of the news from Portugal, not being accustomed to see the enemy in his very country.

The Duke of Parma was reported very ill at the baths of Spa. Now from Cologne we hear of an improvement in his health.

Prague, 18th July 1589.

[*Italian.*]

July 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

866. Tomaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The recent disturbances in Portugal were the cause of my being in ignorance of the death of the Venetian Consul in Lisbon. For all communications were confiscated as long as the English were in the country.

Madrid, 22nd July 1589.

[*Italian.*]

July 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

867. Alberto Badoer, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

The Pope said that though Don Antonio and the English had left Portugal still there was much reason to fear that they would go to the Azores, where they can do great damage. His Holiness lamented that the King of Spain always would make excessive

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expenditures out of season, as now in raising so many men in Italy for Portugal, while they cannot reach that destination earlier than October, and then they won't know what to do with them.

Rome, 22nd July 1589.

[*Italian.*]

July 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

868. Tomaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

After all the commotions of arms caused by the English and the Moors things have quieted down. The preparations in Santander are going on slowly; the number of ships is said to be sixty, *but my own information, which is exact, places them at fifty. The lack of sailors retards these preparations. On the Atlantic seaboard there are positively none, and those on the Mediterranean seaboard being unskilful would prove of little use.* The soldiers for this fleet are to number six thousand; most of these are already at Santander. The English are said to be suffering from a terrible mortality aboard. Some of their ships have been sighted off Galicia where they have gone to plunder as is their wont; while other ships under Colonel Norris, with the sick on board, are on the way home. Drake seized a Flanders ship in the waters of Galicia, and put forty of his men on board with orders to follow him. So malignant a sickness broke out among them, and spread so wide, that thirty-eight of the forty died. Only two escaped alive, and they, now that the ship was in this way freed from the English, were carried into Lisbon, where they gave a full and true account of all that was taking place among their countrymen.

Don Alonzo di Bazan is to be Captain-General, and though he is highly esteemed and very well versed in naval matters, yet not being titled he lacks the rank which would induce other noblemen to submit to his orders. Accordingly this office has not been conferred on him absolutely but provisionally; and his Majesty reserves to himself the right to confer it on any other subject whom he may approve, supposing that next year they make a larger Armada.

For this object they are making every effort, and the royal patrimony in the Indies is being sold, also offices in India are put up for sale. But the whole operation will not prove so easy as they thought, nor so rapid of execution as is required. For the Cortes have begun to raise difficulties about the contribution of eight millions.

Madrid, 22nd July 1589.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

July 29. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

869. Alberto Badoer, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

The Pope told me that he heard from Portugal that Don Antonio had taken all the territory round Cascaes, not merely Cascaes itself, and that he had been received under a baldacchino in many places; that he had come in sight of Lisbon, but as he did not attack the city no rising took place.

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The Duke of Braganza arrived after Don Antonio had begun to retire to Cascaes. Don Antonio was allowed to embark without suffering any loss. On the way to Lisbon no damage was done by the enemy, but on their return march they committed every kind of abomination, sparing neither persons nor places, seizing the host in order to steal the tabernacles, being especially fierce against images, and hanging a statue of St. Sebastian. His Holiness complained that the King threw away so much money when the need for it was over.

Rome, 29th July 1589.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 1. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

870. Vincenzo Gradenigo, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the Doge and Senate.

News from Flanders that the Duke of Parma continues to develop the dropsy, and is in very great danger of his life.

Prague, 1st August 1589.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

871. Tomaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

I took my leave of the King and turned to talk to Don Juan d'Idiaquez *who, though very reserved in his conversation and sparing of his words, so as to keep as near as possible to the habit and the wishes of the King, yet on this occasion, considering his custom, discussed at length upon matters before the Council; the sum total of his remarks was that no Armada would undertake operations this year as the season was too far advanced to allow it to achieve anything of moment.* The Councils of State, of War, and of Finance are now at the Escurial and continually transact business. *The Council of State has discussed the question of support to be given to the Duke of Maine; the Council of War has dealt with these preparations for the Armada, so that it may sail from Santander as soon as possible; and the Council of Finance is studying how to raise the necessary money for all these expenses, and to discover some method by which the eight millions which have been voted may not only be exacted at once, but also may be converted into a permanent tax. This operation meets with violent opposition.*

Madrid, 8th August 1589.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Aug. 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

872. Tomaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The news that Drake with all his fleet, has retired to England is confirmed.

Madrid, 8th August 1589.

[*Italian.*]

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Aug. 19.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

873. TOMASO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

By letters from Santander we have news that the Catholic Armada left that port on the 6th inst.; it numbers forty great and twenty smaller ships, and although some difficulty was experienced in supplying men, and the full complement required for its safety was not forthcoming, nevertheless it set out on its voyage; it will pass first to Corunna to take in munitions, and more troops to the number of six thousand men, and will then sail to the Azores to protect the Indian fleets, of which five ships are already there, as well as one very rich vessel from the Malacca, which had lost her consort on the journey. Seventy sail were sighted not far from the coast of Portugal; it is true that there is certainty that they are English or French. But all the same the Cardinal of Austria sent out some boats to reconnoitre, and they have not come back yet. At the Escurial there is an Agent from Hamburg, who has instructions from Danzig to inform the King that many ships from those parts have been seized by the Queen of England, and to complain of her action. This Agent is about to return home by way of Italy; he is the bearer of a despatch whose contents I cannot discover owing to the secresy in which the whole matter is kept.

Madrid, 19th August 1589.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Sept. 3.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

874. TOMASO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I have received your Serenity's despatch of the 15th July informing me of the communication made by the Secretary to the Catholic Ambassador as regards the affairs of Portugal and the departure of the English from that kingdom.

Don Bernardino de Mendoza has sent from Paris an account of the murder of the King.

Madrid, 3rd September 1589.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Sept. 3.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

875. TOMASO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

By news received from England we learn that the English fleet has reached Falmouth (Flemua) in such a bad plight that two-thirds of its men are dead, some of the ships lost, and the living seriously ill. The populace is very discontented at the bad results of this expedition, while the Queen is in difficulties for want of money.

Notwithstanding all this Don Antonio has been very kindly received by her, though the English people abhor him as a person doomed to calamity, and the cause of disaster to all who share his actions. Drake and Norris are said to be open enemies, and each attacks the other. Norris was of opinion that the fleet should enter the harbour of Lisbon at the same time that the army

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approached the city. This Drake declined to do so as not to jeopardise all the English forces, both naval and military, as he says, and Norris declares that this conduct was the cause of the unfortunate and ruinous issue of the enterprise (*dicendosi anco che Draco et il Noris esercitavano aperta inimicitia et accerbamente si mordevano l' uno l' altro; principalmente perche il Noris era di parere che l' armata entrasse nel porto di Lisbona quando le genti per terra accostavano alla città; il che non havendo voluto far Draco, per non arrischiare tutte le forze, cosi maritime come terrestri, come egli medesimo afferma, dice il Noris questo haver apportato l' infelice et dannoso esito dell' impresa*).

There is apparently no intention to send out ships again from England; and it turns out that the sails which were sighted off the coast of Portugal, and thought to be English, belonged to various nations, and were merchantmen; and so this kingdom is entirely freed from all alarm, and the India fleet at the Azores is secured from danger. The Catholic fleet, which was moved to Corunna, is still lying in that port, with the intention of cruising no further than Cape Finisterre to keep down piracy.

There is said to be news that the Queen of England is dead of consumption, from which she had been suffering for long; but as I do not know what foundation this rumour has I send it with no guarantee of its truth.

Madrid, 3rd September 1589.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 5. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

876. Vincenzo Gradenigo, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the Doge and Senate.

Martin Schenk, while flying from some peasants across a river, was drowned. His body was found soon afterwards and cut to bits, with every sign of joy that so great a pest had been removed from the earth.

Prague, 5th September 1589.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

877. Tomaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

A carvel which had been sent from Corunna towards England to fetch news has returned with a small prize, which was captured when passing from Zealand to England. Her master was a native of Alessandria di Paglia, who from Catholic had become a heretic, and from monk had turned sailor.

About the Queen of England it seems that there is confirmation not of her death but of her near demise; for consumption has declared itself, and as that is an incurable malady it will destroy her in a short time.

The Duke of Parma, who went to the Baths for his health, is growing worse, and is in danger.

Madrid, 9th September 1589.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

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Sept. 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

878. TOMASO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Letters from the Duke of Parma to the King announce that an Ambassador from Denmark is at the Duke's court, for the purpose of arranging a peace between England and Spain. As far as I can see neither his Majesty nor his Ministers are averse from an honourable treaty, owing to the difficulty of raising an Armada through lack of ships and men. But perhaps the death of the Queen, who is said to be very ill, may put an end to all that.

Some of the Spanish troops who were serving with the Armada last year, have joined the Duke of Parma from Scotland, where they were well treated by the King. The Duke of Parma makes insistant demands to be relieved of his post on account of ill health, and his disgust at the Spanish. It is thought that he has been poisoned at a banquet. The violent remedies applied have caused the mischief to descend to his legs. He himself thinks he was poisoned.

The grounds of his Majesty's claim on Brittany have been drawn up by a Milanese doctor; at the end of his treatise he exhorts his Majesty to embark on that enterprise, both as just and reasonable, and points out that by acquiring Brittany his Majesty will be paving the way to make himself master of England; where he can subsequently establish the King of Scotland and bestow on that Sovereign his daughter to wife.

Madrid, 16th September 1589.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Sept. 19. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

879. VINCENZO GRADENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Duke of Parma's dropsy continues. There is news by way of Aix la Chapelle that the Queen of England is dead.

Prague, 19th September 1589.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 25. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

880. TOMASO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Duke of Parma renews his demand to be relieved of his post. The King supports him against the Spanish nobles who attack him; among these is the Duke of Medina Sidonia, who, though absent from Court, still by means of his dependents injures the Duke of Parma as much as he can.

Madrid, 25th September 1589.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Sept. 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

881. TOMASO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King has been ill for three days with fever and vomiting. He is now mending, and we must pray God to restore him to his

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full health; more especially in this his sixty-third year, which in the common opinion is counted a dangerous age.

Madrid, 26th September 1589.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Oct. 3. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

882. Tomaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

Some Venetian sailors who served on the Armada last year and were carried to Ireland, came to see me. They complain loudly of their treatment, and even had they kept silence their poverty and nakedness would have sufficiently testified to their sufferings, and the absence of their pay. All the same I did not fail to reprove them for talking as they did of this Crown. I advised them to return home, and gave them what money I could.

The King is quite recovered.

Madrid, 3rd October 1589.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Oct. 3. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

883. Tomaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

Two days ago the President of the Royal Council of Flanders arrived at Court. He has been sent by the Duke of Parma to treat of very important affairs, among others he is charged with explaining to his Majesty all the particulars of the negotiations with the Queen of England on the subject of peace, and of the accord with Holland and Zealand; it is true that these two subjects are connected and interdependent owing to the Protectorate which the Queen has assumed over the States.

One ship of the Indian fleet has arrived at Seville; it left its consorts at Havana. This ship brings news that no fleet will arrive this year from the islands, and not a vessel has dared to put out from Mexico for fear of the English.

Madrid, 3rd October 1589.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Oct. 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

884. Alberto Badoer, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

The news of the Duke of Parma's health is far from good. For not only have the Baths not cured the incipient dropsy, but his stomach and legs are continually swelling.

Rome, 8th October 1589.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

885. Tomaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

For some months now they have had in hand the negotiations for a peace with England; there is a favourable disposition on the one side and on the other. The death of the King of France

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has rendered the King of Spain and his Ministers still more disposed to this peace, because they know that they will have to turn their attention and their arms to the support of the Catholic party in France. Accordingly, all naval preparations which, a short time ago, were being pressed forward, are now sensibly relaxed. On the other hand the Duke of Parma is ordered to supply to the Duke of Maine as large a number of infantry and cavalry as he can with due regard to the safety of Flanders.

Special precautions are taken for the protection of the King's person; it is forbidden to present supplications to his Majesty, nor may anyone approach him when he is out of doors. The death of the King of France, which shows that no Sovereign however great is now safe, is the cause of those measures.

The necessary preparations for erecting a college of English Jesuits at Valladolid are being made. The King raised many difficulties before giving his consent; but finally permission was granted, provided that no one should be received into the college without having first produced a certificate of the place whence he came, his profession, and his Catholic manner of life.

There is news that thirty ships, not under Drake, but another, have been doing much damage at Florida, and they entertain fears for the fleet.

Madrid, 14th October 1589.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Oct. 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

886. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Mons. de Stafford (Stafort) reached Dieppe with a certain amount of money and munitions from the Queen for the service of the King, who is unable to receive much help by sea, and if any come it must be sent in ships fully armed.

Tours, 16th October 1589.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Oct. 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

887. TOMASO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King and his Ministers are not altogether averse from a peace with England, as they desire to accommodate themselves to circumstances; but there is a doubt whether the Queen of England is not playing false, and is really directing her negotiations for peace with a view to cause a relaxation in the Spanish preparations rather than to come to any definite conclusion. Already the rumour runs that she is in close alliance with the Turks, in order to secure the assistance of their fleet next year. Her object will be a fresh attempt on the kingdom of Portugal, so as to prevent the King from taking a part in the affairs of France.

The Queen of England goes along with her illness, and it seems that, although it is dangerous, still it will last longer than was expected. She is very eager in making provision of money and men to help the King of Navarre, who has withdrawn into Dieppe, where she can easily support him from the sea.

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The President of the Council of Flanders who was sent there by the Duke of Parma, has been to the Escurial to have an audience of his Majesty; he has not come back yet. Besides the other subjects which I have mentioned, the President is also to treat of the Duke's retirement. The Duke is firmly convinced that he was poisoned, but was saved by the efficacious remedies applied; he now dreads a fresh attempt to poison him, and suspects the Spaniards who are so openly hostile to him. The Spaniards, on the other hand, loudly complain of such a monstrous accusation, and declare that their nation has always been free from such crimes, nor were such weapons ever in use among them.

Madrid, 23rd October 1589.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Oct. 24. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

888. Tomaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The fleet that is on its way to Seville, is said to have passed Cape St. Vincent. If this be true, it is excellent news, for the fleet was in danger from the English vessels, which were scouring those seas. There is news from England that Drake has fifty ships ready with which he intends to put to sea; destination unknown.

Madrid, 24th October 1589.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

889. Alberto Badoer, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

The case of England is not the same as that of Navarre, the Pope urges, because the Queen of England is undoubtedly in undisputed possession of her kingdom, whereas Navarre is absolutely debarred from being King of France.

Rome, 28th October 1589.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 31. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

890. Vincenzo Gradenigo, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the Doge and Senate.

A son of the Viceroy of Ireland has been sent to condole with Cæsar on the death of his father. The order of the Garter has been returned to England.

Prague, 31st October 1589.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

891. Giovanni Moro, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

Giovanni Stefano Ferrari, Agent of the Catholic King, arrived here on the first of this month. He opened negotiations with Orembey the Dragoman, who at once reported to the Grand Vizir who showed great satisfaction. On the 3rd Ferrari was introduced to the Vizir, from whom in the name of his master, he begged for the friendship of the Sultan. Ferrari presented letters,

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of which a copy is enclosed, from Marigliani only. The Pasha replied with his usual haughtiness, desiring Ferrari to come the following day to the public divan, where he said a few words. The Vizir did this in order to show publicly to all the world that his Catholic Majesty, however great he might be, had sent to humble himself. The Vizir did not think that Ferrari's visit to his own private residence was enough for this purpose.*

Immediately on his arrival here Ferrari sent Orembey to salute me in his name, declaring himself much obliged to your Serenity for the courtesy shown to him on his journey through your dominions, in return for which he would never weary in serving the Republic where he could. I sent to return his visit, and two days after he came to see me in person, and treated me with the fullest confidence. He told me that he had special orders from the King to mention the Republic in these negotiations, as he had done before, and he complained of the brutal manners of the Pasha, so different from those of Siavus Pasha.

The French Ambassador has taken no steps to thwart the negotiations of Ferrari, nor as he himself told me, will he do so. But the English Agent does all he can for this purpose. He went straight to the Sultan's secretary, who three years ago supported the English Ambassador in his opposition to the termination of the negotiations then concluded, and after seeing the secretary he went on to the Grand Vizir for the same purpose.

Ferrari is doing all he can to succeed honourably. I was with the Grand Vizir the other day about the question of the merchants, and his Magnificence asked me if I was aware that Spanish agents were here; and I, not to deny knowledge of what was universally known, said that I had heard that two days ago a Spanish Agent was present at the public divan. The Vizir said that the Agent was here to seek alliance with the Sultan, and a promise that he would not help the Republic of Venice whose States the King intended to occupy; he was charged to say that the King had made peace with the Queen of England who had been obliged to give the King forty ships armed at her charges, that the King proposed that all Venetian territory east of Corfu should belong to the Sultan, and all the rest to himself. The Pasha asked me if the Republic was strong enough to defend herself alone; and I to show that I did not believe him, smiled first and then said that the Republic was in friendly relations with the King of Spain, and that by the grace of God she had forces enough to protect herself from any attack. The Pasha asked if I had heard this report from any other quarter, and I to show that I attended only to Venetian affairs, replied that I only knew about the Spanish Agent's arrival two days after he had been in public divan, to which the Pasha replied, "It is carelessness on your part not to know what is going on in the world." He added that for his part he wished to know all that was going on in order to determine how to employ the Turkish forces now that peace had been made with Persia. I said that

* Ruggier Marigliani, son of Giovanni Marigliani.

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what he desired to know was his own affair, for me it would be vanity to wish to mix myself up in other people's business. The Pasha then said that all he had told me was only a joke, what he really wanted to know from me was what object the King of Spain had in sending an agent here to seek alliance with the Sultan. I replied that as I had only just heard of the agent's arrival it was not likely that I should know his orders. The Pasha then asked me who had been victorious in the war between England and Spain. I said I did not know that there had been any victory on one side or the other as both parties kept their possessions as before, and to break off this conversation I returned to the question of the merchants.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 11th November 1589.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Nov. 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

892. Tomaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The two Presidents of the Council of Flanders, the one resident here and the one sent by the Duke of Parma, have had long audiences with his Majesty at the Escurial. The subjects under discussion were the treaty of peace with England, the assistance to be sent to the Duke of Maine, and the retirement of the Duke of Parma. On this last point his Majesty replied that the Duke should come to Madrid, and there he would receive an answer.

I am informed from a trustworthy source that the Spanish are in relations with David Passi in Constantinople, the same as was in relation with Secretary Salazar. The Viceroy of Naples has written advising his Majesty to confer a regular salary on the Jew.

Madrid, 11th November 1594.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Nov. 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

893. Tomaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The sea round the Azores is swarming with pirates, navigation is interrupted and may be cut off altogether. The Catholic Armada which last month went to Lisbon, has returned to Corunna, and there are no signs of any preparations for putting out to sea. The English corsairs a short time back captured twenty-two ships laden with sugar on their way from Brazil. From Lisbon we have news that the Earl of Morlan(?) with ten English ships and as many other buccaneers of other nations, has sacked and burned the whole island of Fayre, and, having entered the fortress by treachery, has carried off forty pieces of cannon. To save the churches, which he had already begun to destroy, the natives promised to give him two thousand five hundred crowns, and when these were paid he departed. He burned and ravaged the whole island, a thing he found no difficulty in doing, for he began by assuring the inhabitants that he intended to take nothing but water, and would pay for everything else which he required for his fleet; these promises led the islanders to neglect all steps for their protection, and thus

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they were deceived and crushed. After leaving Fayre he went to Cape Verd where he seized many vessels on their way to Spain from Brazil.

The gold and silver fleet has not arrived as yet in Seville, and is causing some anxiety, as the fleet from New Spain, laden with merchandise which left Havana later than the gold fleet has arrived safely. A vessel arrived from the Indies announces that near the Azores she fell in with forty Englishmen who robbed her of all her cargo. Letters from Seville announce that eleven ships of the Indian fleet, but not gold ships, have been lost in the channel near Havana.

Madrid, 11th November 1589.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Nov. 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

894. Tomaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

There is no news of the gold fleet, but they are in hopes that it has taken a southern route in order to avoid the buccaneers, *and that is indeed the only hope they have.* The ordinary route is from latitude 43 passing by the Azores to Cape St. Vincent, which lies in latitude 37. God grant that they have taken the southern route, *for if that fleet be lost his Majesty will suffer great loss and all the kingdom will be ruined.*

Madrid, 16th November 1589.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Nov. 17. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

895. Tomaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

There is a rumour from Seville that of the gold fleet one ship with a million and two hundred thousand crowns on board has been lost; she parted company, and fell into the hands of the enemy. There is universal surprise that the Catholic fleet at such a moment should be lying idle in the port of Ferrol.

Madrid, 17th November 1589.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Nov. 25. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

896. Giovanni Moro, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

Giovanni Stefano Ferrari, who had good hopes of succeeding rapidly in negotiations, owing to the present of a jewel valued at 2,000 ducats which he had given to the Grand Vizir, has now been told to wait till the Captain of the Sea returns, as the Sultan will not come to any resolution without his presence. I believe this to be a device of the English Agent in order to gain time to upset the negotiations.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 25th November 1589.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

1589. Nov. 25. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

897. Tomaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

There is news that the Indian fleet has taken the southern route, almost as far down as Barbary, in order to sail with safety; but being overtaken by a great storm it was compelled to turn back, and the experts now doubt whether it can reach Spain this year. This will cause a great lack of money; and as almost all payments were to be made when the fleet arrived, his Majesty will now be compelled to raise money elsewhere.

Madrid, 25th November 1589.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Nov. 30. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

898. Tomaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The Duke of Medina Sidonia has just sent news that the gold fleet has reached San Lucar. This gives great joy to all.

Madrid, 30th November 1589.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Dec. 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

899. Tomaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

On the coast of Biscay eleven galleons on the English model are being built; they have keels fifteen paces long; and in Portugal other nine of Portuguese build; *but it is thought that all this will be too late, as the English will have time to carry out their designs.* Ferrol is being fortified against the English.

Dec. 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

900. Alberto Badoer and Leonard Donato, Venetian Ambassadors in Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

His Holiness complained that the Republic of Venice was bestowing great honours on Marc' Antonio Bragadin, called Mammon Bragadin, an apostate friar, who, after being unfrocked, had fled to Geneva and England. The Pope threatens to order all the churches to be shut in his face.

Rome, 10th December 1589.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

901. Tomaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The ship "Segura," from Crete with wine, entered the port of Cadiz, and has been seized owing to the number of errors committed by those who had charge of her. For first of all she lay off the port without entering, and then when suspicion had been roused she sailed in. Then the supercargo who was arrested, declared that they were bound for Lisbon, and showed his bill of lading; but afterwards, for no reason at all, he blabbed about the other secret bill of lading for England. Although there was considerable danger of a penalty for this fraud, yet she is to be allowed to sail to Lisbon on depositing a caution.

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I should like to secure her unconditional liberty ; and I think I could do so were it not for these rumours of preparation for war. All the same I will do everything which the condition of the case permits, for it is very likely that just at this juncture a general embargo on all shipping may be issued.

Madrid, 18th December 1589.

[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Dec. 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

902. Tomaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

We hear that the Queen of England, whose illness is no longer mentioned, is preparing a vast armament, though here nothing is moving. This news, and the report of great preparations at Constantinople, cause anxiety here.

Madrid, 18th December 1589.

[*Italian ; deciphered.*]

Dec. 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

903. Giovanni Mocenigo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The English have behaved with much license and cruelty in the captured cities, dishonouring the women, and slaying indiscriminately, and driving the French soldiers out of the best quarters, and up till this moment they have been patiently endured. The King, for the maintenance of discipline, and for his own honour, has summoned the Colonel and Captains, and told them he would dismiss the English unless they behaved properly.

Tours, 19th December 1589.

[*Italian ; deciphered.*]

Dec. 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

904. Tomaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

While rumour persists that in England vast preparations are going on, here they have done nothing except pass an order in Council, to despatch some money to Lisbon, Corunna, Santander, and Cadiz.

Two reasons hinder efficacious preparations in Spain ; one is that the Queen of England by her negotiations for peace has lulled the Spanish to sleep ; the other, that there is a divergence of opinion among the King's advisers. For those who are experienced in war, such as Don Ernando and Don Alonzo de Vargas, when they see that the opinion of Idiaquez and de Mora, one of whom has never been out of Spain, the other never in a campaign, is constantly preferred to their own, abandon this Council, and declare that things must go ill when all decisions are taken by the inexperienced. It is true that, in their uncertainty as to the Queen's operations, they are going to send a spy to England to report. But in the meantime the inhabitants of Lisbon are all panic stricken by the dread of a sudden and unexpected attack from England ; and the richest are leaving the city with all their wealth.

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News from Flanders that the Duke of Parma has had a serious relapse.

Madrid, 23rd December 1589.

[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*]

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1590. Jan. 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

905. TOMASO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

A rumour has been in circulation for some days now, and is receiving confirmation, that in England a great armament has been prepared and that it will very soon put out to sea. This rumour inspired such terror in Lisbon that many are leaving the city, while trade is beginning to suffer, and is steadily declining. Throughout Portugal a report is spread that English arms and English preparations are not really powerful nor proceeding rapidly, but it is thought that this report is spread either with a view to pacifying the minds of the people, or to excuse the insufficiency of the preparations which they are making here, preparations which are destined to defence alone ; they are arming the more important sites and manning the ships which are lying in Biscay and Galicia to the number of some sixty perhaps ; the troops that are being sent on board are inexperienced in war and useless at sea, and so will be of very little service. There is a great lack of seamen, both because the levy falls short of its full compliment and because those who are pressed complain of the pay and the treatment and refuse to embark. It is said that all the ships require overhauling, though no steps are being taken to carry this out. In addition to the ships which are being built in Santander and in Lisbon, other two have been ordered in Gibraltar. In spite of all, however, the power of this Crown is held to be so great that it will probably overcome all difficulties. Artillerymen are wanted, and orders have been sent to Germany to raise them, but it is thought that it will not be so easy for some of that nation and that profession who were brought into Spain some months ago and lodged in Alcantara are extremely ill satisfied with their pay and their treatment. It will be best to keep all this information secret.

The Portuguese cannot endure the Castilian troops, and so German infantry for the garrison of Lisbon are being raised.

An English gentleman came here some days ago. He has spent a long time in Florence. He was forced to leave his native land because he was a Catholic. He is believed to be thoroughly well acquainted with the state of England. Some think that the King

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has summoned him here, but it is more likely that he has been sent by the Grand Duke to report upon the movements from or against England.

A man has just gone to Corunna who has offered to his Majesty an instrument for making vessels move even against the wind. Many say that the invention will turn out a farce, and some experts declare that it may possibly succeed in a river, but never in the open sea. Doctor Ferafino, an Italian savant, student of mathematics and science, has offered to teach any one the practice of gunnery in a few months. He is accordingly to go to Seville to prove his powers. It is thought that the practice will not correspond to the theory.

Madrid, 6th January 1589 [m.v.].

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Jan. 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

906. Tomaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The King is in great need of money. There is still a difficulty about raising the eight millions of gold voted by the Cortes. The Chamber has informed the King that it is considering the means of raising the money, but that he in the meantime should provide against the damage which England is threatening to inflict, if all rumours be true. His Majesty took this ill, and replied that it was the business of the Cortes to pay up the money but not to advise, that he was quite capable of protecting his kingdoms. With a view to satisfying the creditors, at least in part, there is a proposal to coin the silver which has come from the Indies, debasing it by an admixture of copper.

The Council of War has informed me that the ship "Segura," which was detained in Cadiz, is to be set at liberty without any caution money, but I have not yet seen the order.

Madrid, 6th January 1589 [m.v.].

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Jan. 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

907. Tomaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

That Italian engineer, Cav. Spanocchi, who was sent to Ferrol to fortify the port, has, by his Majesty's orders, left for France where he is to examine the harbours of Brittany, with what object your Serenity will guess.

Madrid, 6th January 1589 [m.v.].

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Jan. 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

908. Giovanni Moro, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

Ferrari has been suddenly dismissed without any reply to the letter of Marigliani. The Sultan gave orders to say that the Porte was open to all comers. The Captain of the Sea told me that he was the cause of this letter. I learned from an excellent source

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that the Sultan's secretary, with a petition from the English Agent was the principal cause of Ferrari's dismissal. Before leaving, Ferrari presented the Captain of the Sea with a string of pearls, so that he might be well disposed should an Ambassador come from Spain.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 6th January 1589 [m.v.].

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Jan. 24. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

909. Tomaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The King has been ill in bed for some days with gout and fever.

Here everything is proceeding so quietly as to arouse surprise when the disturbed state of the whole world is taken into account, for not only is there a rumour at Court that a great Turkish fleet will take the sea in summer, but also from St. Jean de Luz, where many English ships put in, comes news of large armaments in that country; and yet neither in the Mediterranean, nor yet on the ocean seaboard are any signs of fresh preparations either for offence or defence. I have had an opportunity to speak with the Councillors of State, and more especially with the Marquis of Almazan; they declare that the Queen of England will devote her whole attention and resources this year to the support of Navarre; and accordingly they conclude that she will not inflict any injury on this Crown. I remarked that when the English fleet was on the seas it would be quite easy for it to make an attack at any point which presented the greatest facilities; to which they replied that his Majesty's fleet was fully equipped and ready for any event, and that any attack would be repulsed. But as a matter of fact I have quite different information from Corunna, where, as I told your Serenity, there is a great dearth of men.

Madrid, 24th January 1589 [m.v.].

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Jan. 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

910. Tomaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

M. de Longlé, who was residing here for the King of France, has not yet taken his departure, though he holds no commission from the King of Navarre, nor yet from the Duke of Maine. He is, however, more inclined to the party of Navarre, and is thoroughly acquainted with designs of that King. He sent to inform me that he desired a conversation with me. I went, and this is the substance of his remarks. He declared that the King of Navarre was truly pious, religious, and Catholic, but circumstances had hitherto prevented him from showing his excellent disposition; and he would prove how ardent was his love for the true faith if only he would find room for forgiveness from the Pope, by whom he earnestly desired to be embraced as an obedient child, and to whom he would give any pledges which his Holiness might demand. But in the

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Pope the King of Navarre finds no goodwill towards him, and he is aware that the mind of the Pontiff is influenced by the King of Spain in the interests of Lorraine.

Navarre will never fail in his endeavours to conciliate the Holy See, but no more will he omit any step by which he may establish his own power. He would gladly make peace with the King of Spain. And, in short, the upshot of the whole of M. de Longlé's remarks was that your Serenity, as a common friend, might very well undertake to act as mediator.

Olivarez writes from Rome that his representations have had effect on the mind of the Pontiff, diverting him from his attitude of favour towards Navarre.

From France we hear that the King of Navarre has gone to Brittany to reduce that province to obedience, whereupon the King of Spain has sent letters to the Duke of Mercure encouraging him, and promising support in money and men.

Madrid, 28th January 1589 [m.v.].

[*Italian ; deciphered.*]

Feb. 2. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

911. TOMASO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Although news about the English armament continue to arrive,—that it is ready, that many ships are already on the sea, and are bent on attacking the coast of Spain, seeing that the Spanish ships are all lying in port unmanned and unarmed, still, in spite of all this, we are living here in the usual silence and quiet. Some say that the Ministers act thus to show their contempt for the foe, alleging that the forces are quite sufficient; whereas if they made great preparations they would only be increasing the reputation of the enemy. An experienced councillor, who is of a contrary opinion, declared at a sitting of the board that the English would be stronger than they were last year, and more audacious, as they have discovered how little resistance is offered to their plundering. The advice of those who recommend peace and economy will be taken however, and it is quite true that here all their attention is directed to the accumulation of money, which is so scarce that they talk of a fresh loan from the Genoese and Florentines.

Madrid, 2nd February 1589 [m.v.].

[*Italian ; deciphered.*]

Feb. 3. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

912. TOMASO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

In England a great number of ships are being got ready. Complaints of the Castilian garrisons are coming in from Portugal. The report of the military engineer upon the sites to be fortified along the coast of Portugal has just been sent in. Three places are indicated, of which Peniche, seized by the English last year, is the most important.

Madrid, 3rd February 1589 [m.v.].

[*Italian ; deciphered.*]

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Feb. 13. Original Despatch. Venetian Archives.

913. TOMASO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

There has been a debate in Council upon the Duke of Parma's petition to be relieved of his command, it being necessary to send back the President Riccardot, who had come from Flanders for various business.

Some were for granting the request, others for refusing it. But as news came that those provinces were in great disorder no resolution was taken.

Madrid, 13th February 1589 [m.v.].

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Feb. 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

914. TOMASO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

News from Lisbon that many English ships are out. Part will go to the Azores and part to the Straits of Magellan, where they can inflict great damage on the Indies and Brazil, as Drake did some time ago.

News from Bilboa confirms the rumour that in England they are preparing a fleet of two hundred sail. Ferrol is in a panic; and they have run a chain across the mouth of the harbour.

Madrid, 14th February 1589 [m.v.].

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Feb. 24. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

915. ALBERTO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Pope concurred in the opinion I expressed that to win Navarre over to the Church would open a wide door for gaining over the Queen of England.

Rome, 24th February 1589 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Mar. 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

916. TOMASO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The rumours of an English fleet persist here, and in Lisbon the panic continues. Although they say that the fleet will not be very large yet it seems that once panic stricken the Portuguese cannot shake off their alarm. And so in order to quiet the population, and to garrison the town, some companies have been ordered to march to Lisbon.

Four hundred and seventy Spanish soldiers, who were prisoners in England, have been liberated; their ransome was sixteen scudi apiece. The King paid a part of this sum. The negotiations were carried on by the Duke of Parma, who, on his Majesty's orders, sent a Commissioner to England to conduct the affair. When all the difficulties were removed these men were placed on board two ships which reached Corunna at the middle of last month. While negotiations were going on for the liberation of some important personages such as Don Pedro de Valdes and Don Alonzo de Luffon as

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well, such serious difficulties were encountered that the whole matter was abandoned.

In Cordova a furious fire has destroyed a great number of houses. It was caused by the carelessness of those who were in charge of the powder manufactory. This has created the greatest alarm, for the populace is more terrified by omens of ill success than by actual disasters.

Madrid, 1st March 1590.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

March 2. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

917. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Queen of England sent one of her gentlemen to the States of Holland, it is supposed with a view to urge them to make provision so that at some near period they may undertake operations in Flanders. Drake is already prepared with a considerable fleet.

Tours, 2nd March 1590.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

March 31. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

918. TOMASO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Letters from Lisbon bring news that a Ragusan, who has reached that city from England, reports that owing to an almost contagious sickness which has broken out among the soldiers and sailors, slaying or disabling many, it will be impossible to arm more than forty great vessels and ten galleons this year. They would be under the command of a certain John, an Englishman, who some years ago was in the Indies, where he suffered at the hands of the Spanish, and has conceived such a hatred for this nation that he is resolved to inflict some damage upon them.

The Ragusan added that the Queen was seriously angry with Drake and Don Antonio though, in appearance at least, she received them with affection. She blames them for having failed in their design; for when under the walls of Lisbon the very slightest attack would have given them access to the city. And then when they should have done everything in their power to hold their ground, they ignominously retired, and in doing so lost a large number of men. On the strength of this report, which is confirmed, and seeing that the English will be unable to do anything else except to plunder, the Spanish have resolved not to man any more ships just now, except those which are lying in the ports of Portugal, Galicia, and Biscay. This fleet, though not strong enough to take the offensive, is yet thought sufficient for purposes of defence if it is got ready with all convenient speed. *In Corunna they say that the portion of the fleet which is lying there cannot be ready till the end of May, and it is thought that this will leave the road open to the enemy to strike some blow, as many of their ships are actually now cruising in Portuguese waters.* Accordingly, with a view to protecting the convoy which is bringing the gold from the Azores, the

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soldiers who have just been ransomed from England, have been sent to Corunna, whence they are to take the route to the Azores. *They say that next year the Spanish will again attempt an attack upon England; but the preparations may, after all, be directed to other ends.*

Both Biscayans and Flemish are bound by the capitulation which I enclose, to maintain a large number of ships in commission for six years.

I do all I can for the service of your Serenity, sparing neither pains nor money. But it grieves me at the centre of my heart to see that everything I write is known here, precisely as if the Spanish Ministers had been present at the reading of my despatches.

The necessary information about the ship "Salvagna," which was seized at Muros, have arrived. The presence of the two English pilots on board complicated matters; but so efficacious were the representations made, that I am just now informed that the ship will be released.

Madrid, 31st March 1590.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

919. CONDITIONS imposed by the Admiral DON ALONSO GUTIERREZ.

Ships to be built within a Year.

One flag ship of four hundred tons.

One admiral ship of three hundred and fifty tons.

Twenty-five ships of two hundred tons each.

Fifteen ships of one hundred and fifty tons each.

All found in riggings, sailors, soldiers, to make three voyages a year in the English Channel.

A Captain-General to command the fleet.

The King gives to Don Alonzo Gutierrez one hundred and fifty thousand ducats, for which he is to present accounts in three years.

The people who serve on board are to receive no pay except their food.

In the lading of salt and all other merchandise, these ships shall have the preference over all other ships, whether foreign or Spanish, in any part soever of Spain, under the Crowns of Castile and Portugal.

This contract is to last six years.

[*Spanish.*]

April 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

920. ALBERTO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Pope told me that he was expecting an agent from the Queen of England; this man had been in Venice *incognito*, and had then passed to Chioggia, where he gave out that he was on his way to Genoa, perhaps with a view to travelling more safely.

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The Pope expressed his pleasure at the hope that the Queen of England, too, might become Catholic.

Rome, 7th April 1590.

[*Italian.*]

April 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

921. Tomaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

There is confirmation of my last news from England. Sixty ships have been manned, and they encounter obstacles in the way of arming more. A master mariner who has just come from England declares that they are preparing a great quantity of biscuits, and omitting nothing necessary for a great armament. *It is said that the sixty ships above mentioned are destined for French waters, as the English fear lest the Catholic Armada should take that direction in virtue of secret understandings which they have in Brittany. But seeing that the Catholic Armada cannot be very numerous this year, it remains uncertain what route will be adopted. Our information is based rather on rumour than on certainty; and I will only add that Tornabuoni, a Florentine gentlemen who is here for the Duke of Mercure, is urging that assistance should be sent to his master, both in men and money, in order to support Brittany against the King of Navarre. He points out that Brittany sent supplies to Portugal, and that this source of provision and of commerce would be destroyed if Navarre succeeded in reducing that province to his authority; but as yet Tornabuoni has received no answer to his demands. The Agent of the Duke of Maine has arrived here on board the Italian galleys. It is easy to guess his business, in furtherance of which large quantities of money have already been sent into France.*

The ship "Salvagna," which was detained at Muros, with the English pilots on board, has been set free, without any caution money. But no sooner was the "Salvagna" set at liberty than I received news from Gibraltar that the galleon "Tizzona" and the ship "Reniera," on their way from England with several English sailors on board, have been detained at that port.

Madrid, 11th April 1590.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

April 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

922. Tomaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

News of the utter defeat of the Duke of Maine by the King of Navarre has just reached Court; and as most of the Ministers and of those about Court are partisans of the league it has thrown them into a great commotion. They tried first to conceal and then to minimise the event. But letters from Paris, which I have read, reveal the whole truth. This news has caused the President Riccardot to delay his departure in order to convey fresh instructions to the Duke of Parma. There is no more talk now of the request of Parma to be relieved of his command.

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News reaches us by way of Naples that the negotiations for a truce which Ferrari was conducting in Constantinople, have been impeded chiefly by the action of the English Ambassador; though by means of presents he still hopes to reach his object; and just the other day I was told that his Majesty had been informed that Ferrari had succeeded in concluding a truce for three years; and if this be true it will have removed a great obstacle to his Majesty's designs, and freed this country from a serious alarm. For the troops which are in these kingdoms are so badly paid that they may turn their arms to sacking the whole country, and some of their officers have threatened to take service with Navarre.

Madrid, 12th April 1590.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

April 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

923. ALBERTO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Pope said that the Agent of the Queen of England was already in Rome, but still kept *incognito*. His Holiness showed great satisfaction at his arrival.

Rome, 14th April 1590.

[*Italian.*]

April 21. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

924. ALBERTO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The English Agent has been sought for everywhere, but cannot be found.

Rome, 21st April 1590.

[*Italian.*]

April 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

925. TOMASO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Sailors who reach Lisbon from England confirm all the rumours of great preparations. They say that the Queen has, perhaps, as many as four hundred ships distributed throughout the ports of the island; and on the coast are numbers of volunteers who offer to sail in the fleet without any pay. It is also announced that part of the English fleet has already sailed, and is at Havana in the Indies, where it is doing much mischief.

Here, on the other hand, are no signs of preparation, no activity beyond the ordinary. And there are not wanting those who declare that negotiations are on foot for a truce or a suspension of arms between England and Spain. As far as I can gather the President, Riccardot, dealt with this matter when he was here, and he has gone back with his Majesty's orders as to the line to be adopted throughout the negotiations.

The matter of the forty ships for which the King contracted with Alonzo Gutierrez, is causing some difficulty, for the sum promised, namely, fifty thousand crowns, turns out to be far inferior to the amount really required. Experts declare that the mere hulls alone cannot cost less than six thousand crowns apiece, and that

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even if they were all fitted and ready there would not be merchandise sufficient to lade them simultaneously, whereas, if they sailed in squadrons they would be seized and sacked by the English, who are always cruising in those waters.

The method for raising the eight millions voted by the Cortes is now resolved upon. That sum is to be paid up in half-yearly rates covering six years. Each city and district is to choose its own date when the rates shall fall due. But experts doubt whether the sum will ever be really paid, for they say that this subsidy, added to the other burdens of this kingdom, will prove in excess of the power to pay.

Madrid, 26th April 1590.

[*Italian ; deciphered.*]

April 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

926. TOMASO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The ship "Reniera," which was detained at Gibraltar, has been released, but with orders that some English sailors who were on board of her should be arrested. Accordingly, in order to secure the complete liberation of the entire crew, without which the ships could not sail, I have presented a fresh memorial.

Madrid, 27th April 1590.

[*Italian.*]

April 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

927. GIOVANNI MORO, Venetian Ambassador at Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

At the request of the French Ambassador the English Agent has informed the Grand Vizir that the present King of France wishes to send an Ambassador to the Porte to maintain the friendly relations between the two kingdoms, and begs for letters from the Sultan to the King on the subject.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 28th April 1590.

[*Italian ; deciphered.*]

May 5. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

928. ALBERTO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I asked his Holiness if it was true that an Agent had come from the Queen of England. He replied that there was such a man here, but not the chief Agent, who had remained behind. His Holiness had not spoken to the one here, but had entrusted the affair to the Cardinals, Santa Severina and Santi Quattro. The Agent here declared that his chief had been sent by the Queen to treat in all openness with his Beatitude. The Agent declared that whereas the Queen had at first adoped the style of *Caput Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ* or *Pontifex*, she now refused to use those titles any more in any act public or private.

It seems that this Agent is a Catholic, and during Holy Week he confessed. This causes some hopes that the Queen will return to the Church, but many think that he is only here to prepare the

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way for his chief, who is coming to negotiate upon the subject of a peace between England and Spain.

Shortly we shall know all.

Rome, 5th May 1590.

[*Italian.*]

May 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

929. Tomaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

Letters from Lisbon of the 28th April announce that a Portuguese, a spy of Don Antonio, has been arrested in that city. He had come from England to Barbary, where he had been received in audience by the King of Fez; thence he had passed to Portugal, and was engaged in exploring the preparations for the defence, and the temper of the people. According to him the Queen of England has about four hundred ships, of which two hundred were all ready to put to sea. *Rumour says that these were destined for the coast of France first, then for Portugal and the Azores, where the inhabitants, owing to the bad treatment which they receive from the soldiery, were ready to rise in revolt.* But from the report of others who have come from England it does not appear that the Queen will place any reliance on Don Antonio. He is in receipt of no pension from her, and lives in London not merely without any magnificence, but in poverty and dejection, as some sailors, who say that they saw him, affirm. (*Non pare che quella Regina sia per fare alcun fundamento sopra la persona di Don Antonio; il quale da lei non ha alcun trattenimento di danari, et vive in Londra non solo senza alcun splendore, ma con povertà et deiettione, per quanto refferiscono alcuni maranari che affermano d' haverlo veduto*).

It is quite true that a considerable number of English ships have gone to the West Indies to Havana, *where it is possible that they may not merely succeed in making some booty, but may even be able to raise a revolt, for the population is thoroughly discontented on account of the rapacity of the soldiery and the injustice of the Governors. Furthermore, they say that the fortress of Havana, although it is the most powerful in those parts on account of the importance of the position, is badly built and weak. It seems that it was left weak on purpose, for fear that it might be seized and held by the Governors, and because it would have been difficult, at that distance from Spain, to expel them from a strong fortress should they at any time rise in rebellion.*

Here they think of nothing else except raising money. Among other methods they propose to sell the title of Hidalgo. The price would be from four to five thousand crowns, and as the purchasers would number a great many, a very large sum of money would thus be secured.

Madrid, 9th May 1590.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

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May 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

930. Tomaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

By the help of God I have obtained the release of the ship "Reniera," with all the English on board her. The matter was a very difficult and delicate one, and it has been carried to a successful issue not without the surprise of many, who declare that the enemies of the faith and of this Crown should not be set free in this manner. And when the order was taken to the Adelentado of Castile for execution he flew into a rage, and with angry words declared that the King had granted a favour which was far too great; that he never thought to have to carry out such an order, and that another time he would find it difficult to obey.

Madrid, 10th May 1590.

[*Italian.*]

May 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

931. Giovanni Moro, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

The French Ambassador has recently complained to the Grand Vizir of the letters written by the Sultan to the King of Navarre, as King of France. The Ambassador declared that the King of Navarre had not yet ascended the throne. His Magnificence replied that he had received the information not merely from the King of Navarre himself but also from the Queen of England, the Ragusans, and your Serenity.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 12th May 1590.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

May 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

932. Giovanni Mocenigo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

As there is no English Ambassador in this country I have not been able to be of any assistance to the son of the Admiral in his business. If I am summoned to the King it is possible that I may find a way to help him by sending letters to Mons. de Stafford, who was Ambassador at this Court, and who courteously undertook to protect other Venetian subjects who had suffered in the operations against England.

Tours, 12th May 1590.

[*Italian.*]

May 13. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

933. Giovanni Mocenigo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The King of Spain supports the Scotch Catholics against their King. They have chosen the Earl of (*Ones*) as their leader.

The Queen of England favours the King, who will marry the daughter of Denmark in order to gain that support against his rebellious subjects, who are supplied with money from the King of Spain, who intends to attack England through Scotland.

Tours, 13th May 1590.

[*Italian.*]

1590. May 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

934. TOMASO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

From Lisbon they write that the English fleet is expected to sail in a few days. As it is believed that the English intend to harry all those who are outside the walls, some with their families have crossed the river, others have withdrawn inside the walls for safety. They say, however, that the ships of his Majesty's Armada are being got ready in Ferrol to the number of sixty perhaps, as well as at Santander, and from thence they are to be distributed to Lisbon and to the Azores. All the same, both in the West Indies and in the waters of Portugal the English do not cease to inflict many and great losses on the Spanish.

The ships which had been laden and prepared for the West Indies left Lisbon on the 8th of this month. The weather has been bad, and they fear that the voyage will prove long and difficult on this account. God bring them safe to harbour.

At the moment that I was closing this despatch I was informed that Don Francesco Bondiglia, an officer of great experience, had left by post for Corunna. He is sent there by his Majesty for fear that the English fleet may do some damage in those parts. His orders are to hasten the manning of the fleet, as rumour says that one hundred and fifteen sail of English have been sighted in those waters.

Madrid, 26th May 1590.

[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*]

May 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

935. TOMASO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Engineer Spanocchi, who, as I informed your Serenity, was sent to Portugal and Galicia to examine the sites to be fortified, has returned without doing anything of moment. He himself in conversation with me, told me that he has merely ordered the construction of one or two forts. In the harbour of Lisbon they are building a fort upon a rock which is submerged at high tide; this renders the operation difficult, but a Servite friar, an Italian in his Majesty's pay, professes to know how this can be safely carried out, and promises to do so.

Twelve Spanish galleys, on their way from Gibraltar to Cartagena to conduct the Duke of Sessa on his way to his legation in Rome, fell in with three Englishmen. One of these, by keeping to wind of the Spanish, escaped; the other two courageously attacked the Spaniards, and slew many troops on board the galleys; but at last the larger of the two was boarded by the Spanish in great numbers; then one of the English set fire to the powder magazine, and blew himself, the ship, and every soul on board her to destruction.

Eleven other English ships are reported as cruising near the Straits ; *and here they suspect that the Turkish fleet also may make its appearance in these waters.*

I hear that the King in discussing with his Ministers the question of money, for lack of which the troops in Flanders are in revolt,

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complained bitterly, declaring that the Grand Turk was better served than Christian Princes, for his commander-in-chief, on his return from the Persian war, had brought back to his master a million of gold, the pay for troops which had been slain.

Madrid, 26th May 1590.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

June 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

936. TOMASO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Of the five ships which sailed from Lisbon for the West Indies two had to turn back towards that port, one because her mast showed signs of giving, the other because she was quite unfitted for so long a voyage. The Cardinal sent out an escort to bring them in. Everyone is amazed that ships destined for so long and arduous a voyage should have been sent out with so little forethought and care. Of the other three there is no news. It is supposed that they have continued their journey.

The crews of these two ships say they fought with the English, against whom they could make but a feeble resistance, as they were quite unprovided for battle. It was owing to the wind that, after a long struggle, they separated and drew away.

One hundred and eighty thousand crowns have been sent from Lisbon to Corunna for the fleet; also six carvels laden with provisions.

Some hulks have arrived from Hamburg with marine stores. But the fleet which they can put together this year will not be large enough to attempt any great operations. The King, however, is devoting all his power and all his attention to the preparation of an adequate force. Besides all the provisions which are being made here the King has ordered the construction of twenty ships of two hundred tons each in the West Indies. These are required for rapid manœuvring, not for attack.

Madrid, 9th June 1590.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

June 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

937. TOMASO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Ferrante Cavalchino, a Milanese, who has served in Flanders, and came to Portugal when the English attacked that country in which he held the post of Commissary-General of the Cavalry, has now left Madrid.

Madrid, 10th June 1590.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in 2nd Despatch, Madrid, June 10.

938. TERMS of a TREATY between the KING OF SPAIN and the LEAGUE.

His Catholic Majesty shall by April next send five thousand infantry, drawn from the veterans of the Flanders army, into Piccardy. Not more than two thousand of these shall be Spaniards; also one thousand men-at-arms, Flemish, Burgundians, Albanians, and Italians.

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He will send into the Lyonnaise five thousand Burgundian infantry and one thousand horse, twelve pieces of siege artillery, and twenty of field artillery.

He will send to Narbonne two thousand Spanish infantry and five hundred horse. To Nantes ten great ships, with three thousand infantry and five hundred horse.

He will lend to the Holy League five hundred thousand crowns, and two hundred thousand crowns a month as long as the war lasts.

On the other hand, the Holy League of France, for itself and allies, pledges itself to return all money borrowed within three years of the closing of the war, in rates of one-third each year.

It will at once hand over to the Royal Commissioners, Cambray, Abbeville, and all its forts in Burgundy.

It will place in the field forty thousand men, five thousand horse, and fifty pieces of siege and fifty of field artillery.

It will make no terms with Henry of Bourbon except at the Court of Spain or of Savoy.

All ports belonging to the League shall receive any Spanish ships, and shall exclude all English, Holland, or Zealand shipping.

Should the King of Spain wish to make war in Scotland or England during the continuance of the war in France, the League shall not be bound to help him, except in so far as opening their ports is concerned. But if the war in France is finished, the League must supply fifteen thousand infantry and three thousand horse, and six thousand sappers.

All members shall swear to these terms.

Cambray, Abbeville, and the other fortresses shall be consigned to the King when he has paid down the five hundred thousand crowns.

In future when his Catholic Majesty is mentioned he is to be styled Protector and Conservator of the Crown of France.

The King promises to remit all previous debts due from the Crown of France and the city of Paris.

If the King makes war at his own charges against the patrimony of Navarre, all that he acquires shall be freely and solely his possession.

The League may not treat with, nor receive help from, any Prince, except the Pope and the Duke of Savoy, without the consent and approval of the King of Spain.

[*French.*]

June 20. Original Despatch Venetian Archives.

939. Giovanni Mocenigo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The King has sent to England to raise money from English merchants in order to carry on the war, and to pay his horse (Raitri) and landsknechts. When these Germans arrive about August, as expected, the King hopes to put an end to the disturbances of this kingdom.

Tours, 20th June 1590.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

1590.
June 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

940. Tomaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The defence of Portugal is to be naval rather than military, and so orders for the construction of ships are being sent to the Indies, where the quantity of iron, and the abundance and goodness of the wood renders shipbuilding easy.

An edict has been issued allowing anyone who likes to go buccaneering, on condition that he receives his orders from the Council of War.

The ships as they are got ready are taken to Ferrol. No one knows what plans lie hid in the breast of the King. But sure it is that Tornabuoni, Agent for the Duke of Mercure, still stays at this Court and urges the King to support his master; accordingly it is possible that the fleet may be sent to Brittany to keep the English in check should they endeavour to assist the King of Navarre.

Madrid, 23rd June 1590.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

June 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

941. Tomaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

There is a rumour which comes from the French frontier that Don Antonio of Portugal, and two of his sons, is with the King of Navarre. If this were true it would not be displeasing news to the Spanish, for they feared that Don Antonio had gone to Constantinople, where he could have caused much more trouble.

Madrid, 23rd June 1590.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

June 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

942. Alberto Badoer, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

The Pope expressed the highest hopes for the return of England to the Catholic faith.

Rome, 23rd June 1590.

[*Italian.*]

June 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

943. Giovanni Moro and Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassadors in Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

Audience of Sinan Pasha, Grand Vizir. The Grand Vizir asked how matters were going between the Queen of England and the King of Spain; we replied that there was no talk of expeditions at present, but each was damaging the other at every opportunity. The Pasha said, "The Queen of England is asking us for two hundred galleys, for which she will pay all the expenses; with these joined to her own fleet she promises to attack the King of Spain. But we have nothing to do in those parts. The Queen should send her fleet here to join ours, and then something might be done."

We then went on to Ferrat Pasha. He, too, asked for news about the affairs of England and Spain, and inquired which side

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the Republic would take if it were compelled to help one or the other. I, Lippomano, replied that circumstances had never brought the question before your Serenity.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 26th June 1590.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

July 3. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

944. Giovanni Mocenigo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Four thousand English have passed into Flanders, and are intended to join the German levies raised by the Queen of England. They hope to infest Flanders and prevent the Duke of Parma from sending any of his troops into France.

Tours, 3rd July 1590.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

July 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

945. Tomaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The Duke of Parma writes that he has had an interview with the Agent of the Duke of Maine, and has offered a thousand horse and three thousand foot for the service of the League; excusing himself for being unable to do more on account of the needs of the Netherlands. On the other hand, the Duke of Maine never ceases to write saying that the enemy is in such force that larger reinforcements are positively required. But it seems that the Spaniards are not prepared to denude the Low Countries of men and thus to leave them at the mercy of the enemy; and so the friends of Maine in this Court declare that Spain is administering its support as a doctor administers food to a patient, not in sufficient quantities to make him stronger nor little enough to let him die.

Madrid, 4th July 1590.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

July 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

946. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

The affairs of Poland have been settled by the intercession of England and at the request of Sig. Bartolomeo Brutti in the name of the Prince of Bogdonia. Enclosed are the letters to the Queen of England from the Sultan.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 6th July 1590.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

947. Letter to the Queen of England.

After compliments, states that owing to the Persian war the Cosacks have seized the opportunity to ravage Turkish territory. The Persian war is now over and the Sultan, to punish the Cosacks in Poland, has sent the Bey of Greece who has punished them, as they deserved. The King of Poland has sent two Ambassadors

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to promise that he will find out the evil-doers, and to make larger presents than usual. The Sultan, however, resolved to send his army to overthrow the kingdom of Poland; but the Queen's Ambassador at the Porte intervened and stated that England drew from Poland, corn, powder, masts, artillery, and other munitions of war, and begged for peace with Poland that it might not be disturbed by the Turks.

The Sultan accepts the intercession of the Queen on condition that the Cosacks are punished. The Sultan declares that he would never have made peace with Poland had it not been for the intercession of the Queen; and he wishes the King of Poland to know this. He promises help against Spain.

22nd June 1590.

[*Italian.*]

July 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

948. Tomaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The Genoese, named Paulo Porta, went many months ago to England, under a pretext of recovering a ship which was captured when the Armada was lost; but as a matter of fact he was commissioned by the King to study closely the defences of that kingdom, and to sound the inclination of the English people, to see whether they were disposed to war or to peace with Spain. The negotiations for a treaty of peace are already on foot in Holland where the Duke of Parma is conducting the affair, as I have previously informed your Serenity; but they are not progressing as well as was hoped for at first; and so his Majesty has adopted this other method of procedure. This Genoese has now come back from England and reports that no new fortresses have been built, that there are many places suitable for a landing, that the people is not warlike, that their large numbers and little discipline would cause confusion, that there are many Catholics ready for a change, that twenty-five thousand men landed in the island and fully equipped, would expose the whole kingdom to the greatest risk. Speaking of the English fleet he says that the Queen has very few ships of her own; but if those which have been equipped this year and are already at sea, the larger part belong to private merchants or to buccaneers. As regards the Government he declares that the people who manage everything and have most influence with the Queen are the Admiral, the Captain of the Fleet, and the Secretary of State. That Drake, who was Captain of the Fleet, has fallen from his high repute after the failure of his expedition to Lisbon. He considers that the English people in general and those who are at the head of affairs in particular, are desirous of peace, which, in his opinion, might be concluded upon honourable terms. The Captain showed himself especially inclined to peace, and had declared to Parlo Porta that should negotiations be opened, he was ready to come in person to Spain, under the King's safe conduct, to manage the affair. There is no doubt but that the King would resume the negotiations if his honour were saved by the first step

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being taken by the other side. And in order to bring about this result, Paulo Porta is to return again to England upon some excuse or other.

All this I have from a friend of mine who is very familiar with the said Genoese, and has even promised to procure for me an interview with him. If that takes place I will, as in duty bound, give your Serenity a full report.

The navy of Spain, to the number, they say, of one hundred ships, with ten thousand men, is lying in Ferrol. Rumour says it is to go to Brittany, there to land troops to support the Duke of Mercure; but it has not sailed yet nor does anyone know when it will sail.

There are two pieces of news from Rome which cause annoyance to his Majesty; one that the Pope will do nothing to assist the League in France, the other that his Holiness is in some sort of relations, I do not know what with the Swiss and the Grisons. From the first of these facts it results that his Majesty is also growing less disposed to assist the League in France, and is moving with a slowness that is little suited to the nature of the case; from the second result orders to the Governor of Milan and the Agent in Switzerland to do all that lies in their power, by money and by any other means, to interrupt the relations with the Pope.

As yet neither Cambray nor the other places mentioned in the treaty between Spain and the League in France have as yet been handed over to the King.

In London, it is said that they are expecting the King of Scotland on his way from Denmark, and that they have prepared for him a most sumptuous palace, and that the Queen intends to receive him with every mark of affection, and every sign of pomp and splendour.

Madrid, 6th July 1590.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

July 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

949. Tomaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The Catholic Armada is still lying at Ferrol; but as far as I can gather it is not very powerful either in numbers or in outfit. They say the troops from Germany are to man the ships.

A few days ago a Venetian, a certain Giacomo dalla Torre, arrived here. He had been sent from the East Indies by the Viceroy with a despatch announcing a victory over the King of Bombay (*Bombace*) in a naval campaign. Everything was put to the sack, and so rich was the booty that the officers and private soldiers even amassed no small wealth. The Viceroy had also seized four Turkish galleys which were taking part in that engagement. He said in a conversation I have had with him, that he came through Turkish dominions; having embarked at Goa for Ormuz, and from Ormuz passing through Bokhara (*Balsara*) and Bagdad, and finally reaching Tripoli. He says he has made this journey

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three times on his Majesty's service. He has assured me that when he returns to those parts he will do his best to place Venetian merchants on the same footing as the Portuguese; the Venetians at present are treated like the blacks; that is to say, that they are liable to service in war and to the garrisoning of cities, and whereas the Portuguese pay only eleven per cent. on their goods, the Venetians pay fifteen.

Madrid 20th July 1590.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

July 21. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

950. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

Mons. de Metz (Maise), French Ambassador in Venice, has sent letters from the King of Navarre to the Sultan begging him to dismiss the Ambassador of the late King of France, withdrawing the letters of credit, and promising to send another Ambassador soon to represent France at the Porte. These letters from Navarre have been presented by the English Ambassador. *The English Ambassador requests the Turkish fleet against Spain, and promises to seize Portugal. The Queen has hitherto always offered to pay the fleet, and the Pasha now replies that if she will lend the money she shall have the ships.*

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 21st July 1590.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

July 21. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

951. Tomaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

I have spoken with Paulo Porta, the Genoese who was in England, as I told your Serenity that I hoped to do. He has confirmed all the information about the fleet, the army, and the kingdom of England, which I recently sent in my despatch. He added that the Admiral, the Captain, who is called Forius, and the Treasurer, a person of great experience and prudence, with all of whom he held interviews, each desire and praise the peace if they could only be convinced that the negotiations were in earnest and the issue certain. For the said Treasurer, in the course of conversation, showed that he suspected these negotiations to be a mere cloak for concealing some great and serious danger. He added that negotiations were going on in Flanders between the Duke of Parma and the Queen's Commissioners, and just when he thought they were about to reach an issue which was reasonable for one party as well as for the other, suddenly he heard of the preparations of ships and men, and saw the Catholic fleet taking the sea against England, with the result that the English at last learned, and at last feared, the insincerity of the other party to the negotiations. Porta added, that in spite of all this hesitation he thought that the above named were really favourably inclined towards a peace, but that there were not wanting those who openly and vigorously opposed it; declaring that Spain cannot be trusted, that she is opening negotiations merely as a cover for amassing arms, that there is no

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cause to be afraid of her for her great Armada had been quite easily overcome and scattered by the English fleet. Porta declares that there are many in England who hold these views, and will not hear of an accord between these two Crowns, being moved chiefly by the profits which they derive from the war, owing to the facilities which it affords for buccaneering; and the booty is shared by certain high placed personages who take presents from the corsairs. All the same he believes that peace is resolved on, and he says that he has instructions from England to ask for a safe conduct for the Captain Forius and another to come to Spain to treat upon the subject. Porta says he has been to the Escurial, and has had a long talk with Don Juan d'Idiaquez on the matter, but, as usual, he has had no answer, only hopes and delays. He has come back to Madrid, as far as I can see, not at all satisfied with this method of procedure. He will await orders. He told that me he holds a patent from the Queen of England with which he can safely return there; all English ships are ordered to receive him on board, and to treat him well. This shows a great desire on the part of England to open negotiations. The desire is no less on this side; but the more eager the English appear to be, and the more they cease from arming themselves, the further aloof will the Spanish show themselves.

I am told by one who knows England and Flanders very well that the King will not break off negotiations there, but will delay, prolong, differ, so as to send the Queen to sleep. He will propose to continue the affair through Mons. de Champagny, brother of the late Cardinal de Granvelle, who is now in England; he is a person of weight and knowledge of England, and has relations with the English nobility; he has also been at times in correspondence with the Queen.

It is necessary to keep all this very secret, otherwise it might injure, or even ruin, the person who supplied me with the information.

Madrid, 21st July 1590.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Aug. 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

952. Tomaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

From a letter addressed from Ferrol by the captain of a ship, I learn that the Catholic Armada numbers about thirty vessels, between small and great. The same information, with fuller particulars, has been sent to me by a friend of mine on the spot, and I herewith enclose a copy of his letter. Furthermore, I am in possession of some information about English affairs, and although I am not absolutely certain of their accuracy I think it desirable to communicate them to your Serenity. From these you will see that it is impossible for the Catholic Armada to take the sea in great force this year. It would seem that for the coming year they hope to have great forces ready, as orders have been issued for the construction of ships in various quarters along the Atlantic coast;

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many Ragusan ships have been hired, and provisions and stores to furnish them are being collected. For this same purpose his Majesty has raised a loan of five millions of gold from Ambrogio Spinola; three millions are to be paid within a year at the places chosen, and the other two are to lie at his Majesty's disposition. The larger part of this sum is guaranteed upon the eight millions which Spain is to contribute, and the rest upon the Indian fleets and other sources of revenue.

A Capuchin friar, in secular garb, is here as agent for the League.

Tornabuoni, the Florentine, who was here on behalf of the Duke of Mercure, has left Madrid; he appears to be very well satisfied.

Madrid, 1st August 1590.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

953. The information I have gathered on this journey is derived from a M. Giuliano, a merchant living in Morlaix. He was for six months in the port of Plymouth, which he left on the 21st May and embarked at Dartmouth (*Sartamua*).

He says that the English have taken the sailors from the coast of Cornwall to man the ships which are lying in the river of London; most of them were without a single *real*, and for this reason it will be impossible for more than fifteen or sixteen ships to put out to sea this year.

He says that neither in Plymouth nor in Dartmouth (Artamua), nor along the whole coast of Cornwall is there a single Royal ship of war, nor any men. Drake is in Plymouth and is held of no account throughout the kingdom, any more than if he had never been born. The whole population, nobles and commons alike, is in great straits; and all along the coast they are building ships for the Azores and other islands. They intend to take two Frenchmen with them to speak the language and to give out that the whole expedition is French. They offered Giuliano himself two hundred crowns and the value of all the merchandise he carried if he would go one voyage with them.

Two large ships put out from Plymouth; one of one hundred and fifty the other of one hundred tons. They are privateers.

In S. Paolo de Lion there was news of Pedro Limitez and Alendire, merchants of Rosco; these men were six months in London, which they left on 2nd June, and came by land to Dartmouth, where they took ship.

They report that in the river of London are many ships of war, above one hundred and fifty; the crews were drawn from all the ports of the kingdom; but they have been disbanded again as they understand that Spain is not preparing an Armada to attack England this year.

During the whole journey from London to Dartmouth, in no place did they see any troops except the sailors who were going and coming.

It is certain that fourteen great ships and two small will put out to sea; and each of the great ships has at least six hundred

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men on board. Their destination is to be the coast of Brittany, where it is understood that the Spanish Armada will also go.

The principal captains who will sail on board the fleet are the Earl of Effingham (?) (*Esbernol*), John Hawkins (*Aquin*), and Martin Frobisher (*Frobues*).

Two scouts are off the coast of Spain to gather news.

The Queen has sent ten thousand men to Flanders.

Neither at Plymouth nor at Dartmouth is there a single ship of war.

These merchants declare that while they were in London they saw and spoke to Don Pedro de Valdes and to Martin d'Aranda, whom they had known in Lisbon.

In Morlaix the Justiciary General was informed by an English merchant that it was a certain fact that the fourteen ships would come to Belarchesa (?) to prevent the Spaniards from proceeding any further.

In Morlaix on Tuesday, July 3rd, Mons. Marco Flor declared that in London many persons had presented demands for payment, both for services rendered and for provisions furnished to the fleet. The Queen sent for the Admiral who informed her as to what moneys were due. She also inquired as to the amount of food, munition, and artillery that there was on board the fleet. The Admiral replied that on board and in the store-houses there was abundance of everything. The Queen determined to verify this statement; and finding that there was not the half of what had been represented to her, she flew into a rage with the Admiral, who retired to his own house.

[*Spanish.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

954. The difficulty about the post has prevented me from supplying your Lordship, as I desired, with information as to what is taking place here. Everyone is waiting anxiously to learn some resolution as to the destination of the fleet. It is not quite ready yet, as it should be, for only one-third of its compliment of men is on board, the other two-thirds are still in cantonments forty leagues away.

Of the artillery the supply is poor; for out of forty pieces, only fifteen are mounted.

The ships number forty; some of eight hundred or a thousand, some of two thousand; some of four thousand, and up to five thousand.

Two galleasses, and two more expected from Lisbon.

There are twenty-five felizotti and dispatch boats. Each ship and each galleass has a pinnace of eight benches to tow it.

The troops will amount to eight thousand men; the sailors to six thousand.

There is said to be provision on board for six months; biscuits, wine, and buttery goods.

Ferrol, 6th July 1590.

[*Italian.*]

1590.
Aug. 2. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

955. Tomaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The question of assisting the Marabout, who is in revolt against the Turk, is under discussion. His Majesty, who is engaged in treating for peace with England, and is desirous of peace everywhere, so that he may be able to direct all his forces to the affairs of France, is hardly likely to grant the assistance demanded.

The Venetian who came here from the Indies is urging on his business with the Ministers, as he wishes to set out as soon as possible on his return journey. I do all I can to assist him.

He tells me that the people of those parts will petition his Majesty not to send Castillians there as governors; but to leave those provinces to Portuguese as originally took place. He tells me that he has already mentioned the subject to his Majesty, whom he found well disposed to consent.

Madrid, 2nd August 1590.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Aug. 4 Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

956. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

Mons. de Maise has sent a letter from the King of Navarre to the Sultan, in which he says that not he, but the Queen of England, asked for the Turkish fleet. The English Ambassador has every facility in treating with the Grand Vizir. I enclose a most important paper, which the English Ambassador laid before the Vizir; it came into my hands in a most secret way.

The English Ambassador has done all he can to cause the expulsion of Mons. de Lancome, French Ambassador at the Porte; he even wished that de Lancome should be sent a prisoner to the King of Navarre. The Pasha wished to wait till the new Ambassador from Navarre should arrive; but after persistent solicitations he has consented to dismiss the Ambassador at once. Accordingly, six days ago, a Chavass went to give the Ambassador his dismissal. The Ambassador went to the Grand Vizir, who received him, made him be seated, and said "Neither your King nor mine desires that you should be Ambassador any more," and thereupon he repeated the dismissal. French affairs here are in the hands of the English Ambassador.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 4th August 1590.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Aug. 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

957. Tomaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

Tornabuoni, Agent to the Duke of Mercure, on leaving Court, went to Corunna, to hasten the preparations of the fleet, and to endeavour to send it to Brittany, which province had been offered to his Majesty by the said Duke.

Madrid, 18th August 159C.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

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Aug. 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

958. Tomaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

Letters from Lisbon announcing that some days ago several English vessels were sighted off the coast of Portugal. They were scouring the seas from Cape Finisterre to Cape S^t^ Vincent, on the look out for the India fleet, which arrives about this time. This keeps all the merchants of Lisbon in terror, for if the India fleet were captured every one of them would be ruined. There would be good hopes that the fleet might escape if it could keep the higher route; but on account of the need for provisions and water, which are supplied at the Azores, it is very doubtful whether it will be able to deviate from the ordinary route. To counteract this danger it is said that some ships have sailed from Ferrol; they will be able to protect the fleet, if they do not arrive too late.

The same letters from Lisbon inform me that nine galleots in two squadrons, which have sailed from El'Arisch, are scouring those waters as far as Gibraltar; they are doing serious mischief; and some galleys sent from Cadiz to Lisbon were unable to fall in with them. In Lisbon they are at work on two galleasses, which, when finished, are to join the fleet in Ferrol. *But so many are the difficulties in the way of the work, that it will be impossible to complete it as soon as it should be.*

Madrid, 18th August 1590.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Aug. 21. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

959. Giovanni Mocenigo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Spanish fleet, which to the number of fifty sail, has been for so long off the cost of Biscay, arousing suspicion of a descent on Brittany, passed into English waters, either to support the party favourable to Spain in England and Scotland, or to prevent the Queen of England from sending troops into Flanders. Drake went to meet this fleet; and on several occasions he worsted the Spaniards and took some of their best ships; the rest returned to Spain, in disorder. But the King writing here, speaks of these operations as a set battle, in which the greater part of the Spanish fleet was routed and captured.

Tours, 21st August 1590.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Sept. 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

960. Giovanni Mocenigo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Queen of England, who is well aware of the difficulty which the King must have to maintain his army in face of the powers of Spain, whose object is to make his profit by prolonging the war, has sent two hundred thousand ducats and three hundred gentlemen, in order that he may continue the seige of Paris, which the Duke of Parma intends to compel him to raise, by encamping near him and hindering all his operations.

Tours, 4th September 1590.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

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Sept. 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

961. Giovanni Mocenigo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The King, having shown his readiness to give battle, is determined not to force one on; but to maintain himself in strong positions whence he can watch the Duke of Parma. He is determined to this policy by the resolve not to run any risks, and also by the promises of England to send troops into France to divert the Duke of Parma. The Queen of England is very suspicious lest the King should come to terms with Spain, which would greatly disturb her. His Majesty will not, however, remain inactive; that would be contrary to his disposition; he will seize an occasion, favourable to himself, to give battle, but will not be drawn into one.

Tours, 9th September 1590.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Sept. 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

962. Tomaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

Here they are using all diligence to amass money, and no means are overlooked. They propose to sell exemptions from the San Benitos, the infamous ensigns of those who have been condemned by the Holy Office; this is expected to bring in a large sum of money; for the descendents of those condemned would be willing to pay any price to be freed from the infamy.

There is no doubt but that all this money will be applied chiefly to French matters.

Madrid, 9th September 1590.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Sept. 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

963. Giovanni Mocenigo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Mons. de Stofargh (Stafford), Ambassador of the Queen of England, has newly arrived. He confirms the passage of the English into Flanders, and promises to his Majesty all those ready favours and large supports which the Queen can afford him. The King, on his side, has requested that a sufficient body of cavalry should be sent into the Low Countries, so that the English may hold the open country, and divert the Duke of Parma, at least until the German horse (raitri) arrive.

Tours, 11th September 1590.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Sept. 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

964. Tomaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

Thirteen of the vessels lying in Ferrol put out to sea and made for Cape Finisterre, to drive the English out of those waters. Having fallen in with some of the English they engaged, and then returned to Ferrol *very severely handled by the enemy; many of*

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the Spanish being wounded or killed, and their ships damaged in various places.

At the beginning of last month the flag of the Commander-in-Chief of the Catholic Armada was broke at the mast; and orders given to sail at once; but the fleet has not sailed yet. *They say that the smaller vessels and the galleasses, which are expected from Lisbon, are to take the route of France, to render support in Brittany; while the great ships are to sail to the Azores to sweep out the buccaneers, and to ensure the safety of the fleet.*

The Duke of Mercure promised to give to the King of Spain a port called Brest; a position admirably suited to command the whole province. His Majesty was to hold the city in the name of the Infanta; while the Duke and his heirs were to be named hereditary perpetual governors.

Ferrari, just returned from Constantinople, has come to Court. He declares that neither peace nor truce with Persia has been concluded. The nephew of the King of Persia has rebelled against his uncle, has gone to Constantinople, and is supported by the Turk.

Madrid, 15th September 1590.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Sept. 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

965. Tomaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The King has ordered prayers to be offered up to God for the success of his designs in France, and for the safety of the fleet, which, owing to the English corsairs, is in some danger.

Madrid, 15th September 1590.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Sept. 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

966. Tomaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

There is a rumour from England that in Falmouth (*flemua*) forty ships took fire by accident and were burned; *but as it has happened before that rumours to the detriment of England and the Queen have been spread about the Court, and subsequently proved false, I shall not give full credence to this report until I receive some confirmation.*

The galleots from El'Arisch have been scouring the coasts of Algarve, where they landed troops and did much damage. On the other hand two English galleons and some other English ships are preying upon all the shipping in those waters; so that the ship "Segura" and the ship "Salvagna," both of which were ready to sail, have not dared to leave port for dread of the pirates.

Madrid, 19th September 1590.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

1590.
Sept. 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

967. TOMASO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The taxes are now so heavy that many think they are insupportable. The whole burden falls on the two Castilles and Andalusia, which are quite exhausted and oppressed on account of the eight millions lately voted.

News that the East India fleet has reached Lisbon. But the flagship was caught in a storm off the Cape of Good Hope and driven to the West Indies.

Madrid, 19th September 1590.

[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Sept. 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

968. TOMASO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Catholic Armada left Ferrol on the 8th of this month ; part of it for Brittany, part for the Azores. The sailing of the fleet at this season is held by all seamen to be very dangerous, for the ocean is most stormy during this very month of September.

The more the Pope's death is considered here, the higher is the satisfaction which it gives. It is said that it will be impossible for anyone to succeed to the Pontifical throne who will prove more hostile to Spain.

The flagship of the East Indian fleet, which was driven to the West Indies, has now reached Lisbon ; she brings great riches, and fought bravely with five English whom she encountered on the voyage.

Madrid, 22nd September 1590.

[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Sept. 30. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

969. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Duke of Parma is attending to the revictualling of Paris. The King is waiting the arrival of the English, the German horse and foot. He thought at first that he would not require them, as he had so many French nobles with him, as Paris was so hard pressed, and as he never believed that Parma would enter France. Now he is hurrying up the levies.

Tours, 30th September 1590.

[*Italian ; deciphered.*]

Oct. 2. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

970. VINCENZO GRADENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Pope Sixtus has been lampooned as a secret friend to Navarre and a man of evil nature. The heretics are praying for the soul of the Pope as they declare that he was of their party.

Prague, 2nd October 1590.

[*Italian.*]

1590.
Oct. 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

971. Alberto Badoer, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

On the strength of the Legates despatches the relief of Paris and the collapse of Navarre's army for want of money are being rumoured everywhere. Navarre is said to have retired to Dieppe to await the arrival of the Viscount of Turenne, and help from England. All the same the larger number of the Cardinals do not quite believe this news.

Cardinal Gondi writes to Hieronimo Gondi that the Duke of Parma has declined battle offered to him by the King of Navarre, and has entrenched himself, with the design to await the dismemberment of the King's army through want of money. The Cardinal, however, imagines that the King will go on increasing in force; for he is expecting Turenne with three thousand infantry, four hundred horse and three thousand infantry from England, besides the many people who from all quarters of France will rush to aid him against the Spanish.

Rome, 6th October 1590.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

972. Giovanni Mocenigo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The arrival of the Deputies from Flanders has roused the jealousy of the Queen of England; and this is the reason why she did not prevent the Duke of Parma from entering France as she had promised. It is supposed that both Spain and England will keep the war alive in France, as the power of France is an object of jealousy to both.

Tours, 10th October 1590.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Oct. 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

973. Alberto Badoer, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

On Monday the Conclave was closed. Rumour pointed to S^ta^. Severina as Pope. The city was in despair on account of his temperament; but before nightfall the Cardinals Altemps and the two Colonnas had worked so hard that they were reported to hold his exclusion in their hands.

Cardinal Montalto being convinced that S^ta^. Severina had really said that if he were made Pope he would disintere and burn the bones of Pope Sixtus V. as a heretic, now refuses to vote for S^ta^. Severina.

Rome, 12th October 1590.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 13. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

974. Tomaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

On St. Jerome's Day, and in the church of that Saint, news was brought to Monsignore Melini, the collector at this Court, that his uncle, Cardinal San Marcello, had been raised to the Papacy. This is very satisfactory to his Majesty; and fireworks in the streets and

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lights in the windows of the town at night show that the nation also is delighted.

Of five ships which sailed for the East Indies four have come back, as they sailed too late in the season. The other, if it be not already lost, is likewise expected to come back. *It is an event which has never happened before, that for a whole year no ship should have gone from Portugal to the Indies. This will cause surprise and anxiety there when they do not receive their usual contingent of troops, especially as it is already known that the English fleet was to threaten Lisbon.*

English pirates at the Azores are said to have captured some ships on their way from the Brazils.

Madrid, 13th October 1590.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Oct. 13. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

975. TOMASO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Paulo Porta, the Genoese, who, as I informed your Serenity, has returned from England, is still here, and at this moment is ill in bed. He discussed with a friend, who reported the conversation to me, the question of the negociations for a peace between the King of Spain and the Queen of England. He said that the Spanish Ministers, at present, are disposed to re-open and to proceed with these negociations; but he doubted that difficulties would arise, for he was informed from England that the Queen was drawing steadily nearer to the Turk, and he believes that some convention between them has been achieved. On the other hand, as far as I can penetrate into this most secret affair, the Spanish are desirous of coming to terms with England precisely for this reason to prevent such an alliance which would bring disaster to this Crown. (Che hora questi Ministri mostrano haver desiderio che si riassumesse et si proseguisse ma che egli dubita che si haverà difficultà, per esser stato avisato d'Inghilterra che la Regina andava stringendo sempre maggiormetne l'amicitia con il Signor Turco et crede che sia seguita qualche conventione tra loro. Dall' altro canto intendo per quanto si può penetrare in queste secretissime trattationi, che qui per la medesima causa vogliono sollecitar l' accordo con la Regina acciò non succeda d' altra parte qualche union a jattura di questa corona.)

There is a proposal from a Greek Archbishop that the King of Spain should seize Cyprus.

There is news from Barcelona that two Turkish galleys, on their way from Algiers to Constantinople, had come near the coast and had fallen into the hands of the Christians through a rising of the galley slaves led by a Genoese renegade.

Madrid, 13th October 1590.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

976. Barcelona, 6th October.

Yesterday, the 5th, two Moorish galleys put in towards this shore. They fired their guns, ran up their flags, and came on in

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such order that the whole city was soon in an uproar. The upshot of the whole affair is this, that a great personage was on board these galleys, being sent as Ambassador from the King of Algiers to the Turks; this man had a young Genoese lad as his slave; his name was Araet Farart, he was only twenty years old, and had no beard on his chin. This lad had been a slave for two years; he now began to plot with other slaves, his own brother and a Castillian, how they could free themselves. They resolved to distribute arms secretly among the galley slaves; and at last on the 26th of last month, at two o'clock at night, on the given signal, the crews of both galleys mutinied. And so well organised was the rising that the first person to be slain was the Ambassador, the master of the Genoese lad, and with him died about three hundred janizaries, and not more than seven or eight Turks were left alive.

It is a miraculous event, which has restored to freedom some four hundred Christians; and great are the rejoicings here. The galleys are splendid vessels, and with their fittings and the ransome of the Christians, will be worth one hundred and fifty thousand ducats.

[*Spanish.*]

Oct. 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

977. Giovanni Mocenigo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

His Majesty is to go towards Dieppe in order to treat with the Queen of England for that supply of men and horses which has recently been promised him. Thence he will move to attack Rouen.

Tours, 14th October 1590.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Oct. 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

978. Tomaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

On the last days of last month the Catholic Armada left the port of Ferrol. Part went to Brittany where it landed troops, part to the Azores to drive away the English pirates who are haunting those waters.

Madrid, 23rd October 1590.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

979. Tomaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The Catholic Armada, which went to Brittany, entered the port of Nantes on the 15th of October. The following day it landed three thousand Spanish infantry. These troops, two galleasses and four ships, are to remain in Brittany all winter. The rest of the fleet has returned to Santander in Biscay.

The infantry is being very badly treated; the cities refuse to admit them within their gates, and it is feared that during the cold of winter they will waste away miserably.

Madrid, 9th November 1590.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

1590.
Nov. 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

980. TOMASO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The fleet of forty ships, under the orders of Don Alonzo de Bazan, which sailed to the Azores to put down piracy, has returned home. *It accomplished nothing neither against the pirates nor towards the safety of the fleet.*

It left Ferrol so late in the season that stormy winds had set in. The fleet came within ten leagues of the Azores, but there the storm blew in its teeth, and it was forced back to Portugal. Part of it is now lying at Bayona, part in another port near Cape Finisterre. It will unite at Ferrol with the other squadron of light vessels which has been in Brittany, and is now at Santander.

In the meantime the English buccaneers have captured many ships, among them two very rich ones on their way from Havana. When this news reached the rest of the fleet it delayed its departure so as not to run any risks.

Madrid, 10th November 1590.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Nov. 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

981. TOMASO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I have just received news from Lisbon that the ship "Salvagna," which I caused to be liberated some months ago when she was detained at Muros, set sail from Cascaes on the 26th of last month against the advice of everyone. Those waters are swarming with pirates, and on the 28th the "Salvagna" was captured off Cape St. Vincent in company with another ship bound for Leghorn. The captors were a squadron of thirty-six English ships and eight galleons. The "Salvagna" had on board one hundred thousand ducats worth of cargo, and the other sixty thousand. The smaller ship fought and defended herself with her cannon, the larger did not fire a shot. The crew of the smaller ship was landed, but the "Salvagna," crew and all, remained in the hands of the English; and no one knows whether she will be set at liberty because she is Venetian, or whether she will be taken to England.

The merchants interested in her are thinking of sending an Agent express to England to treat for her release.

Madrid, 10th November 1590.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

982. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Vicount of Turenne has arrived at Dieppe, and is only waiting fine weather to embark for England.

Tours, 20th November 1590.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

1590.
Nov. 20. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

983. Vincenzo Gradenigo, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the Doge and Senate.

All the King of Spain's despatches have been opened, and the ciphers taken out. Now no cipher is considered safe, as the Spanish were thought to be the best.

Prague, 20th November 1590.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 29. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

984. Tomaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The report which the Duke of Parma has sent from France as to his operations in that country, leads the Ministers here to suspect that the Duke is not anxious to see the King of Spain making headway in France and against England, so as not to find his own duchy in Italy placed entirely at the discretion of the Spanish Crown.

Madrid, 29th November 1590.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Nov. 29. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

985. Tomaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

I hear from Lisbon that some men of the "Salvagna," which was captured by the English, were landed, but the officers were detained. These men, who were put ashore, have now reached Lisbon, and report that the enemy took out of the "Salvagna" three hundred and fifty parcels of pepper, and put them on their flagship. They also seized two barrels of *reals*, destined for Ceuta; threw overboard to lighten the ship, one hundred sacks of grain, also for Ceuta. The "Salvagna" was then taken off towards England. When the interested parties heard this they held a meeting, and made a subscription to send an Agent express to the Queen of England in the hope of recovering the ship and the merchandise.

On the receipt of the news of this mischief which the English were doing, orders were sent to the Catholic fleet to put out once more and clear the pirates out of those waters.

Madrid, 29th November 1590.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Dec. 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

986. Tomaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The King has received letters from Don Bernardino de Mendoza in Paris, declaring the desparate straits they are in for provisions and money. The Ministers, however, do not give full credence to this report, declaring that such a state of things is liable to be exaggerated, especially by the writer (dicendo che questi mancamenti si sogliono esaggerare, massime dall' autore).

Madrid, 6th December 1590.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

1590.
Dec. 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

987. Tomaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

A few days ago six Spanish ships, which were cruising off the coast to protect it against pirates, fell in with eight English ships. Four of the Spanish fled. The remaining two fell into the enemies hands, with great slaughter on both sides. The Adelantado of Castille captured five English at Cadiz, and three in the harbour of Santa Maria, these were trading in the port and hoped to escape being recognised as Englishmen.

The people of Seville hearing that West India fleet will not arrive this year, owing to the danger from English pirates, have sent to petition his Majesty to send more ships there.

Madrid, 6th December 1590.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Dec. 9. Minute of the Senate, Venetian Archives.

988. To the Ambassador in France.

The "Salvagna," laden with goods of great value belonging to our subjects, has been taken and carried to England by the Queen of England's ships.

On the first occasion you are to speak to the English Ambassador on the subject, and beg for the restitution of the goods.

Ayes - - -	181
Noes - - - - -	1
Neutrals - - -	3

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 13. Minute of the Senate, Venetian Archives.

989. To the Queen of England.

Begging her to restore to the Agent of the parties interested the goods found on board the ship "Salvagna," which was captured by the English fleet on leaving Lisbon.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 21. Minute of the Senate, Venetian Archives.

990. To the Queen of England.

Renewing request for the restitution not of the vessel "Salvagna" itself, but of all the goods on board her; and begging for punishment of those who were guilty of this excess.

Further motion made to summon the English merchants here resident before the College, and that the Doge exhort them to a similar request on their part to the Queen.

Ayes - - -	177
Noes - - - -	0
Neutrals - - -	2

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

991. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

The Pasha has pointed out to the Sultan that the last truce gave to the King of Spain one Kingdom, Portugal, and this truce might give him two, namely, France and England.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 22nd December 1591.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

1590. Dec. 25. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

992. Giovanni Mocenigo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

What operations his Majesty proposes this winter it is not possible to state clearly as yet. But they say he will beseige Paris closely, and will assault the city if he cannot starve it to surrender. They add that the Queen of England will send six thousand English promised to the Viscount of Turenne for this purpose.

The Queen of England is anxious to prevent the Spaniards from landing in Brittany, which, on account of its ports, is a favourable point whence to molest England.

Tours, 25th December 1590.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

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1591. Jan. 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

993. Tomaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

At an audience which I had of his Majesty, I touched upon the question of the Venetian ships, and more especially that of the artillery of the "Regazzona," which were lying safe at Corunna, and had been employed in the defence of that place against the English. His Majesty said that as regards the ships he would give orders to despatch that business, and as regards the artillery, he would take further information.

Madrid, 4th January 1590 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 5. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

994. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

Every time during my residence here that I am advised of the preparation of a great fleet, I do my best to find out the purpose for which it is being constructed. As I have already told your Serenity, the policy of the Turks is to keep all European powers in a state of anxiety and doubt, so as the more easily to induce them to grant any request that the Sultan may prefer.

The Queen of England is exerting herself, by making large promises, to persuade the Sultan to attack the King of Spain, in order to prevent that Sovereign from acquiring still greater power through the discomfiture of Navarre and the Nun of France. She hopes to counterbalance the power of Spain by support from the Turk. As yet, however, she has spoken to deaf ears. But now the arrival of a vessel with despatches and fresh petitions has given occasion to the English Ambassador to present a new

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memorandum, couched in the form which I here enclose, this enclosure being a copy taken from the original. The result is that the Grand Vizir has issued orders to the Capudan Pasha and to the Agà of the Janizaries to prepare an armament with all speed; and these orders are expressed in such positive terms that it is clear that they are the result not of chance but of a premeditated design.

They are raising money, and the Sultan is ordering the construction of fifty galleys on his own account, ten from the Grand Vizir, six from each of the other Pashas, two from each Beglierbey, one from each principal Bey, and one from each two minor Beys. Those who hold governments inland are to send money to fulfil their obligations at the rate of three thousand ducats per galley.

An examination of the galleys in the Arsenal showed that of the ninety old ones only twenty-five were fit for service. But taking the whole sum of those which can be repaired, and those which are to be built, it is calculated that by March of 1592 *the Turks will have a fleet of three hundred galleys and eighteen galleasses. Orders, too, have been issued for wood, pitch, grease, sails, cables, and iron fittings. The artillery, both naval and field, has been examined. In fact, they are making very much the same preparations as were made the year after the destruction of the Turkish fleet (at Lepanto.) The Grand Vizir openly declares that he desires to take the command in person.*

These preparations are not designed for one year only, nor for any single enterprise, but rather to show that the Sultan is as firm and determined in naval matters as he is in the Persian war.

Great is the excitement, and genuine the preparations as yet at the beginning. Consultations between the Grand Vizir, the Capudan, the Agà, the Sultan's secretary, the English Ambassador and David Passi take place almost daily. But in spite of all their efforts it is impossible that more than forty, or at the most fifty, extra galleys should take the sea this coming year. With this fleet the Capudan Pasha will sail to Africa to effect a junction with the Barbary squadron, which will bring his fleet up to about one hundred sail. With this he may support England, make a diversion in favour of Navarre, cause a rising in favour of Don Antonio, and capture some four or five thousand slaves in Andalusia on the Mediterranean sea-board. Then either on his outward or his homeward journey he may attack Calabria and Apulia, and sack the buildings sacred and secular. The Capudan's principal object is to sack, and among other places he has his eye on some of the Pontifical territory. They also indulge hopes of capturing some port in Provençe, perhaps Villefranche, or Toulon, or Marseilles. This idea was suggested to them not by England alone, but by those two spies, David Passi and Vielmo (Guglielmo) di Savoy.

In the meantime, while those preparations are in progress, the Sultan has requested that the Queen of England will place a son of Don Antonio of Portugal on board the Turkish fleet. This lad is

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twelve years old, or perhaps fourteen, and he is at present in Fez. The Sultan wishes to hold him as a hostage under colour that he will be useful in raising Portugal.

As to the operations of 1592, *for which year most of this armament is being prepared, it is impossible to say whether any special enterprise is in view, unless it be lying hid in his Majesty's breast.*

The Agà of the Janizaries, whose word has great weight with the Sultan, said that most of the evil intentions of the Turks can be traced to the instigations of the Queen of England, who promises gifts, offers means, suggests ways to harass Christendom, and Spain in particular.

I have been forced to admit David Passi, the Jew, to my confidence, for I found that the Sultan himself had ordered the Grand Vizir to consult with Passi, to listen to him, to favour him. The Grand Vizir refused, whereupon the Sultan said that slaves like the Vizir he had in abundance, but never a one like David, probably alluding to all the information about Christendom with which Passi furnishes the Sultan. Passi is a man of natural ability, and sufficient knowledge. I carefully weigh and balance all he says, but I have frequently had occasion to find him correct; and so I think it well to attach him as much as may be, for he is able to do great harm and great good.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 5th January 1590 [m.v.].

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

994. Petition of England to the Grand Signor.

The petition of poor and powerless me, which I make on the ground at the feet of the thrice happy Emperor. I trust that it is already known to your Majesty that the Duke of Parma, General of the King of Spain, has entered Paris, capital of the King of France. The King of France retired to la Rochelle, a strong place in the same kingdom. The King of Spain is putting forth all his strength and activity to make himself master of the kingdom of France. God knows, and so does your Imperial Majesty, how my mistress, and your most attached, without regard for treasure or for the blood of her armies, has for seven years continuously, at the smallest sign from your Imperial Majesty, made war on the King of Spain, and has done her best to ruin him and to cause his destruction. But what power can a woman like that have when she sets herself to measure arms with a King of that sort; all the more so that every King and Prince who is an idolater has thereby become her enemy, and joined in a common accord to make war on her. And your Imperial Majesty is the cause of all the ills which now surround or may befall my mistress, for, on the faith of your promised help, she has broken her peace with the King of Spain. For this I at present have no wish to complain; that which grieves me, that which I lament, is this, unless it obtain God's grace and favour in the first place and your Imperial Majesty's help in the second, the kingdom of France, the ancient

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ally of this Sublime Porte, will fall for certain into the hands of the King of Spain for the want of a fleet from this Sublime Porte. The King of Spain, knowing quite well that your Majesty has entirely abandoned any idea of attacking him, has withdrawn all his troops and his forces from Apulia, from Sicily, from the seaboard of Spain, and has sent them into France, so that all the above-named places, and all other maritime territories are quite denuded, and the population unprepared; they are also driven to despair by the injustice which is practised upon them; and it is quite certain that if even a small fleet sailed for Spain it would make itself master of those places, or else the inhabitants would fly and leave all their goods behind them so that the soldiers of the Sublime Porte would acquire great riches.

The Sultan Suliman, of blessed memory, whom God pardon, on the merest request of the King of France, sent out a vast armament to prevent the King of Spain from growing in power and in forces. It is written in history; and if your Majesty would consider the actions of your predecessors, and take pity on the King of France by sending out an armament in his aid, France would be freed and become your friend and ready to serve you; whereas if this assistance is refused the King of Spain will conquer France, and it is clear that his power will greatly increase to the probable injury of this happy Porte.

Now is the time to acquire infinite glory, and to confer vast benefits upon the empire which is committed to your charge. By acting thus you will bestow an inestimable favour upon my mistress and upon the poor King of France; but should this opportunity be lost, and should the King of Spain conquer France and occupy it, then, indeed, no remedy will be found, whereas at this present moment even a small squadron would be of infinite service. This is a question which concerns the faith, for, by acting as requested, all idolaters will be undone; and should your Majesty take the matter under your protection then, with the help of God, you will arrive at all your desires; however, your Imperial orders be fulfilled.

The Ambassador of England.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Jan. 5. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

995. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

The English merchantman that arrived here brings information that the English acquire arms and halberts in Zante. And in very truth these heretics, both on account of their suggestions and of their actions, are of incredible damage to Christendom.

The Pasha of Buda drowned thirteen Janizaries in one night, and next morning other thirty-six were found hung, and now all is quiet.

The Grand Vizir has sent to beg me to order in Venice six cables and four anchors of vast proportions for the great galleon which he proposes to give to the Sultan. He declares that here they have not the instruments for making them of this size.

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I know that to supply the Turks with such things is against all law, human and divine; I have accordingly put him off with an excuse so as not to anger him by a flat refusal.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 5th January 1590 [m.v.].

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Jan. 5. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

996. Tomaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The ships "Stella" and "Barozza," which were lying in Cadiz with cargo for Lisbon, did not venture to put to sea on account of the English pirates who are at Cape St. Vincent, and plunder everything as far as Cascaes.

I hear from Lisbon that letters, dated Hamburg, 29th August, announce the lading of many ships with grain in that port for Venice. More grain would be sent from Hamburg were it not that the ships have to pass through the English Channel which is swarming with pirates.

The Queen of England has raised some companies of German cavalry for service under Navarre.

Madrid, 5th January 1590 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

997. Giovanni Mocenigo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Hennebont has at last fallen to the Duke of Mercure; the troops marched out with arms and horses.

Paris, 10th January 1590 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

998. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

Another galley is being got ready to go to Algiers as soon as the weather will permit. Orders for as many ships as possible have been issued. Request sent to the King of Fez to provide victuals and munition for the fleet, and to surrender the son of Don Antonio of Portugal. All this is supposed to be the result of despatches from England, as your Serenity will see from the enclosed, which I obtained by the usual safe methods.

It is possible that these preparations may be directed really against the Island of Candia, on the calculation that as the King of Spain is now occupied with England and Navarre he will be unable to help your Serenity in case of war.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 14th January 1590 [m.v.].

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

999. Letter from the Grand Signor to the Queen of England.

As you have informed my Sublime Porte by letter the King of Spain has driven out of Portugal the King Don Antonio, more-

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over he is putting out his hand to increase his dominions day by day, and among other acts he is endeavouring, might and main, to drive out the King of France, named Henry, who, ab antiquo, has been a loyal ally of my Sublime Porte. Your Ambassador at my Porte also tells me that Don Antonio begged the Governor of Fez to assist him, and that the Governor promised assistance on condition that if Don Antonio did recover his kingdom he was to pay all expenses; in pledge whereof Don Antonio sent his son to the Governor, but, presently seeing that no aid was forthcoming Don Antonio, by an Ambassador, demanded his son back again. The Governor put the Embassy in prison. All this has been made known to the lofty steps of my Imperial throne and to my Imperial and Cæsarian intelligence.

Be it now known to you that, please God, this year we will send out a fleet of three hundred galleys and maone, with suitable army, and for this purpose my Imperial order is already gone forth, and my Grand Vizir, Sinan Pasha, is named General, and will go to the country of Spain.

Now, when this letter reaches you, you will begin at once, and will use all diligence to make even greater preparations than you have made in the past, both of army and navy; and on the arrival of this my Imperial sign make no delay, but see that your forces are ready to effect a junction with mine. Then we, taking and conquering many places by the grace of God, will display and bring to light our infinity victories. Here in my arsenals work goes on continuously day and night, and do you on your side see that your ships are ready in time, well armed, fully equipped. Let the King of France pluck up heart, and let him not move from his kingdom, but let him abide in expectation of the army, which is to come from hence. An Imperial letter of encouragement is to be sent to him.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

1000. LETTER from the GRAND SIGNOR to the KING OF FRANCE.

The Queen of England has sent a letter, and her Ambassador has presented a memorial, and has informed me that as the King of Spain has enjoyed a peace with my Porte for some years past, he has employed the time in expelling the King of Portugal; and not content with that he has attacked you also, and has intentions of seizing your country. Now, seeing that for many years past your ancestors have dwelt in sincere and genuine amity with my Porte, which is the glory of the world; and seeing that the people of France are to me as my own people, it is against my Imperial will that they should suffer wrong or that this should go further; accordingly, if it please God this year I shall make great armament of galleys, and they shall be sent out. And for next year my Imperial order has been issued which appoints as General my Vizir Sinan Pasha, who will take command of three hundred galleys and maone, and a suitable army. And already in the

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kingdom under my protection they have begun to build a sufficient number of galleys. I have also sent an Imperial letter to the Queen of England that she too on her side may make provision for an army.

On the receipt of this my Imperial sign see that you move not from your own country, but stand firm in that place where from of old you were wont to stand. Put together and unite your armies. Be ready and armed, so that if the troops of the King of Spain shall come to attack you, they may not find you unprepared. We, with God's help, will man a vast fleet, and when the right season arrives we too will arrive, and we will determine on the plan of campaign in the place appointed for our meeting. And not only shall we repair any damage that has been done, but, please God, you shall take many countries and provinces, to your great honour. Use all diligence and keep this Porte continually informed of all that is going on.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Jan. 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1001. Tomaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

I am sending this despatch by an express, who is leaving for Italy on behalf of some private merchants. This method used to be both safer and more expeditious, but now it is considered a piece of good fortune if the courier is not delayed or robbed.

Don Juan d'Aquila, Captain of the troops which were left in Brittany, sends information that the ships and galleasses which remained behind in Nantes have gone to Vannes (Blanes), a town upon a great and commodious harbour; and with help of the Duke of Mercure they have captured and fortified it as a harbour of refuge for the fleet. They went on to Hennebont (Hennebon), another maritime city, and finding that they were unable to capture it by assault they prepared to bombard it. The said Captain complains that all the Spaniards are injured by the enemy and ill-treated by their friends, for no sooner have they captured one place than another, which was already captured, revolts; and in the midst of such confusion nothing solid can be achieved. He adds that his men are reduced in numbers, and exposed to many discomforts, that he is without money and ammunition; and he therefore begged his Majesty either for help or for leave to return to Spain, unless he desired them all to be destroyed. I believe no answer to this appeal has been sent.

Madrid, 18th January 1590 [m.v.].

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Jan. 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1002. Tomaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

Here they have been considering the question of building a fort at Palermo as a protection against a sudden descent of the Turkish fleet.

Madrid, 18th January 1590 [m.v.].

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

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Jan. 18.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1003. Tomaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

By letter from Lisbon I hear that some days ago the English corsairs captured a ship on its way from the Miño to that city, with one hundred thousand crowns in gold and the like sum in goods.

The English also captured a Catalan ship which, with all its crew and all its cargo, was sent to Barbary, where the people were sold to the Turks and Moors as slaves.

Those Christians who saved themselves from slavery, by seizing the galleys on which they were, have been provided for by his Majesty on board his galleys in Spain, Portugal, and Italy. The two ringleaders have received a pension of twenty crowns a month, some others six crowns a month, and the rest three crowns a month, *though in truth these are pensions that are seldom paid.*

Madrid, 18th January 1590 [m.v.].

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Jan. 19.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1004. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

In order to raise money for the fleet they propose to sell the bachi, that is, the taxes in arrears for the last twenty years; but as no purchaser offered himself, the Sultan has ordered each Beglierbey and Sanjac to furnish half of this sum in ready money and half at the end of a certain period, recouping themselves out of the property or persons of the debtors or their heirs. This will bring in one million in gold.

The Grand Vizir is in frequent and secret conference with a Chavass, who was for a long time the slave of Don Juan de Cardona, and is therefore well acquainted with the possessions of King Philip. He declares that one hundred thousand men will rise in Granada on the appearance of the Turkish fleet in those waters; and that for long these men have had their weapons hidden under ground in expectation of such an event. David Passi, the Jew, is present at all these conferences. It is he who suggested the method of raising money by selling the old debts, as explained above. David Passi is also in continual relations with the Capudan Pasha, and communicates to the Capudan all his information about Christendom before furnishing it to the Sultan in writing. I learn this from a Venetian renegade, who is his intimate friend, valued by Passi on account of his penmanship; this Venetian aspires to making his escape some day, and desires to return to the true faith in which he was honourably born. I am endeavouring to establish similar secret relations with some one who is in personal attendance on the Sultan; but the Grand Vizir, in order to prevent state secrets from being divulged, has warned his Majesty to be on his guard especially against his mutes, who chatter more than the others. The result is that the Sultan either returns all papers to the Grand Vizir or destroys them with his own hand.

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It is quite clear, in spite of all gossip to the contrary, that there is no real determination to make a naval expedition; although the English Agent has pledged his word that, as the result of secret understandings with France, the Turkish fleet will be able to winter in Toulon (havendo l'Agente d' Inghilterra assolutamente promesso che l'Armata Turchescha haverà modo per intelligenze secrete gia accordate in Francia di svernare in Tolone). The said Agent came to visit me, and of his own accord declared that he was obliged to act as he was doing in obedience to orders from the Queen, but that if the Turks kept the promises they had given, they would always maintain an amicable attitude towards Venice, in order to secure her neutrality, and to avoid rousing suspicions which would induce her to make an alliance with the King of Spain, who desires nothing better.

I greatly praised his prudence, and confirmed him in his views. It seems to me, however, a very serious undertaking to send a fleet of three hundred galleys and three hundred provision ships all the way from the Dardanelles to Gibraltar; and so I am doing my best to reach the opinion of those competent to judge. Accordingly I went to the Capudan Pasha, and he, in his usual disingenuous fashion, declared that the whole movement was due to him; that he had found out the way to raise this armament at small expense to the Sultan; that he intended to frighten Venice, and would like to sack Apulia and Loretto, and take Rimini. But I believe that if they succeed in building thirty galleys beyond the ordinary guard it will be the very limit of their powers. The Capudan asked me to beg your Serenity to urge England and Navarre to send persons of importance to Constantinople this year, declaring that the results would be most satisfactory for the Republic.

I have been told by the Grand Vizir's Secretary that the Capudan Pasha has again urged the Sultan to claim Crete from the Republic; telling him that if it is refused nothing is easier than to capture it, owing to the temper of the population. One result of such a conquest would be the acquisition of great treasure, which might be employed in making war on the King of Spain. The Grand Vizir, however, does not agree in this policy of the Capudan, declaring that they must attend to others first, and leave the Venetians to the last. The Grand Vizir is well disposed towards the Republic, and is ready to reduce the power of Spain, who certainly aspires to the mainland territory of Venice; I have therefore been urged to keep the Grand Vizir on our side by making him a present; it is pointed out that quite recently the Emperor has paid a large sum for the preservation of the peace, and Orembey tells me that the King of Spain will also try the same means, as he is going shortly to send here Giovanni Stefano Ferrari, with thirty or forty thousand crowns, to be distributed in securing a truce. In short, a large present to the Grand Vizir would certainly prevent the appearance of the Turkish fleet in the Adriatic this year.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 19th January 1590 [m.v.].

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

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Jan. 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1005. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

We have just heard that the two galleys which were bringing presents from the King of Fez to the Sultan and the Pashas, have been carried off into Christendom by a rising of the slaves on board. The Capudan declares that he has lost upwards of forty thousand ducats by this.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 19th January 1590 [m.v.].

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Jan. 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1006. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

These last few days the Duke of Mercure has lost his only son. The Viscount of Turrene writes that he has obtained from the Queen of England all that he requested for his Majesty's service.

Paris, 22nd January 1590 [m.v.].

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Jan. 30. Minute of the Senate, Venetian Archives.

1007. MOTION made by DONÀ MORSINI to elect an Ambassador to England, who shall leave at once with a suite of five or six.

He may not refuse to serve, under the penalties by law prescribed for those who refuse Embassies to crowned heads.

He shall receive a salary of two hundred ducats of gold in gold per month, for which he need show no accounts.

He shall also receive three hundred ducats for expenses.

His secretary shall receive one hundred ducats.

Ayes - - -	71
No - - - - -	2
Neutrals - - -	16

Motion made by the Sages that the proposition be deferred.

Ayes - - - - -	104

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 2. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1008. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Capudan and the Agà of the Janizaries are in frequent consultation at the house of the Grand Vizir, Sinan, and David Passi, the Jew, is always present. They discuss the preparations for the fleet, the question of the fortresses, the expenditure of the Sultan, the King of Spain, and the King of France, the political situation in Christendom, the destination of the proposed expedition, upon which point I am unable to discover what may be the Sultan's real intention. All the Ministers in complete accord declare that the destination is Spain. And at this very moment David Passi is on the point of despatching Guglielmo di Savoy, with all secrecy, to King Philip to give him warning, and to persuade him to attempt to divert the expedition by means of money. If the attack on Spain is abandoned Malta or Fez will be selected for attack.

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At the last consultation the question of an attack on Venice was broached, and the Capudan Pasha said that he knew he was born a Venetian subject, but if he thought that one drop of Venetian blood was in his veins, he would bleed himself to death in order to be rid of it; the Agà of the Janizaries is hostile, but the Grand Vizir stands firm in refusing to molest the Republic. All this I know, not from David Passi only but from the Grand Vizir's secretary as well.

In fact, as far as the Grand Vizir is concerned, he is determined to sail next year to attack Spain, being assured by England that he can have the port of Toulon.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 2nd February 1590 [m.v.].

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Feb. 2. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1009. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

A chavass has been sent to the King of Fez with letters from the Sultan couched in most pressing terms, to beg the King to surrender without delay the son of Don Antonio, whom he holds as hostage for promises to be fulfilled on Don Antònio's restoration to Portugal.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 2nd February 1590 [m.v.].

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Feb. 2. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1010. Tomaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

By letter from Lisbon I am informed that in England they are preparing a large fleet to put out soon. It is rumoured that it is to sail to the West Indies, to Havana; but they suspect that it may possibly turn aside to offer some offence to this kingdom, as it has done on other occasions; and so couriers have been despatched to put all the seaports on their guard, and to provide for the manning of such a fleet as time and circumstances will permit.

The ten galleons that were being constructed in Biscay are not ready yet, and when they are finished their fittings are to be brought from the Mediterranean coast. The English corsairs, however, do not quit Cape St. Vincent, and as that is near the Straits of Gibraltar they will be able to prevent the transport. There is grave doubt whether the Indian fleets will be able either to sail or to arrive this year. Orders have been sent out that the King's gold and silver is to be taken to Lisbon, as being safer. When the merchants of Seville, who are deeply interested in this cargo, heard of the order they implored his Majesty to take steps to secure the safety of the fleet by sending out twelve extra galleons. His Majesty, however, has answered that he has so much to provide for, and so much to spend just now, that he can go to no further expenses for the safety of that route. The result will be that no fleet can sail, and this will cause heavy loss to all creditors who depend for payment upon the Indian fleets.

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Two ships, one bound from the West Indies to Spain, the other from Portugal to the East Indies, both very rich, have been captured by the English.

The King of Fez, having discovered a plot to deprive him of the port of El Arisch, has given orders that no Christian ships are to be admitted to that port; this will cause the greatest inconvenience to the whole Atlantic navigation.

Madrid, 2nd February 1590 [m.v.].

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Feb. 2. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1011. Tomaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

Finding that there was no hope of securing any corn for Venice in this kingdom, and knowing that the ships "Stella" and "Barozza," which were lying at Cadiz, could not obtain a cargo either, I begged some merchants of Lisbon to write to England to secure corn for your Serenity either there or elsewhere. The answer came back that in that island the most accurate pains were taken to prevent even the smallest quantity from being exported (è stato risposto che in quell' isola s'usava esquisitissima cura, acciò non ne fusse cavata quantità alcuna); but that ships would be sent to Northern Europe, as, in fact, three, of five hundred tons each, had already sailed for Hamburg to lade with grain for Venice.

Some days ago, on the frontiers of Aragon, a Portuguese friar, a Trinitarian, was arrested while on his way into France to confer with Navarre in the interests of Don Antonio. He has been imprisoned here in Madrid.

There is news from Lisbon that the ship "Salvagna," which was captured by the English, has, by the Queen's orders, been carefully guarded in that island, and the crew and cargo well treated.

Madrid, 2nd February 1590 [m.v.].

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Feb. 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1012. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

The preparations for the fleet go on. The Grand Vizir has sent for lead, and has ordered the construction of his own galleys on large lines, whereas the Capudan has ordered a very small one for his personal use; this causes the other commanders to grumble, as they say he wishes to be ready to fly. The Sultan has announced that he wishes the opinion of the Grand Vizir, the Agà, and the Capudan as to the destination of the armament expressed in writing. The Grand Vizir wishes to attack Spain, the Capudan Fez or Crete, and the Agà at present leans to the views of the Capudan; and accordingly I hold it of extreme importance that your Excellencies should more than ever consider the means for securing the Grand Vizir in his proposals, as ultimately everything depends on him.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 6th February 1590 [m.v.].

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

1591. Feb. 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1013. Tomaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

An armament is being prepared in England, and there is every probability that Navarre has entered, or is about to enter, Paris; and so the Councils of State, of War, of Finance, and of the Indies, which usually hold their deliberations apart, have been all united by his Majesty's orders to consider the most opportune and expedient steps to be taken in these circumstances.

It was resolved to send orders to the Duke of Parma to move into France in the spring. But before these orders could be despatched letters from the Duke arrived with information as to the bad condition of his forces, which are consumed by sickness and death.

Matters of minor moment are going better in Brittany, where Don Juan d'Aquila, with his own troops and those of the Duke of Mercure, after besieging and bombarding Hennebont for forty days succeeded in capturing it. He gave the garrison twenty crowns apiece and let them go free.

Madrid, 15th February 1590 [m.v.].

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Feb. 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1014. Tomaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The Council, of which I made mention in my last despatch, when deliberating on English affairs, resolved that in the kingdom of Portugal a sufficient supply of ammunition and provisions must be collected, and four thousand infantry raised partly in Portugal, partly in Castille.

It is thought that the English fleet will sail to the Indies, and especially to Havana; but there is a suspicion that it may make a demonstration against these kingdoms, especially against Portugal. But as one of these attacks would call for a land defence while the other requires a naval defence, the problem which to choose remains unsolved, for it appears to be beyond their powers to provide both.

Meantime, while these consultations are proceeding, the English, to the number of twenty sail, who are off Cape St. Vincent, have captured four merchantmen making for Seville, and fears are entertained for three others.

As regards the capture of the carvel from the West Indies, which I notified to your Serenity, there is an episode which has somewhat alleviated the distress; for when her commander saw that he was lost he threw the gold and the more important letters into the sea. But everything was against him, for when the English found this out they killed him and his sailors who had given him a hand.

Madrid, 15th February 1590 [m.v.].

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

1591.
Feb. 16.
Original Despatch, Venetian, Archives.

1015. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

As the preparations for the fleet continue here daily with better order and more certainty of execution, and as I see clearly what damage may be wrought to Christendom by this armament, I do my best to discover what is the true object for which it is being prepared.

The Pasha's secretary the other day invited me, as it were, to meet him in his garden, where we usually hold our conversations.

He assured me that the Capudan and the Agà, both of them Venetians, were always most hostile to the Republic; so was everyone else; he declared that of friends to the Republic he could name none save himself, and through him the Grand Vizir. In a recent conference between the Vizir, the Agà, and the Capudan he heard that the Sultan had ordered models of the islands and fortifications of Crete and Malta. The Capudan stormed against Venice, the Agà against Christendom in general; the Vizir sought to calm both, and with much prudence urged that assistance should be given to England and Navarre against Spain. The Secretary advised me to secure the support of the Grand Vizir, for if he gave way ever so little Crete and Corfu would certainly be the first objects of attack; and, he continued, that if your Serenity desired to secure the favour of the Vizir as long as he remained in office, it would be necessary for you to open your hand still wider; for the presents which my predecessor and I had given to the Grand Vizir in your Serenity's name, "were," to use the Secretary's very words, "more like beef and carrots than like gifts from a great Republic to a Pasha."

The Secretary further told me that I must know that David Passi is very closely allied with the Agà and the Capudan, and that all three had recently agreed in urging the Grand Vizir to send a chavass to Venice with letters demanding the island of Crete; for now that Spain is occupied in attending to her own defences, and cannot assist Venice, the Sultan will either get that island or half a million of gold to spare it. This David, for one truth tells a hundred lies; he would betray us if he could; he is agent for Don Antonio of Portugal and in the confidence of the King of Spain; he is the warm supporter of Venice, and the trusty spy of the Sultan.

The spy I keep in the house of the Capudan Pasha tells me that in a secret chamber they are preparing the models of Crete and Malta, which the Sultan desired to possess; this is a confirmation of what the Secretary to the Grand Vizir told me. The spy also told me that all the Capudan's private conversation is inspired by hatred of Venice.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 16th February 1590 [m.v.].

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

1591.
Feb. 16.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1016. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

From Tripoli in Barbary, help is urgently sought, for they say that the Moors, encouraged by the King of Spain, are on the point of rising.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 16th February 1590 [m.v.].

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Feb. 16.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1017. Tomaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The King is about to encounter great expenses, and the lack of money is growing always greater, owing to the difficulties in the way of the India fleets; accordingly the General Council has been listening to various proposals as to the method of raising money. Among others, it is suggested that in order to extinguish the heavy debt, which at present consumes the income, it would be advisable to sell the revenues of the Indies for a certain number of years.

They are also endeavouring to compel all those who are not Hidalgos, either ex-officio or by privilege, but only through long usage, to pay a certain sum of money; and the Chevaliers de Contia, who rank below the Hidalgos, are to be forced either to maintain one horse, or to pay a certain sum. This would bring in a large amount to the Crown, but would raise great discontent.

Madrid, 16th February 1590 [m.v.].

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Feb. 17.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1018. Giovanni Mocenigo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Viscount of Turenne writes from Germany that he has found an excellent disposition in all German Princes to favour the King of France; a large levy is promised, in spite of the opposition of Casimir and the Spanish Ministers.

Tours, 17th February 1590 [m.v.].

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

March 2.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1019. Tomaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

Here there is but little preparation for an expedition to France Nevertheless it is arranged that the Duke of Parma is to go back again into that kingdom at the beginning of summer; and it is hoped that he will effect more than he did last year. His enemies declare that he has gone back to Flanders without really relieving the city of Paris, for which purpose he was sent with an army into France; and that his bad treatment of his troops is the cause of mutiny among the Spaniards, and of Count Mansfeldt's discontent which has caused him to abandon his command; they also accuse the Duke of spending too much money in Flanders. However, it

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would seem that for want of anyone suited to supply his place the Duke of Parma will still remain in his Majesty's service.

Don Juan d' Aquila writes to say that the position he occupied has been fortified towards the sea only, as the French absolutely refused to allow any walls to be built round the land side, in order that they might remain perfectly free to keep or to expel the foreigners as they thought fit. But as the sea route to Brittany is now open, they are discussing a project for sending German troops to join the others, with a view to establishing there a strong corps d'armee which can with ease be supported and reinforced from the sea. Nothing has been done as yet, however, except to raise one thousand infantry, who are to be sent to Brittany under Don Diego Brochiero, Knight of Malta, highly esteemed as a naval commander.

Madrid, 2nd March 1591.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

March 2. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1020. Tomaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

It would seem that the formation of the fleet, which was proceeding slowly, must now be fully approved, for the Genoese ships which were dispensed from service were once more detained at the moment when they were leaving the port of Ferrol. This advantage will be gained that from the day of their discharge to the day of this new embargo no hire will be due.

Meantime the English buccaneers near Barcelona have seized a Ragusan ship with one hundred and fifty thousand crowns on board, the larger part belonging to Florentines and Genoese.

Some days ago a Spaniard arrived in this Court from England, where he had been sent to spy the condition of the Queen of England's affairs. He has received money and presents. He reports that Drake, in command of forty ships, has gone out to lie in wait for the fleet from Havana; and that when reinforcements reached him from England he would attempt something bigger still. He further adds that English booty in West Indian produce is so great that sugar is cheaper in London than it is in Lisbon or the Indies themselves. (Afferma anco che Inglesi hanno fatto tanta preda de robba che si sogliono condurre dalle Indie, che li zuccari sono a menor precio a Londra di quello che siano a Lisbona, et ne i luoghi medesimi da i quali si cavano), and so as the English are so powerful at sea it is unlikely that the West Indian fleet will be able to sail, or if it does its arrival is surrounded with danger; and to meet this danger an embargo has been laid on certain merchantmen in Lisbon, in addition to the fifteen which have already been detained, and it is proposed to despatch these, accompanied by thirty ships from the Armada, towards Havana to protect the flotilla.

Madrid, 2nd March 1591.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

1591. March 2. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1021. Tomaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The King has been much disturbed with gout and fever. But after the doctors had drawn eleven ounces of blood both left him, and he is much better, though not up yet. *The merchants, seeing the age and the infirmity of his Majesty, are alarmed for their money, which is secured to him for his life only; and they accordingly refuse to advance any more unless the interest due in Seville and Andalusia is raised.*

A Commission to examine titles to property, and in cases where a good title is wanting the land will be confiscated; arrears, also, are to be exacted. In order to save themselves from the action of this Commission the people of Seville have sent to offer to pay to his Majesty five hundred thousand crowns; it is thought that this will be accepted.

The people of Seville are in the greatest discontent with the Government. They demand from his Majesty full liberty to introduce merchandise from any country whatsoever, especially from England, otherwise they declare that customs dues will be reduced to nothing.

The fleet that ought to sail in March for the West Indies and Peru will not be able to put to sea, not so much because of the buccaneers as because it is still deficient in many necessaries. It is also doubtful whether the other fleet which usually sails for New Spain during the summer, will be ready in time, as all arrangements are in confusion and disorder; and the difficulty which the English corsairs are causing is likely to increase, for they hinder the accumulation of money, which is the chief concern of the Spanish at present.

Madrid, 2nd March 1591.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

March 2. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1022. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

The Silitar (Silihdari) Agà had his Majesty's word that he should be made Agà of the Janizaries, but Sinan, Grand Vizir, bribed by twenty thousand crowns from Imbraur (sic) *Pasha, who had given to the Sultan also fifty thousand crowns' worth of jewels, and ten thousand crowns to the Sultana, succeeded in making the Sultan break his word.*

The Silitar, in private conversation, used very violent language about the Sultan, declaring that this expedition which he is preparing is calculated like a merchant not like a prince. In his opinion the expedition to Spain or to Fez is almost an impossibility on account of the length of the voyage and the necessity to winter in foreign lands with all the fleet. He accordingly advises the Sultan to break his word which he has given to the King of Navarre, the Queen of England, and Don Antonio of Portugal. He discussed the condition of Malta and of Crete; the monks of those

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islands are to be sent to the Seraglio very soon. In short, it is to be feared that the Sultan will choose that enterprise which will bring most pecuniary advantage to his Crown. He will consider that Crete is the key of the Archipelago; that the Maltese who were at Rhodes this winter could not have reached that island unless they had touched at and re-victualled in Crete; and though both Malta and Crete are considered of equal importance yet the enterprise against Crete is as easy as that against Malta is difficult. The fleet will take one hundred thousand men, and after landing them will proceed to plunder the shores of Italy on the one side or the other of the Pharo of Messina, that is to say, if the war is in Candia all the coast of Apulia and the Adriatic, if the war is in Malta all the shore of Calabria as far as Naples. The famine which has been tormenting Italy all this year makes it likely that the coming year will be pestilential, as these things usually follow one another.

Talking of the avarice of the Sultan the Silitar said that if he continued in this course he would leave behind him a worse name than any of his predecessors. For a hundred bales of skins he had changed his mind about the Polish war; a couple of clocks and a few thalers had prevented him from attacking Hungary. Silitar advises the Republic to send that casket which the Sultan has frequently asked for, as soon as possible, without delay, and he reminds me that when despots ask they intend to receive.

The five Moors are much made of by the Grand Vizir, who has obtained from them detailed information about Valencia and Catalonia, to which parts his mind is now chiefly directed, both in order to create a diversion in favour of Navarre and England and to help Don Antonio of Portugal, to whom he has written the enclosed; and also because he thinks that the fame of his past victories will cause the peoples to rise and open the way to him in any country to which he may direct his prow. His Secretary, however, is much opposed to Sinan's conduct of the expedition in person, declaring that it is one thing to be head of all the affairs of this Empire, and quite another to be commander of a part only of its forces.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 2nd March 1591.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

1023. Translation of a Letter from the Grand Vizir, to Don Antonio.

After compliments. We tell you in all affection that David Passi, your agent at the Sublime Porte of our most puissant Lord the Emperor, has frequently and quite recently given information about your case, how that the King of Spain, when unmolested by the Emperor, has expelled you from your kingdom of Portugal; you desire to recover it by the help of the Queen of England, and at the same time you sought the assistance of the King of Fez; to him you sent your son as hostage, and from him you obtained

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promises of men and money. But the King of Fez at the request of the King of Spain, not only did not fulfil his promises but up to the present moment has retained your son. Thus your campaign in Portugal failed to reach that successful issue which would have been secured had the forces of the King of Fez been conjoined with the forces of the Queen of England.

Now relying on that clemency and support which has been extended to so many others, you desire to place yourself under the protection of this Sublime Porte, counselled to take this course by the Queen of England; and, by the favour of the most mighty Grand Signor, to recover your son in the first place, and in the second by the assistance of the Queen of England to regain your throne in Portugal, which you and your ancestors always held in alliance with the Sublime Porte.

All this and much more has been explained to us by David Passi, and by us reported to the Grand Signor, who now deigns to take you under his protection and to grant you the aid you ask. And seeing that the King of Fez may raise some difficulty in the way of restoring your son to you, his Imperial Grandeur has sent to charge him to send your son at once to this happy Porte; these orders are absolute and positive and the King of Fez will not dare to disobey them.

Meantime do you be comforted, and abide firm in your purpose; acting always in concert with the Queen of England, and soon your son will arrive here at the Sublime Porte, where he will be received, esteemed, and carressed.

The year that is coming it is the firm resolve of our Sovereign to make a vast armament, which will be in your favour; for it is one of his objects to restore you to your throne. Have no doubt on this score; you will be further informed of everything in greater detail by David Passi. On your side see that you make all necessary provision, and keep the Sublime Porte fully informed of all that occurs.

Constantinople; the end of the month Rebindieoel 999, *that is* 2*nd February* 1591.

[*Italian*; *deciphered.*]

March 2. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1024. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

From an English merchantman which was passing Santa Maura, two hundred pieces of cloth were taken by force. The Grand Vizir is very angry and has sent a Chavass to obtain the restitution of the goods and also to bring here the guilty.

France and England have both had an audience of the Grand Vizir on one and the same day. The Frenchman told him that in a short time a M. Dufin would arrive as Ambassador from Navarre with a suite of one hundred men; the Englishman, on the other hand, says that M. Dufin is a prisoner, and no Ambassador

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at all is coming. The Vizir laughed at these contradictory stories. An English agent is on his way here viâ Danzig.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 2nd March 1591.

[*Italian ; deciphered.*]

March 5. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1025. GIOVANNI DOLFIN, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Letters, dated Dresden the 28th February, have arrived announcing that on the evening of the following day the Viscount of Turenne and Horatio Pallavicini, the agents for Navarre and England were expected to reach the city. The elector was preparing to receive them with all honour, and wished to go outside the city to meet them.

Prague, 5th March 1591.

[*Italian.*]

March 5. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1026. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

While the King was conducting the seige of Chartres, and had made himself master of a ditch under a revelin, where he was stationed the nearer to observe the operations, he was struck on the forehead by a splinter of stone detached from a wall by the violence of the musketry fire.

Tours, 5th March 1591.

[*Italian.*]

March 12. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1027. GIOVANNI DOLFIN, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Three days ago the Secretary of France, resident here, returned to Court. He says that the Viscount of Turenne and Horatio Pallavicini were with the elector of Saxony for seven days. After receiving many honours from that Prince and discussing their business with him and four of his colonels, they left for Brandenburg, intending subsequently to visit Casimir. One of the favourable signs is that the Elector of Saxony sent along with them the second son of the Prince of Hainault to interpret to the other Princes the Elector's views. Everything will be concluded before the Frankfort fair.

Certain merchants here have received letters from Holland, dated February 18th, by which it would seem that three thousand English have disembarked there. Two thousand German horse are to be raised ; and all this force is to be employed in holding the Duke of Parma in check and compelling him to remain in Flanders.

Twelve days ago two Englishmen arrived with a considerable suite of servants. They are said to be gentlemen of rank. Yesterday they left for Poland on their way to Constantinople. They have with them several cases and some bales of goods, most probably presents for the Porte.

Prague, 12th March 1591.

[*Italian.*]

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March 12.
Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1028. Giovanni Dolfin, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the Doge and Senate.

The French Secretary came to visit me, and told me that in Dresden, Turenne, Pallavicini and the Elector had discussed whether it was advisable to send an Agent expressly to your Serenity to ask in the name of France, England, and the Protestant Princes for help for Navarre, by furnishing a considerable sum every month towards the payment of the troops which it is proposed to raise. After a long discussion it was settled that they should write to Venice for the opinion of M. de Maisse, and should also take the advice of Brandenburg and Casimir.

I, knowing that such an Embassy could not be acceptable to your Serenity for many reasons, took upon myself to say that for my part I thought the Embassy would prove futile, for though all your Excellencies were as much concerned for the welfare of France as any Prince in Europe, yet now that the peace between Persia and the Turks was concluded, and a Turkish armament was being prepared, it would be impossible for Venice to spend money. My arguments convinced him that it would not be of service to Navarre that this Agent should be sent; and he determined to despatch an express that very day to Turenne to dissuade him from taking this step.

Prague, 12th March 1591.

[*Italian.*]

March 15.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1029. Tomaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The King has again been suffering from gout in the shoulder; in order to mitigate the pain, and to prevent the disease from attacking more dangerous places, the doctors have again drawn four or five ounces of blood.

In these circumstances, being unable to have an audience of his Majesty, I have communicated to Don Juan d'Idiaquez the news from Constantinople that a great armament is being prepared there. He pointed out some difficulties in the way of the Turks, but admitted that it was necessary to be on one's guard.

Talking of other matters, Don Juan said that he was informed that a fleet was being prepared in England, and that its destination was surmised to be either the Indies with a view to capturing the Indian fleet or France with a view to supporting Vendome, for so they call the King of France in this Court. I pointed out to him that as England was so near to France it was hardly necessary to prepare so great a fleet; and he agreed in this view, assuring me that he had himself remarked in Council upon the fact that Vendome held Dieppe, where he could easily receive English support, and therefore the destination of this English fleet must be other than France. As regards the preparations here there is nothing going on beyond what I have already reported to your Serenity.

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The news of the loss of fourteen ships has been received here with universal sorrow. They were bound for Spain, fell in with a furious gale, were all wrecked and sank.

Madrid, 15th March 1591.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

March 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1030. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

Men have been sent to the shores of the Black Sea and into Anatolia, to cut wood for shipbuilding and oars. Five hundred camels, with wrought iron, have arrived from Samakowo (Samaco), three days distance from Philippopolis; the iron consists of screws, bars, and nails.

The models of Malta and Crete, which were entrusted to Christian slaves to construct, have resulted in a failure. Perhaps one of the main reasons why matters are proceeding with less warmth is the fact that David Passi has fallen into disgrace with the Grand Vizir, for he wrote to the Grand Chancellor of Poland, saying that Sinan Pasha had written the letter of accord and reconciliation on his own authority only, without binding the Sultan, and this with a view to deceiving them, and drawing money from them. Sinan, on learning this flew into a violent rage, and having obtained leave from the Sultan to avenge himself except on the life of Passi, he could not wait to catch David quietly, but must send for him at midnight, at a time when he happened not to be at home. The result of this haste is that David has taken refuge in the house of the new Beglierbey. Sinan, they say, hoped to be able to secure the drowning of David. The lapse of time and the intervention of friends, however, will, it is thought, cause the Sultan to spare his life, and perhaps to reinstate him. Sinan considers that he has been accused of treachery, and nurses his anger, though he dissimulates for the present. The Sultan's Secretary said to me that the Republic ought to consider Passi's removal as worth a million in gold. But seeing that he is supported by people of the highest authority, who assure the Sultan that he is the only truthful and well-informed spy against Christian powers, I will watch the issue of events, and see that your Serenity's interests are not affected.

I will continue to urge through the Secretary of the Grand Vizir, that it would be a wise policy for the Sultan to take all the money he collected for the armament, and to enjoy peace rather than risk a doubtful victory. The contract for biscuits is not complete, and it is certain that the storage of corn will take place in the Morea. The Sultan shows more thirst for gold than for Christian blood.

This I gathered from the Secretary to the Grand Vizir.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 16th March 1591.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

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March 16.
Original Despatch, Veretian Archives.

1031. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

I have instructed a trustworthy agent to keep me well informed as to the progress of the shipbuilding in the Black Sea, and all that relates to the preparation of the fleet.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 16th March 1591.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

March 17.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1032. Giovanni Mocenigo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Spanish Ambassador, in obedience to orders from his master, has frequently endeavoured to induce the Parisians to call in Philip as their lord and protector, a thing he has never succeeded in doing on account of the particular odium in which the Spanish name is held. But he has attained this much, that the council of sixteen, a popular assembly which he has bought with Spanish gold, went to Mad^me^ de Monpensier to complain that the Duke of Mayenne paid as much attention to his own convenience as the King, who never takes his armour off, paid to the war; and that being so it was necessary for them to discover some prince great enough to protect them, alluding almost openly to the King of Spain.

Letters from the King of Spain to his Ambassador have been intercepted. In them the King instructs his Ambassador that if he finds it impossible to advance the claims of the Infanta, daughter of the King of Spain, he is to propose the son of the Duke of Loraine, always with the understanding that if he acquires the kingdom of France, Loraine is to be ceded to his Catholic Majesty. The Duke of Mayenne is aware of all this, and it causes him no small trouble.

The Queen of England is going to send a force of infantry into Brittany to oppose the Spanish. She has sent to the King to ask where they are to land.

Tours, 17th March 1591.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

March 26.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1033. Giovanni Mocenigo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Duke of Mayenne, who has just received some money from the King of Spain, tried to corrupt the Governor of Coucy, a very strong place in Picardy. He succeeded at the price of eighteen thousand crowns. This has embarrassed the King's position in that province.

There is a rumour that the Duke of Parma will arrive in France with fourteen thousand men and four thousand horse. This has caused the King to hurry on the fortification of all the places round Paris, especially St. Denis.

Tours, 26th March 1591.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

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March 26.
Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1034. Giovanni Dolfin, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the Doge and Senate.

As the report runs that the Protestant Princes are amassing troops their various States, the Emperor, at the request of the Spanish Ambassador, has sent to Saxony and Brandenburg to induce them to keep the peace, and to stand neutral without mixing themselves up in other people's affairs.

A week ago, while the Emperor was reading a book upon fireworks he suddenly conceived the idea to try an experiment with some spirits of wine and gunpowder. As he was leaning over the the boiling spirits, which had been boiled and re-boiled, and was therefore almost pure spirit, it flamed up and burned a part of his beard, both his eyebrows, and his cheek. Thank God he has suffered very little, though the danger was great. He is in retreat at present.

Prague, 26th March 1591.

[*Italian.*]

March 29.
Minute of the Senate, Venetian Archives.

1035. To the Queen of England.

We wrote to your Majesty recently upon the subject of the restitution of the cargo of the ship "Salvagna," and though we entertain no doubts as to the friendly disposition of your Majesty, still we are advised that the question has been referred to three doctors (in law), and as they will follow the ordinary course much time will probably be lost, to the total ruin of the owners, our subjects. We therefore beg that these our subjects may be entirely indemnified for the ship, the merchandise, and all their goods at once by your direct orders, in accordance with the friendly relations which have always existed between us.

Ayes - - -	154
Noes - - - - -	0
Neutrals - - -	14

[*Italian.*]

March 30.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1036. Tomaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

Since this last attack of gout the doctors have bled his Majesty three times, and purged him once. He is better now and out of bed, but so weak that he cannot walk; he transacts some business, but gives audience to no one.

His Majesty is continually asked by the members of the League in France to furnish help; the Duke of Joyeuse asks for men to make head against Montmorency; the Duke of Mercure implores the despatch of a Spanish garrison to Brittany; the Duke of Mayenne demands money to pay his troops; the Duke of Parma seeks to secure the money which will pacify his mutineers. All receive kind words and promises; and it would seem that there is a desire to oblige them up to a certain point. Money is being raised, partly on the security of the eight millions voted by the

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Cortes, partly by the sale of part of the royal revenue in Naples, partly by prolonging the life interests in the Indies to the other life.

The need of gold which was extremely felt by his Majesty and his Ministers, has been sensibly lightened by the arrival of the gold and silver from Havana, which has reached Lisbon in safety. The flagship parted company in a gale, and some disaster was feared; but now we have news that she has arrived safely in Seville; and so, although they suffered some damage from the storm, yet the storm saved them from the English buccaneers, who were compelled to abandon their posts of observation, and to return to England without their prey, to the Queen's great disgust. The fleet has brought six millions of gold.

Madrid, 30th March 1591.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

March 30. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1037. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

A Secretary from England has arrived by way of Poland, he brings the title of Ambassador to the Agent, who has been resident here for so long a time. He says that a ship is on her way with valuable gifts for the Sultan and his Ministers. Requests have been preferred to the Sultan, in writing, that he would fulfil his promise as to help with a fleet; and that he would allow the King of Navarre to purchase horses in Barbary. The rising of the Moors and the continuance of war in that part will make it impossible to grant that request.

With the English Secretary came a brother of the Polish Ambassador. The rigours of winter will delay the Ambassador.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 30th March 1591.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

April 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1038. Giovanni Mocenigo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The siege of Chartres is growing more and more difficult on account of the bad weather. The King cannot plant his batteries nor give an assault; and the beseiged have taken the opportunity to repair their damages and bring in victuals.

One thousand five hundred peasants, who have been called into the city on account of the scarcity of fighting men, have done wonders in repairing the breaches, and in exposing themselves in all positions of danger.

In order to divert the King from the siege of Chartres, the Duke of Mayenne will lay siege to Château-Thierry, and the Duke of Parma will sit down under San Quentin.

Another thousand Spaniards have been landed in Brittany, as those who were there originally were not sufficient to make much progress.

Tours, 7th April 1591.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

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April 9. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1039. GIOVANNI DOLFIN, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

From Frankfort I learn that Pallavicini arrived there on the 27th of March; and that Turenne was expected in three or four days, to conclude their business while the fair lasted.

Prague, 9th April 1591.

[*Italian.*]

April 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1040. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Orders have been sent to Anatolia for twenty thousand oars for light galleys, and six thousand for great galleys. They are to be stored at Iskimid (*Simitri*) on the sea.

The Captain of the Sea was attacked by a contraction of the nerves and loss of speech immediately upon his return. They suspect poison.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 9th April 1591.

[*Italian.*]

April 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1041. TOMASO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Over and above the demands for men and money, which the members of the League in France prefer to his Majesty, they also suggest that Paris and all Catholic France would be greatly assisted if the States of the King of Navarre were attacked by Spain on the Bearnese frontier. Every effort is used to induce his Majesty to embark on this enterprise; and it is thought that the Ambassador of the League, who is expected here shortly, will come with a mission to treat upon this point. In Spain, however, no preparations adequate to such an undertaking are going forward; only six hundred horse have been sent to support the Duke of Joyeuse, and perhaps one thousand five hundred Catalans. Some troops are held in reserve here, so as to be ready to march wherever they may be most needed; for there is news from England of great preparations which cause alarm, lest they may be directed against the Spanish dominions, and chiefly against Portugal. The Duke of Parma is said to have positive orders to enter France with a strong army as soon as ever he can, and money is reported to have been despatched to him. But whether this rumour be correct, or whether it be circulated merely to give some support to the League, is uncertain. At any rate, I hear that the Duke of Parma has written to say that even if he had made up his mind to march into France, he could not do so unless he was supplied with a large amount of money. For on his last expedition his troops suffered terribly, and it would now be a question of loosing their life where they had already lost their health. In fact, everything in Flanders is in such disorder that the Duke of Parma's Ambassador, who resides here, declares that there is no possibility of carrying out this expedition. Some persons of weight declare that the King is advised to proceed slowly in helping the League, for they say that

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divisions are already so deeply implanted that the kingdom of France must, for a long time to come, remain very weak.

Madrid, 10th April 1591.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

April 13. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1042. Tomaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

Urgent demands for money come from Flanders, and his Majesty has raised a loan of eight hundred thousand crowns from the Fuggers. They took this opportunity to obtain security for three hundred thousand crowns which they had formerly advanced. At the King's request the Archbishop of Toledo, who is said to have vast accumulations of gold, has advanced one hundred thousand crowns.

The Count of Barages, President of the Council of Castille, which is the highest office in this kingdom, has suddenly been removed from his post. He is charged with having administered his office more in his own interest than in the interests of justice.

No military preparations are on foot except that three thousand soldiers are collected in Portugal, to be sent into Brittany. Security for good service and obedience has been exacted from each.

Madrid, 13th April 1591.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

April 13. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1043. Tomaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

Giovanni Steffano Ferrari, who was to have been sent to Constantinople, has been detained here so long that he would now be too late to hinder the designs of the Turks this year. Accordingly the Ministers have shown no hurry to despatch him; but he has recently been sent to Milan, there to await fresh instructions. He himself does not know what the nature of his commission will be; but it is not likely that it will satisfy the Turk who demands the presence of some one with the powers and rank of Ambassador.

I hear from Lisbon that the ship "Salvagna," which was captured by English bucaneers and carried off to England, has been wrecked on her way from Falmouth to London, whither she was being towed at the orders of the agent for the owners. The governor of a fort near the scene of the wreck took all the guns out of her. The crew was saved, and some of them are now in Lisbon. They declare that they suspect treachery in the wrecking of the ship. His Majesty is steadily recovering his health.

Madrid, 13th April 1591.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

April 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1044. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

Along with your Serenity's despatches there arrived here on the 9th inst. letters from the Duke of Mayenne to the Grand Signor and

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the Grand Vizir. M. de Lancome, Ambassador in ordinary of France, delivered them, and they were received apparently with great satisfaction.

The Duke says that the kingdom of France having been reduced to a miserable state after the murder of the Duke and the Cardinal of Guise, and the others at Blois, he pleads his occupations as an excuse for not having anticipated Navarre in sending an Ambassador to the Porte. He calls Navarre a usurper, and says that Cardinal of Bourbon, the true King, died in prison because he was unable to endure the indignity. He alludes to the fact that he was worsted in an engagement with Navarre; declares that he relieved Paris, and that Navarre has neither towns nor fortresses of importance, nor the support of the people. He assures the Sultan that the provinces will never accept any but a Catholic King and a Frenchman, and begs his Majesty to take under the wings of his favour the Catholics of France, and to reject Navarre. He authorises M. de Lancome to represent him, and begs that all who have been detained at the request of Navarre and England may be liberated.

In the interview which M. de Lancome had with the Grand Vizir, when he presented the letters, the Ambassador said that the Duke of Mayenne, not as King but as protector of the French Catholics, implored the Sultan not to show himself at the request of heretic rebels, hostile to the Crown of France with which his ancestors had always lived in reciprocal amity. These rebels were powerless, but relied on help from the enemies of their enemies. The Duke and all the Catholics of France humbly implored the Sultan, even if he would not help the Catholics at least not to support nor rely on the Queen of England and the King of Navarre; and assured him that if assistance from Turkey were withheld all the nobility, which at present followed Navarre through fear, would desert him, and so secure the true freedom of France, which otherwise is doomed to a tyranny.

The Pasha, who for some time past has held M. de Lancome in small esteem, because Turkish feeling inclines towards Navarre, and because England is always urging that Spain should not be allowed to become too great, made a brief reply, saying that for the present no other answer to that letter was necessary, but that if the gentleman, whose arrival from France was announced, should come to Constantinople he would be well received.

A few days later the Ambassadors of France and the Emperor had a very secret meeting in a monastery in Pera. They exchanged the orders which each held from the King of Spain to prevent the sailing of the Turkish fleet. It is understood that very shortly Ferrari or someone else will arrive here under pretext of being Agent for the Duke of Mayenne, in order to purchase with money the security for Spain. In order to rouse the Sultan's suspicions these Ambassadors spread reports that the King of Spain and the Queen of England in closest accord are making preparations together, and that the Pope has furnished large supplies of money and men to oppose Navarre. But these reports make no way in

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the mind of the Vizir; and in spite of them the English Ambassador has received a concession for drawing corn and horses from Algiers for the service of Navarre. All the same, if Ferrari, or whoever comes here, brings large sums of money, it is probable that he will obtain a considerable part of what he asks.

So variable and fluctuating are events at the Porte that no change from one extreme to the other ought ever to surprise us, and nothing is so small that it may not become of highest moment, and vice versâ, especially now that gold has absolute power to change all the Sultan's plans. The preparations for the fleet do not cease.

The Sultan declared to the Grand Vizir, after the last exploits of the Maltese galleys, that he was determined to have done with Malta. The Vizir replied that although Malta was to Christendom what Mecca was to the Turk, and every Christian power would move in its defence, yet to his Majesty's puissance everything was possible. Then, talking of Crete, he added these very words: "That island, sire, shall be thine at any moment that seemeth thee good."

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 19th April 1591.

[*Italian*; *deciphered.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

1045. LETTER from the DUKE OF MAYENNE to the GRAND VIZIR.

To the Illustrious and Magnificent Grand Vizir at the Sublime Porte of the Grand Signor.

Seeing that our Sovereigns have always found a safe refuge in the favour of your Highness, I am fain to hope that the humble representations which I now make in the name of all France will meet with your benevolent regard.

I am told that others who usurp the title of King have forestalled me. I esteem your prudence and ability so highly that I am sure that the affairs of France have been for long within your perfect cognizance; you will know that the Kings of France have always enjoyed the reverence and adoration of their people, and never have had occasion to fill the ears of foreign Princes with lamentations, as does this individual, that he is not recognised nor obeyed; recognition and obedience which he desires to exact in the teeth of the laws of the State, which have been established now for a long course of years. He now wishes to change these laws, and to substitute others quite new; he a man whom all the States of France in convocation have unanimously declared to be incapable of ruling, against whom these same States of France have put forth all their power. He has placed himself at the head of all the opposition to our Kings during the last reigns.

I now wish to inform your Grandeur of all this through M. de Lancome, for whom I crave your credence; and I supplicate you to inform his Majesty so that he may be pleased to grant free traffic to all the ports of his dominions; in the name of all France I implore you to use your influence with the Sultan that he may issue orders to the Governor of Algiers and others to this effect.

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Owing to the difficulties of the road and the disturbances of this kingdom I have been unable to send these instructions sooner to M. de Lancome; but I desire them now to be taken as a sign of devotion to his Majesty and your Excellence, a devotion which I shall repeat by means of a gentleman whom I shall shortly send for that purpose.

Soissons, 28th December 1590.

Your humble servant,
CHARLES OF LORRAINE,
Duke of Mayenne.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

1046. LETTER from the DUKE OF MAYENNE to the GRAND SIGNOR.

After compliments. Your Highness will have learned the various misfortunes which have befallen this unhappy kingdom after the cruel and detestable massacre which was committed at Blois under the eyes of the assembled States and of the Ambassadors of all the powers.

In the height of my sorrow, and under the burden which was laid upon my shoulders by the faithful of France, who appealed to me to help them against Navarre, who unjustly seeks to usurp dominion over them, I was unable to give your Highness earlier notice of this event; and the Cardinal of Bourbon died in prison of the indignities received before I had time to gather forces sufficient to free him and restore him to his people. While pursuing my design fell in with the King of Navarre, and it pleased God then to give him the advantage, perhaps with a view to punishing him more severely later on. I will, however, to assure your Highness that in spite of this advantage he has acquired neither city nor fortress in this kingdom, nor by force of arms has he succeeded in acquiring the love of this people. He turned arms against the capital, and after a siege of full five months he expected to reduce it. But his design fell through.

I am informed that he has forestalled me in that sign of respect which, had it not been for my occupations, I would have made in testimony of the honour in which I hold your Grandeur. I hear that with the help of England and other of his partisans he has attempted to gain over the support of your Highness.

I desire to give your Highness all information through the means of M. de Lancome, Ambassador of France at your Porte. The King of Navarre has been held by the last Kings of France, and by the States in convocation, as their bitter enemy, and against him their arms have been employed. Your Highness, therefore, will recognise him as a usurper, and will withdraw your protection.

And, further, I am informed that as the result of false information your Highness has given leave to your subjects to attack all French traders; I, therefore, through M. de Lancome, humbly beg

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your Highness to restore the ancient privileges enjoyed by the French.

Soissons, 28th December 1590.

Your most humble and obedient servant,
CHARLES OF LORRAINE,
Duke of Mayenne.

[*Italian.*]

April 21. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1047. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Count of Brisac has just come back from the Duke of Parma; he reports that there is very little likelihood that the Duke will come into France this year. But complete credence is not given to this report as the ruses of war are well known. The policy of the Duke of Mayenne is now clearly to obey the King of Spain in everything, for he knows quite well that without the support of that Sovereign he could do nothing against the forces of the King of France.

The Duke of Mercure, seeing that he can make no progress with his own pretensions to Brittany, has advanced the claims of the first Infanta of Spain on condition that he is named her lieutenant.

Tours, 21st April 1591.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

April 21. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1048. TOMASO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

There is news from England that eighty fully armed ships have put to sea. There are twelve thousand men on board. This causes some anxiety to these Ministers for they are uncertain as to the destination of this fleet.

The King continues to improve in health. He walks better.

Madrid, 21st April 1591.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

April 21. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1049. TOMASO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Hearing that the members of the French League had urged the King of Spain to attack the territory of Navarre on its Bearnese frontier, I sent to gather any information about the movement of troops in that quarter. There was virtually no movement taking place.

The fleet that was to convey troops from Spain to Brittany started on its voyage, but was overtaken by so fierce a storm that it was obliged to turn back, and for some days it has been lying in Ferrol.

At Corunna, where some of the King's ships are lying, it has been found necessary to dismantle some in order to arm others. There is a want of powder. They are in alarm lest the English should appear; and in the scarcity of artillery they have disarmed

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some ships. Bread, too, is supplied with difficulty; it has to be brought from fifty leagues away.

The East India fleet has sailed from the Tagus; it was accompanied by many ships which were drawn together by fear of the English; the wind was fair.

Madrid, 21st April 1591.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

April 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1050. Tomaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The troops which they are raising in Castille and in Portugal are supposed to be intended to reinforce the troops which are now in Brittany, as they are afraid that the English may attack that Province.

In order to strengthen the Indies several ships have been laden with building material in Lisbon to fortify the more dangerous points.

The gold and silver which, as I informed your Serenity, has arrived was the gold and silver of last year. This year's supply is still to come.

As the voyage has been so long delayed they fear that the English fleet, even if it does go to Brittany, may still be in time to find and to capture the ships from Havana.

Madrid, 27th April 1591.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

April 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1051. Giovanni Mocenigo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Letters from England announce that the Queen is fitting out ninety ships. Opinions differ as to the destination of that fleet; but it is generally supposed that it will be sent to join the Moors in Barbary, and to harry the line of traffic between Spain and the Indies, as was done last year with the approval of the Queen.

In Germany the Viscount of Turenne is raising troops, which, after harvest, are to come into France, and to ravage the possessions of Lorraine.

Tours, 28th April 1591.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

April 30. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1052. Giovanni Dolfin, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the Doge and Senate.

The Emperor has been informed that on the 20th of this month Turenne and Pallavicini were with Casimir in company of the Prince of Hainault. They are raising troops, but difficulties have occurred; for at the Frankfort fair only a very small sum was forthcoming to meet the charges of that portion of the troops which was commissioned by the Queen of England.

In short, at Frankfort the Queen's bills of exchange, to the amount of one hundred thousand florins, had been received; and

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from the Protestant Princes another hundred and seventy thousand to honour the drafts of Turenne and Pallavicini.

The Secretary of Don Guglielmo di S. Clemente, who was sent on purpose to report, declares that it is quite true that bills of exchange from the Queen have arrived, but only for the sum of seventy thousand florins.

An English alchemist who has drawn two hundred thousand thalers from Sig. Rosimberg and others, was about to be arrested by his Majesty's guard. The house was surrounded, but when they came to search it they found it empty. The Englishman had gone off in carriage two hours before. His brother and four servants have been arrested, and his letters and papers seized; his wife, his sister, and other women are left in the house. Couriers have been despatched to overtake and arrest him.

Prague, 30th April 1591.

[*Italian.*]

May 2. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1053. Giovanni Mocenigo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The English fleet set sail to meet the flotilla from the Indies, but not in such numerical strength as was reported. It numbered twenty-eight ships, all very well armed, of which eight belonged to the Queen. The fleet had orders to undertake no other operations than those indicated. The rest of the ships which have been collected are placed at the disposition of Colonel Norris, who is to land in Brittany with four thousand men. Their arrival has been delayed a little as the Queen desired to secure the port of Brest. The Duke of Mercure had given the port of Plonay (Blanet), near Hennebont, to the Spanish; and it is so well fortified that it will be difficult to expel them.

In addition to the Spanish who have already landed in that province, another two hundred have arrived. The two galleasses and other vessels are also there still; and this is causing his Majesty such uneasiness that he intends to abandon the idea of securing Brest, and will disembark his troops at Hennebont, a very good port. The English will join him as best they can.

The Duke of Mercure has seized Vannes (Ven), which was held by the Marquis of Belle-Isle. The enemy then left to besiege Machecoul (Macicù), which will not be able to offer much resistance unless it is succoured by the English, for the Duke has ten pieces of cannon supplied by Spain.

The declaration of the Pope will cause even greater confusion, and will revive the idea of breaking the kingdom up into a number of corrupt and unworthy tyrants, which is the real object of those who are showing themselves such strong and religious partisans in Rome.

The Queen of England alone shows any activity in withstanding these misfortunes; and her subjects willingly submit to taxation

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for the payment of the troops which are being raised in Germany, and are to come here under the Viscount of Turenne.

Tours, 2nd May 1591.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

May 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1054. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The disputes and disagreements between the Ambassadors of France and England are carried to such a pitch they pass all bounds. The chief cause is that a copying clerk in the French Embassy, upon the pretext of being badly treated by his master, has gone over to the residence of the English Ambassador, and has taken with him a large number of papers of the highest importance, and many registers of letters. He is sure to come to a bad end.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 4th May 1591.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

May 5. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1055. TOMASO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Duke of Savoy was well received on his arrival, and is honoured now during his stay; but, in spite of all this, it is unlikely that he will obtain what he desires in the way of assistance, for Don Juan d'Idiaquez assured a great personage that his Majesty knew nothing of the Duke's coming until he had started on his journey; and the King is little pleased to hear that some suppose him to have counselled this step. Indeed, as soon as he knew what the Duke had done he sent out messengers in the hope of finding the Duke still on the other side of the sea.

Madrid, 5th May 1591.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

May 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1056. TOMASO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Agent for the Duke of Mercure, who has been now many days in the house of Don Juan d'Idiaquez, makes urgent appeals for the despatch of the fleet which is to convey supports to the Duke in Brittany.

Madrid, 6th May 1591.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

May 7. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1057. GIOVANNI DOLFIN, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The second day after the flight of the English alchemist he was arrested twelve leagues from here. His Majesty would not allow him to be brought here, but has caused him to be confined in the Castle of Pirgheriz, five leagues distant, in the middle of a wood. Here all his household is being diligently examined. Among the inmates is a secretary of the Queen of England, who arrived here a month ago. He, too, has been examined three times as yet, and is

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under the strictest guard. It is rumoured here that there are crimes of greater moment than the manufacture of gold to be laid to his charge.

Prague, 7th May 1591.

[*Italian.*]

May 14. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1058. Giovanni Dolfin, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the Doge and Senate.

The English alchemist is still at Pirgheriz under strict guard; his brother and the others here are also prisoners; and the depositions of all who have had dealings with them have been taken down. Yesterday Crechovitz, of the Aulic Council, was sent to Pirgheriz to examine the prisoner once more, the executioner to put him to the torture, the doctor to cure him, the Dean to see that he eats under the dread of religious condemnation, for when he was examined it was found that he was wanting in an ear, and had a mark upon one hand; this he said he had suffered in England because he was a Catholic; they are as anxious to keep him alive as he is to die. They are in hopes of making some discoveries about some suspicion of poison which his Majesty entertains, and his Majesty has sent to Bavaria for a copy of the trial of Bragadin.

Sig. Rosimberg, Viceroy of this kingdom, is creditor of this Englishman for one hundred and seventy thousand thalers. For this reason he has fallen into his Majesty's disfavour. He sent his brother and his brother-in-law, Don John of Bernstein, to excuse him with his Majesty, and to say that he had always held the Englishman for a gentleman of honour.

Prague, 14th May 1591.

[*Italian.*]

May 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1059. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

The Grand Vizir is moved to making even greater provisions for various reasons, among them the desire to help Don Antonio who promises to become a tributary of the Porte if he is restored to his throne, and the arrival of a Chamberlain of the Queen of England, who made the journey from London to Zante in thirty days. He saw the Grand Vizir immediately on his arrival, and set out again at once.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 18th May 1591.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

May 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1060. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

David Passi, the Jew, to the great surprise of everyone, has obtained an order in the Sultan's handwriting for his immediate release. He left the house of the Mufti and went home to cure himself of an illness. The Grand Vizir sent to bring Passi to his presence, and as he entered the room the Vizir cried out that he

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would have him drowned. On seeing the Sultan's writing, however, the Vizir was pacified in appearance.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 18th May 1591.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

May 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1061. Tomaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

M. de Lansac has just arrived; he is a person highly esteemed in naval and military matters. He strongly urges the despatch of support for the Duke of Mercure in Brittany.

Madrid, 26th May 1591.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

May 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1062. Giovanni Mocenigo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Queen of England always shows herself more and more willing to assist the King. And in addition to the three thousand men disembarked in Brittany she has sent other two thousand into Normandy.

Tours, 26th May 1591.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

May 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1063. Giovanni Mocenigo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Queen of England, who is quite aware that the Princes of the League are inclined to favour Spanish interests, is very anxious that the King of France should become master of all the shores of Normandy and Brittany, so that those ports may not serve as a shelter for the Spanish Armada. For this purpose she urges the King to attack Rouen, and promises him every assistance in the undertaking.

Tours, 28th May 1591.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

June 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1064. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

The Ambassadors of France and England are still at discord. The English Ambassador is showing letters either intercepted or copied by that Frenchman who was copying clerk to the Embassy of France.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 1st June 1591.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

June 18. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1065. Giovanni Dolfin, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the Doge and Senate.

The English are said to be out with seventy ships and nine thousand men. Don Antonio is on board, and it is supposed that

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they are destined for the extreme south of Portugal to co-operate with the Moors and the Turkish fleet.

Prague, 18th June 1591.

[*Italian.*]

June 27. Minutes of the Senate, Venetian Archives.

1066. To the QUEEN OF ENGLAND.

We are well aware of the good-will which your Majesty bears towards us, and more especially have we made proof thereof by the courteous words which your Secretary used to our Secretary in Danzig.

We have commissioned our beloved Bartolommeo Corsini to purchase grain in England; we accordingly beg that your Majesty will not only sanction the export of thirty thousand stara* of grain, but will also extend to Corsini your gracious favour in all that may concern the operation.

Ayes - - -	136
No - - - - -	1
Neutral - - -	1

[*Italian.*]

June 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1067. LORENZO BERNARDO, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

If the King of Spain sends to effect a truce, I pointed out that it would be against Turkish interests to give him any assistance, for his policy was to subdue England and France, then to destroy Venice, and then to make himself master of the whole world.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 26th June 1591.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

June 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1068. LORENZO BERNARDO, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

M. de la Charità has arrived here, sent by M. de la Valette to obtain the liberation of Ottavio Avogadro, prisoner in Algiers.

He is working through the English Ambassador, in whose house he is living.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 27th June 1591.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

June 30. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1069. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Many barrels of powder have been sent to the King from England, where six thousand troops are waiting all ready to cross over to France at his Majesty's command.

From the Camp at Mantes, 30th June 1591.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

* = Staio. *See* Martini, ***Manuale di Metrologia***, p. 818.

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June 30. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1070. Giovanni Mocenigo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The King is forced against his will to avail himself of foreign arms, and so he makes use of the support which he receives from Germany and England.

From the Camp at Mantes, 30th June 1591.

[*Italian ; deciphered.*]

July 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1071. Tomaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

A few days ago we had news that the Adelentado of Castille had captured twenty English ships near San Lucar. But while confirmation of this news was being awaited we learned that the ships were not English, but from the northern provinces with grain for Italy, and more especially for Leghorn. They were all set at liberty except five, which were said to have cargoes for English merchants.

It is true that the Adelentado some days back, with ten of his ships, engaged near Gibraltar three Englishmen which were bound for England with alum and other goods. He captured two of them, though he lost forty of his own men, and was himself wounded in the face. The third ship, despairing of her safety, was fired by her captain and crew.

A man who has arrived from England declares that the Queen's fleet is in Florida, a place in the West Indies very well suited for observing and attacking the flotilla that sails from Havana. The Seville squadron, which usually sails at this season, was on the point of departure. *But whereas this squadron used to consist of forty to sixty sail, now it will number only nine or ten, that line of traffic being in great disorder, and the commerce steadily declining.*

For the protection of that squadron the fleet in Galicia and Biscay is being got ready. The fleet is to sail for the Azores, and to push on as much further as may seem advisable.

Madrid, 8th July 1591.

[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*]

July 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1072. Lorenzo Bernardo, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

Nothing is settled as yet about the destination of the fleet. The only certain thing is that England never ceases to urge that it should be directed to the damage of Spain. The Capudan Pasha wishes it to be employed against Fez.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 10th July 1591.

[*Italian ; deciphered.*]

July 13. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1073. Giovanni Mocenigo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The army does not move from these quarters, partly because four thousand English are expected, partly because everyone is resting. Preparations are going forward continually, and this leads to the

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belief that his Majesty intends to take some decisive step as regards Paris.

Having heard that large supplies of provisions were to be thrown into Paris from the direction of Meaux (Meos), his Majesty last night sent off the English regiment to effect a junction with M. de Viel (Vie), Governor of St. Denis, and to prevent this relief.

The English did not reach St. Denis in time, and so the provisions were brought safely into Paris, which by its obstinate resistance is leading the King to think of acquiring it by means other than force.

From the Camp at Mantes, 13th July 1591.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

July 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1074. Giovanni Mocenigo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

I went to see the King to receive orders either to follow him or to kiss his hand before he left camp. The King said "I know what inconveniences you suffer in camp, and so I wish you not to leave this place for some time, as I am about to carry out some operations of which you will be glad to hear. I shall soon be back, unless some turn in the campaign should cause me to change my plans; for I am obliged to regulate my movements in accordance with information from Germany and England." He then went on to talk of the Pope's action and added "By August 18th I shall be at the head of a large army, and I shall be able either to compel the enemy to give me battle or to cut off his supplies.

From the Camp at Mantes, 15th July 1591.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

July 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1075. Lorenzo Bernardo, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

The Grand Vizir has caused the Jew, David Passi, to be publicly placed in irons with a chain round his neck, in his own house. Shortly afterwards Passi was sent on board a galley, and rumour goes that he is to be deported to Tunis; but it is thought that as soon as the galley is out of harbour, he will be thrown into the sea. He was a man who was filled to the full with vanity. This will be a lesson to others not to meddle in affairs of State. The cause of his fall was the discovery of certain letters which he had written to the Grand Chancellor of Poland.

The Capudan Pasha is dead. On his return from the arsenal he sat down to eat, but could not swallow the first mouthful. He took one cup of sherbert, and as he was drinking the second a severe pain in the head overtook him. He fell into a violent sweat and was put to bed, *where in half an hour his soul went to the Devil. Some think that he was poisoned the evening before when supping with the Grand Vizir, nevertheless* his physician affirms that death was caused by his excesses in his harem. *Instantly on his death Ferrat Pasha sent to seize all his money and jewels;*

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but it is certain that his wives had hidden most. All the same they found thirty-three thousand sequins; a casket of pearls stolen from a Portuguese ship, an emerald box. All was at once sent to the Grand Signor, universal heir in this country.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 15th July 1591.

[*Italian; the parts in italics deciphered.*]

July 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1076. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

His Majesty left this place yesterday at the head of all his cavalry, and went towards St. Denis. His designs are not known. Some say all this is intended to draw the Duke of Maine out of Rouen, which the King might then attack with the help of the English; others say he is drawing away towards Champagne and Loraine to meet the German troops.

From the Camp at Mantes, 18th July 1591.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

July 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1077. TOMASO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

As regards the Agent sent by the French League to Constantinople, I have been able to discover nothing except that it is said that money had been paid by this Crown in Marsailles to a Frenchman who was on his way to Pera.

Madrid, 19th July 1591.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

July 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1078. TOMASO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

M. de Lansac, who is considered a skilful officer, makes proposals chiefly to harass England and France if the King will give him a small fleet. He will leave his wife and children in Spain as hostages. Though he is admitted to the Council when such matters are under discussion, yet I am informed that not much attention is paid to him as he is held to be very talkative, not judicious, and variable in his opinion.

Madrid, 20th July 1591.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Aug. 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1079. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France to the DOGE and SENATE.

A gentleman has arrived from the Queen of England to assure the King that within six days four thousand infantry and six hundred horse will reach Dieppe. The King will then have a very large force, and he is so vigilant and active a Prince that everyone expects some important results.

Mantes, 1st August 1591.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

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Aug. 2. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1080. Giovanni Mocenigo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

At the siege of Noyon the garrison have made several sorties against the English and against the German horse.

Mantes, 2nd August 1591.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Aug. 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1081. Tomaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

I hear that the Queen of England has published an edict by which the vessels of all Christian Princes except your Serenity and the Grand Duke of Tuscany are to be treated as foes.

Madrid, 8th August 1591.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Aug. 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1082. Lorenzo Bernardo, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

Sinan Pasha, speaking of his removal from the post of Grand Vizir, said to the English dragoman these very words, that he knew that he had not fallen through any demerit on his part, but only because the Sovereign had allowed himself to be influenced by a whore, and this was a consolation to him; very bold words, quite in keeping with his bestial nature. All Christendom has cause to be thankful for this fall, as well as for the exile and probable death of the Jew, David Passi, though of this it is impossible to have any certain information just now.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 10th August 1591.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Aug. 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1083. Tomaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

To help them to meet their many requirements, the Ministers are anxiously awaiting the arrival of the West India fleet. It is so much behind its time that they fear that it must have received some injury from the English. They are lying in wait for it. It is true that the Catholic Armada left Ferrol, thirty sail in all, and was to go to the Azores; but as the English have pushed on beyond those islands, it is doubtful whether the Spanish will arrive in time at the point of danger.

Madrid, 16th August 1591.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Aug. 17. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1084. Tomaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

I am informed from Lisbon by Augustin Lombardini, who is acting as consul in the place of his brother, who is here at Court on business, that owing to the mischief wrought by English pirates in

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Portuguese waters it is proposed to lay an extra tax on all merchandise in order to arm and maintain certain guard ships.

Madrid, 17th August 1591.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 17. Original Letter Book, Marcian Library.

1085. Tomaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Chiefs of the Council of Ten.

After having had an audience of the King at the Escurial, I entered into conversation with a person who is very intimate with his Majesty and also frequents my house. He asked if I knew the reasons for the recall of Lippomano from Constantinople. I said that I only knew that your Serenity had sent a senator to represent you at the Porte.

After my return to Madrid, I received a letter from this same person. It contained a note saying that now he knew the cause of Lippomano's recall, which was that the Venetian Government was supporting the Ambassadors of England and Vendome (the King of Navarre) at the Porte, whereas Lippomano had done his duty by God and the King of Spain. I think I am bound to inform your Serenity of this, for the said person is not in the habit of talking about such matters unless he is repeating what the King has said or has told him to repeat. I have also been told by some of my friends that I would be shown certain letters and notes upon this subject written by Lippomano which, I am led to believe, will confirm all I wrote last year to the inquisitors.

Madrid, 17th August 1591.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Aug. 24. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1086. Tomaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The Lisbon galleys captured a galleon and two ships belonging to the English, with cargoes to the value of one hundred thousand crowns and forty persons of importance aboard. This will counterbalance in part the loss of a ship with three hundred thousand crowns' worth of silver which the English captured.

Madrid, 24th August 1591.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Aug. 24. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1087. Lorenzo Bernardo, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

These last few days a rumour has been spread that by means of the English Agent the Grand Signor has promised to confer the Principality of Bogdonia on one who professes to have the blood of the ancient princely family in his veins. This person will pass through Venice on his way from England.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 24th August 1591.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Aug. 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1088. Giovanni Mocenigo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

After fall of Noyon and the retreat of the Spanish into Flanders, which have clearly shown the weakness of the League and all its

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partizans, it is hoped that his Majesty will now besiege Paris or Rouen; Marshal Biron has returned with his troops for this purpose, and assistance from England is not wanting.

Chartres, 28th August 1591.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Aug. 31. Minutes of the Senate, Venetian Archives.

1089. To the QUEEN of ENGLAND.

Motion made to write as follows:—

We are well aware of your Majesty's benevolent feelings towards us. We write to beg you to issue an edict commanding that in all parts of your dominions no let nor hindrance shall be offered to our ships, neither in Portugal nor elsewhere; but that every assistance shall be given them. We promise the same to your subjects in all parts of our dominions.

Further, motion made to summon the Secretary to the Spanish Ambassador to the College and to inform him that in order to oblige his master we have written to the Queen of England for safe conduct for our flag.

——36——65——76——82.
——9.
——41——38——28——23.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 2. Minutes of the Senate, Venetian Archives.

1090. MOTION made to write as follows to the QUEEN of ENGLAND:—

We beg you in virtue of our ancient friendship and alliance to give orders that upon no pretext whatever are our ships which trade from Portugal to Venice with pepper, spices, &c. to be molested by any vessel under your orders.

And further that the Secretary to the Spanish Ambassador be informed of the above letter.

——55——75——81——81.
——4.
——14——27——22——21.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 2. Minutes of the Senate, Venetian Archives.

1091. MOTION made:—

That in order to gratify his Catholic Majesty upon the subject of the safety of the pepper ships, an Ambassador to the Queen of England be elected by ballot; the person elected may not decline to serve, under the penalties attached to such refusal. He must leave within eight days, and use all possible speed on his journey.

He is to receive two hundred golden ducats in gold per month, and of these he need present no account.

He shall receive three hundred ducats for his outfit, and his Secretary one hundred as usual.

——71——83——82——83.

[*Italian.*]

1591.
Sept. 2.
Minutes of the Senate, Venetian Archives.

1092. MOTION made as above.
——39.
[*Italian.*]

Sept. 5.
Minutes of the Senate, Venetian Archives.

1093. MOTION made to write to the Queen of England in same tenor as was proposed on 2nd September, and that the Secretary to the Spanish Ambassador be informed thereof.
——76——78.
——4.
——18——18.
[*Italian.*]

Sept. 5.
Minutes of the Senate, Venetian Archives.

1094. MOTION made to elect an Ambassador to go to England to treat with the Queen for the safety of the pepper ships and for the purchase of corn in England of which our State is in the greatest need. He shall receive two hundred ducats a month in gold and three hundred for outfit; and his Secretary one hundred as usual.
——95——97.
[*Italian.*]

Sept. 6.
Minutes of the Senate, Venetian Archives.

1095. MOTION made to write to the Queen of England in the same terms as were proposed on September 2nd and 5th, and that the Secretary to the Spanish Ambassador be informed thereof.
——78——91——95+98.
[*Italian.*]

Sept. 6.
Minutes of the Senate, Venetian Archives.

1096. MOTION made to elect an Ambassador to the Queen of England, in the same terms as the previous motions to that effect.
—— 63——68——69—— 67.
——2.
——49——32——27——25.
[*Italian.*]

Sept. 14.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1097. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

From England the Earl of Essex (Usses) has gone to Noyon. He is the Queen's great favourite, and has two hundred horse with him. He brings with him not merely assurances of the Queen's good-will towards the King but also a coach of great value and some fine horses. The English troops are all at Dieppe, waiting the King's orders. Public opinion holds that they will be employed to attack Rouen.

Chartres (Sciartres), 14th September 1591.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

1591.
Sept. 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1098. Giovanni Mocenigo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

I have informed your Serenity of the presence of four thousand English at Dieppe. It is thought that they will be employed on the siege of Rouen, to which the Queen is particularly inclined for reasons of her own. The King has sent an Agent to persuade the Queen to allow him to employ her troops wherever he likes. But on this point it is certain that the Queen will not gratify his Majesty completely: her Agent here points out that Rouen would be in every respect a more desirable undertaking than Paris. In both Rouen and Paris there reigns the greatest confusion, especially in Paris. This Council does not wish to publish the declarations made by the Parliaments of Tours, Caen, and Châlons against the Pontifical Bulls.

Chartres (Sciartres), 19th September 1591.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Sept. 20. Minutes of the Senate, Venetian Archives.

1099. Motion made to write to the Queen of England as follows:—

Our noble Giovanni Nani, relying on the ancient friendship and freedom of commerce between your subjects and ours, has sent a cargo of muscats to England; and we beg your Majesty's favour for the master of the ship; and above all that he may be allowed to invest the value of that cargo of muscats in so much grain for the needs of this city; for which courtesy we shall always be ready to return in kind.

+133——1 — 2.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 21. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1100. Lorenzo Bernardo, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

His Magnificence told me that as yet he had sent more than ten spies into Christendom; he wished to know if the Crown of France came to the King of Navarre by blood; what the relative forces of Navarre and Maine were; what size of fleet the King of Spain had when he attached England.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 21st September 1591.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Sept. 21. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1101. Lorenzo Bernardo, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

David Passi has come back from Rhodes. His face shows the terror he has gone through. I imagine, if he has any brains at all, he will leave affairs of State alone for the future. A renegade is going to France, with the answer to the King of Navarre, promising him a fleet for next year.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 21st September 1591.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

1591.
Sept. 21.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1102. Giovanni Mocenigo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

This war is weighing heavily on the nation and on private individuals, and there are rumours that a peace will be attempted, by means of many matrimonial alliances which should bring together the members of the opposite parties. Nor will this prove difficult, for everyone is tired of seeing their substance, their houses, their honour in the hands of strangers. And if money stops from Spain, as it probably will, for the King of Spain must attend to his defences against the Turk, then the Princes of the League will be the first to arrange an accord.

Chartres (Sciartres), 21st September 1591.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Sept. 22.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1103. Tomaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

Persons have arrived here from Brittany to ask for powder, pikes, corslets on behalf of the Duke of Mercure. Their demands have been referred to the Council of War, which has replied that there is no possibility of supplying them with weapons from Spain, but that a certain quantity of ammunition will be sent to them. These people say that in Brittany the opposing forces are so equal that when drawn up face to face neither ventured to engage.

It seems that they intend to give to M. de Lansac some ships and galleys, with Spanish captains, however, to allow him to carry out a proposal he has made to seize a port for his Majesty on the seaboard of France.

Madrid, 22nd September 1591.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Sept. 22.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1104. Tomaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

News from Lisbon that the ship "Stella," which left that port for Gibraltar, engaged two English ships off Cape St. Vincent, and seriously damaged the enemy. She suffered some damage herself and put into Cadiz. The East India fleet is so much behind time that it is conjectured either that it never sailed or else is lost. For this reason the price of goods has gone up.

The head of the English Buccaneers has been reinforced by some of the Queen's ships, and sought to engage the Catholic Armada which had put out from Ferrol to go to the Azores.

Madrid, 22nd September 1591.

[*Italian.*]

1591. Sept. 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1105. Giovanni Mocenigo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Nothing certain can be known as yet as to his Majesty's designs. I shall be better able to inform your Serenity when I see what the King does with his English and French forces.

Chartres (Sciartres), 28th September 1591.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Oct. 2. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1106. Giovanni Mocenigo, Venetian Ambassador in France to the Doge and Senate.

As his Majesty had news from Flanders that the Spanish were ready to enter France he called up the German horse, and it is thought certain that the King, at the head of one thousand five hundred men, has effected a junction with the Germans, who number six thousand horse and eight thousand foot, in Champagne. The Marshal d'Umon is to join this army with three thousand Swiss, and a large contingent of French horse and foot, while the King will summon the English under Marshal de Biron, from Normandy.

Chartres, 2nd October 1591.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Oct. 5. Minute of the Senate, Venetian Archives.

1107. Motion made to write to the Queen of England begging protection for the galleon "Patti," and for all other ships which go to England for corn.

——94——0 ——5.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 5. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1108. Lorenzo Bernardo, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

The answer to Navarre has not been sent off yet. I hear that the English Ambassador is to have a conference one of these days, in the Grand Vizir's house, to discuss the size and the place of muster for the fleet, as well as its object when it has put to sea. I do not believe that anything will actually be carried out.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 5th October 1591.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Oct. 5. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1109. Lorenzo Bernardo, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

I have procured a copy of the letter written by the King of Navarre to the Sultan and to the Grand Vizir.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 5th October 1591.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Oct. 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1110. Giovanni Mocenigo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

As news has been received that the Duke of Parma is withdrawing his troops from the French frontier, either to oppose Duke

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Maurice or to support the Duke of Lorraine, and the Papal army. Marshal de Biron has not moved from Normandy, where he is able to receive munitions from England and Holland.

Chartres (*Sciartres*), 16th October 1591.

[*Italian ; deciphered.*]

Oct. 17. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1111. Lorenzo Bernardo, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

The Grand Vizir asked me if it was true that the Grand Duke of Tuscany has sent a fleet in support of Navarre. I replied that I knew nothing about it, but that the Ambassadors of France and England probably were better informed. He laughed and said, "*This English Ambassador says many things to which one can give but little credence, and I could wish that he did his business as Ambassador better.*"

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 17th October 1591.

[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Oct. 17. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1112. Giovanni Mocenigo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

When the English, under the Marshal de Biron, had joined the King's troops, they laid siege to Gournay (Gorneone). After five shots of artillery the besieged demanded a parliament; and without much discussion they came to terms. The leaders and the rebels in the city were to remain at the discretion of the Marshal; the troops were to march out with a stick in hand. The army then proceeded to besiege Caudebec (Codebut), a town on the river, the fall of which would prevent relief reaching Rouen from the sea. As there is no garrison in the town the Marshal expects the keys to be sent to him. Honfleur (Onepleur) will offer no resistance, and thus Rouen will be cut off on all sides. It is generally hoped that Rouen will soon be in the King's hands, and the Queen of England's determination is recognised in these operations of war.

Chartres (Sciartres), 17th October 1591.

[*Italian ; deciphered.*]

Oct. 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1113. Tomaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The members of the French League have informed his Majesty that unless they receive such support during this year as will enable them to put an end to the war, or at least to better their position, they will be forced to come to terms with the King of Navarre. They have made their resolution quite clear. This has had the effect of causing the Ministers to repeat to the Duke of Parma the previous orders to march into France with his army. The Nuncio does all he can to hasten on the preparations, which, after all, move very slowly.

The Duke of Joyeuse has informed his Majesty that the German and Spanish infantry in France are not sufficient to permit of

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any active operations being undertaken, nor yet so insignificant but that they cause great mischief to the country. For in lack of their pay they go plundering.

From Lisbon we hear, by a vessel from Havana, that the West India fleet sailed on July 27th. It numbered sixty sail, with merchandise. The gold and silver was left behind to be brought by a subsequent convoy of lighter vessels, which, keeping a different latitude, are wont to come more safely to Spain. The English *are cruising in those seas, where they have captured two ships, one with two hundred thousand crowns on board, the other with various merchandise of great value. Besides these two they have also captured seven others of less importance.*

Madrid, 19th October 1591.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Oct. 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1114. Tomaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

News from Seville, conveyed by one of the India fleet from Havana, that in a great storm some ships have gone to the bottom. At night the fleet was attacked by the English; an engagement followed. The English flagship was captured, and many of her crew slain, as you will see from the enclosed.

Madrid, 20th October 1591.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

1115. Deposition of Juan Lopez, master of the ship "Buon Jesù."

Off Florida twenty-eight sail of the English fleet appeared towards evening. They engaged, and the "St. Filippo," of the Biscayan squadron, attacked the English flagship and slew three hundred men, taking two hundred alive. The ship was brought to the Azores.

The English flagship, before she was captured, had sunk our flagship and the galleon "Ascension," of the Andalusian squadron, only twenty-six men at most being saved. Two other Englishmen went to the bottom, and the rest fled in confusion.

The fleet reached the Azores, and left them in a storm of north wind. Deponent, when off Cape St. Vincent, sighted two Englishmen of one hundred and fifty tons. He followed them all day long, and towards evening he beat up to windward, and made the port of San Lucar.

Asked if our fleet received any other damage from the English he replied that he was not aware of any further damage inflicted by the English. The prisoners declare that off Cape St. Vincent is another English squadron of twenty-eight sail lying in wait for the fleet.

[*Spanish.*]

1591.
Oct. 28.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1116. TOMASO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Don Juan d'Aquila, who is commander of the Spanish troops in Brittany, announces that the affairs of the League are progressing favourably, and that the Spanish are always making their position surer and surer.

Madrid, 28th October 1591.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Nov. 8.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1117. TOMASO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The West Indian fleet, after the loss it suffered in a storm, effected a junction with the Royal fleet sent out to meet it. Both were again attacked by a fierce storm in which some vessels of each fleet went to the bottom. The loss is serious, for the flagship is among those that foundered, and she was very rich.

The fleet has reached Lisbon, part of it, and part of it Seville. Although it is forbidden, under severe penalties, to talk of the loss yet I hear that thirty-one merchantmen and three men-of-war are missing; add to these the nine which the English have captured from time to time, and the total reaches the sum of forty-three.

The reason why this journey, which used to be quite safe and easy, is now so difficult is because the fleets set sail too late.

The people of Seville, in order to secure the fleet from the attacks of the English, have offered to his Majesty four hundred thousand crowns to allow him to fit out enough galleons to obtain that end; and they promise an annual contribution besides. *But they will not allow the money to be handled by the servants of the Crown who are wont to convert it to their own use without any regard for the public service.*

The English who were cruising off the Azores have gone home. The squadron which was cruising near Havana is thought to be waiting for the gold and silver.

Madrid, 8th November 1591.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Nov. 8.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1118. TOMASO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King is continually in want of money to meet the many and great expenses which he has. The delay and uncertainty in the arrival of the ships which ought to bring the silver from the Indies makes it difficult to raise this money. The expedients which they adopt are, first, to borrow money from private persons, and, secondly, to do all they can to exact the eight millions which were voted by the Cortes.

Madrid, 8th November 1591.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

1591. Nov. 13. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1119. Tomaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

I have received your orders to make representations in favour of the ship "Nana," which is to go to England to fetch grain to Venice. I shall not fail to seize the first favourable opportunity, but as grain is included in the general patent under which Venetians trade there should be no difficulty.

Madrid, 13th November 1591.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1120. Lorenzo Bernardo, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

The letters for Navarre and the Queen of England have not been sent off yet, and they now begin to say that it will all end in words and promises. If the letters are sent I will take care to procure a copy, which I will forward.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 16th November 1591.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Nov. 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1121. Giovanni Mocenigo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The King has returned to Normandy. Caudebec has fallen to the Marshal de Biron, who has been continually reinforced from England and Holland.

Chartres (*Sciartres*), 16th November 1591.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Nov. 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1122. Tomaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

I have received your Serenity's despatches of the 28th September, with orders to obtain from his Majesty and his Ministers immunity for the grain ships.

Madrid, 18th November 1591.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1123. Giovanni Mocenigo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

His Majesty set out for Noyon, but no sooner had he left than the German troops mutinied. The King resolved to surround them in their camp, and if they refused to listen to reason, he intended to cut them to bits. The hopes of the King's party are based partly on France but more on England, and on the promises of Count Maurice to prevent the Duke of Parma from coming into France. The Queen of England is quite aware that Villars, who holds Havre-de-Grace as well as Rouen, is in the pay of Spain; and this makes her anxious lest the King of Spain may some day use them as the basis of operations against England.

Chartres (*Sciartres*), 18th November 1591.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

1591.
Nov. 19. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1124. Giovanni Dolfin, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the Doge and Senate.

From the first of this month the Count of Nassau has been in Nymegen to summons a meeting of the States. The citizens have agreed to pay one hundred thousand florins, and to exhume the body of Martin Schenck, of Bleibach, from the place where it was ignominiously buried some years ago, when he was drowned at the siege of the city, and to bury it again with pomp and honour; and as a punishment for their errors they were obliged to follow the body of that famous captain bare-footed and bare-headed.

Prague, 19th November 1591.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1125. Giovanni Mocenigo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

His Majesty has moved his whole army to the attack on Rouen. He intends to open upon the town with forty pieces of artillery. It is thought that the King has some understanding with the besieged, principally with the Governor de Villars. It is quite certain that his Majesty is moved more by the assistance of the Queen of England than by his own wishes.

Chartres (*Sciartres*), 20th November 1591.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Nov. 30. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1126. Giovanni Moro, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

The Pope declared that Navarre could not possibly be admitted, for there was danger of his repudiating his wife in order to have children; and even if he had none there was always the young Condè, whom many thought to be his son. For the wife of the elder Condè was held by her husband to be an adultress, and he only abstained from putting her to death because she was pregnant. She discovered this, and anticipated her husband by poisoning him. In this way the little Prince of Condè who is brought up by Navarre as his heir, would succeed him, and France would go the way of England.

Rome, 30th November 1591.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 30. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1127. Lorenzo Bernardo, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate.

The English Ambassador has presented a petition begging for the support of the Turkish fleet on behalf of Navarre. Your Serenity will see the nature of its contents from the enclosed. But its effect will be small, for the Sultan will only give promises and the Grand Vizir will not support it owing to his personal hatred for the English Ambassador, who by the help of the Queen has succeeded in settling the Bogdonians against the Pasha's wishes,

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The letters to the Queen of England are not sent out yet. When they are I will secure a copy.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 30th November 1591.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Dec. 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1128. Giovanni Mocenigo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The King began the siege of Rouen. The English were lodged in the suburb of Darental, the only suburb which was not burned by the defenders. They thought none of the enemy would venture to occupy it as it lay between the city and Fort St. Catherine. The garrison made many sorties against the English, who were thrice driven out of their cantonments and thrice most bravely recovered them. They are now running a trench to stop any assault from Fort St. Catherine; and a battery is to be built for the English.

Chartres (*Sciartres*), 1st December 1591.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Dec. 2. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1129. Giovanni Mocenigo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

At present there are no signs of preparation by the League for the relief of Rouen. All the troops that look for some benefit from the war are now engaged in the siege, for it is a general expectation that the city will be given over to a sack, if it holds out till assaulted; and the King will be powerless to prevent this, for the English and German troops will refuse to obey. The Duke of Lorraine is held in check by the Duke of Bouillon and the Duke of Parma by Count Maurice. Letters from the King of Spain have been intercepted; from these it is clear that his Catholic Majesty is resolved to send the Duke of Parma into France to succour Paris or Rouen.

Chartres (*Sciartres*), 2nd December 1591.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Dec. 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1130. Giovanni Moro, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Doge and Senate.

The Pope said that he had news that the English troops, which were with the King of Navarre, had been forced to retire hurriedly on account of the death of the Queen.

Rome, 7th December 1591.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1131. Tomaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The Marquis of Seralva is to be given some high command. He is greatly esteemed as a soldier, having fought in Flanders and having defended Corunna against the siege of the English.

Madrid, 7th December 1591.

[*Italian.*]

1591.
Dec. 14.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1132. LORENZO BERNARDO, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I have just learned from a safe quarter that the English Agent has been this morning for a long time with the Capudan Pasha, with a view to inducing him to oppose Spanish negotiations here. I am assured that the Agent found the Capudan very well disposed; and he went at once to the Sultan's secretary, the same as upset the negotiations for a truce once before, after the truce had been concluded and signed; at the time of Siavus Pasha. I have also learned that the present Grand Vizir has declared that even should an Ambassador from Spain come to the Porte, still the truce will not be concluded, as the Turks are quite aware that this is merely a Spanish ruse; for once before during the continuance of a truce Spain took the occasion to seize Portugal, and this time France is their object. But this will never happen, for although the advent of a Spanish Ambassador would be very pleasing to the Sultan whose Porte is open to all comers, and whose dignity is enhanced when the greatest Princes of the world send to humbly beg for peace, still a truce will only be granted on conditions which suit the Turk, whose intentions are very different from those of the King of Spain. The arrival of a Spanish Ambassador will merely serve to enrich the grandees of the Porte. The arrival of Ferrari has caused the . . . to delay writing to Elizabeth and Navarre who had received the promise of large assistance from the Sultan. And as a matter of fact the reply to England and Navarre will depend upon the result of the negotiations with Spain.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 14th December 1591.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Dec. 20.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1133. LORENZO BERNARDO, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

With the occasion of Giovanni Stefano, Ferrari's departure for Ragusa I send to your Serenity the duplicates of my preceding despatches, which were sent by ordinary post, but may be delayed owing to snow and bad roads, and Ferrari will travel quicker as he starts from Olacco together with Chavasses who are sent to meet Count Ruggiero Marigliani and to accompany him to this Porte. *Of his business I will advise your Serenity later on; this is neither the time nor the opportunity.*

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 20th December 1591.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Dec. 27.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1134. LORENZO BERNARDO, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Giovanni Stefano Ferrari has left for Ragusa, where he is to join the Spanish Agent, whom the Turks style Ambassador, and to accompany him to the Porte. In spite of the lively opposition of the English Agent, who, in speech and in a memorial presented to the Sultan, has raised violent objection, and notwithstanding that the majority of the Pashas are unfavourable to the reception

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of this Agent, still, with the support of the Grand Vizir alone, who has been bribed with gifts, or more likely by promises made by Ferrari, or who desires to vent his hatred of Cigala, the Capudan Pasha, who is afraid lest the conclusion of a truce will prevent the fleet from putting out to sea, the Spaniard will be received. The Capudan is in continual consultation with the English Agent and with the Mufti, also with Mehemet Pasha, and with the Secretary to the Grand Signor, all of them studying the way to traverse these negotiations. The English Agent makes use of the influence which the Sultana has over the Grand Vizir; the Mufti opposes the truce on religious grounds; Mehemet Pasha uses his age and his experience, as he is the last representative of the school of Sultan Suleiman, and enjoys the highest reputation for prudence and wisdom in council; the Capudan exerts all his influence to dissuade the Sultan from this course upon grounds of State policy. The Nisangi, who was intimate councillor to the Sultan, acts with these, and each and all declare that Spain is using all her subtlety to protect herself against the power of this Grand Signor, with the object of finding herself freer to harass France and England precisely as she did in the case of Portugal, whose example ought to suffice to exclude all question of a truce. They urge that it does not comport with the honour of the Sultan to abandon the Queen of England now, when she, for so many years, has fought single handed against Spain, to the great benefit and security of the Turks, who were at that time occupied in the Persian war (che non è dignità di questo Re abbandonar hora la Regina d'Inghilterra la quale per tanti anni ancora ha guerreggiato sola contra Spagna, con tanto beneficio et sicurtà di questo Signor); during all this period she was never assisted nor favoured by the fleet that had been so often promised her, and now she would be left exposed to the great power of Spain, whose sole object is aggrandisement.

All reasons of State urge the reduction of the power of Spain. And if these ancient and faithful allies (England and France) are abandoned by the Porte no Prince will be able to repose any more confidence in this Crown. In short, that this Embassy cannot be received with dignity, considering that its real object is to spy out the naval preparations which are in progress, and to lull to sleep the forces of the Sultan which have been so often promised in support of France and England that it would be unreasonable to refuse them now.

These and other arguments are adopted to prevent the Sultan from receiving the Ambassador. Others, however, make use of the opportunity to extract presents from the Agent of England; others, again, do the same by Spain; and, finally, some hope to overthrow the Grand Vizir in the course of these negotiations by convincing the Sultan that the reception of the Spanish Agent is prejudicial to his dignity. The Secretary of Sinan Pasha, now in disgrace, is often in council with the anti-Spanish party. Sinan hopes that as he had much to do with the preparations for the fleet last year the Sultan may give him the supreme command, and this would be a great pledge for his restoration to his former position

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of Grand Vizir. The present Grand Vizir greatly dreads this result, and is altogether favourable to peace, partly because he hates the Capudan Pasha, partly from his dislike of the English Agent, who, through the Sultana, was able to override his authority. The Vizir represents to the Sultan how great is the dignity of the Porte when the mightiest Prince sends to beg for peace; she urges that the promises already given to Ferrari bind them to receive an Ambassador whenever the King of Spain sends one; that England and France were not fighting Spain in Turkish interests but in their own. Turkish interest was to allow both sides to consume themselves; that the King of Spain was ill and old; and that it was advisable to wait and see what changes his death brought about; finally, that it was undesirable for his Majesty to expend money and forces in other parts until it was certain what would take place in Persia.

The end of the matter is that the Sultan has allowed the Spanish Ambassador to come. The considerations of glory weighed much with him.

The English Agent has even gone so far as to attempt to persuade me to oppose the truce in the interests of the Republic; and Mehemet Pasha sent for my dragoman, and said, "What is the Bailo about? Doesn't he see that Spain means to conquer France, and then all Italy? God forgive the Sultan for believing in the naval power of Spain. She is always beaten. It is the Venetians who, by their naval victory (Lepanto), have given this reputation to Spain."

This English Agent, who fills this post with little prudence and less respect towards the Republic, sent to me the other day his confidant, Paulo Mariani. He is young and a merchant, with little knowledge of affairs, and is carried away by his passions.

Mariani told me that the Agent was extremely active in his opposition to the truce, and in the course of his operations he had discovered something of moment to the Republic, which was this, that the Grand Vizir, among the arguments which he employed to win over the Sultan, pointed out that if he signed the truce with Spain he would have his hands quite free, and all his troops fresh to demand from the Republic either the payment of tribute or the kingdom of Crete.

I, on hearing this diabolic invention, could not contain myself; I gave Mariani a sharp answer, and complained of the English Agent's conduct; I begged to inform him that by the grace of God the Republic was in good peace and understanding with Spain and with Turkey; and both were prepared to include the Republic in any treaty. The English Agent's suggestions were scandalous, and the Grand Vizir had cause to complain of his false and malignant machinations.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 27th December 1591.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

1591.
Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

1135. TRANSLATION of MEMORIAL presented by the ENGLISH AGENT to the GRAND SIGNOR.

Most mighty Cesar. It is well known to your Serenity that when you were at war with Persia, and in doubt lest the King of Spain by attacking your kingdom should divert you from your enterprise, you invited the Queen, our mistress, to move her arms against the King of Spain; and that she, though only a woman, ignoring the greatness of the King's power, did undertake a war on him for no other reason than because of her affection for your Serenity.

It is, therefore, only right that you should grant to my mistress that assistance which has been so often promised to her whenever your war with Persia was at an end. That war is now over, and I see no reason why you should not help my mistress; but no assistance is asked, only a pledge not to hamper her who has undertaken a war on your behalf alone.

Often has your Serenity written to my mistress promising to be friend of her friends and foe to her foes, but now it seems that the contrary is to be the case. For the King of Spain has sent an Ambassador to the Porte, and the Ambassador has sent on an Agent to precede him. He made presents to the Grand Vizir, who replied, "Let the Ambassador come; I will secure a peace for him."

I know not whether this be by order of your Serenity, but when my mistress has undertaken a war on the King of Spain, and you have many times promised her help, how can you now refuse your friendship, and conclude an alliance with the King of Spain; I leave this to the judgment of the Almighty God, the just judge, to judge between your Serenity and my Queen.

Last year your Serenity wrote to my mistress urging her to prepare a fleet against Spain, and promising on your part an Armada.

The King of Spain, hearing the rumour of these preparations, sent an Ambassador to ask for peace, and, as fame reports, you have promised him peace. The King has over and over again sent his Ambassadors to my mistress to ask for peace; but she, a poor woman, out of regard for you, never would consent to grant his request, and has driven the Ambassadors with ignominy from her kingdom. It is not fitting, therefore, that you, the most mighty Prince in the world, should abandon my mistress and make friends with the King of Spain, who, eleven or twelve years ago, on the opportunity of a truce with you, seized the kingdom of Portugal, and now desires a truce again for no other reason than to occupy France, which he has always coveted ever since the death of the murdered King. My mistress hitherto has prevented him; and he, hearing rumour of your preparations, sends to beg peace, especially as there is a severe famine in Spain.

If your Serenity will send out your fleet you cannot fail to capture the larger part of his possessions.

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I beg your Serenity for an early answer as to your decision, so that I may inform my mistress, and she may cease to arm in case you intend to grant a peace to Spain; but in case you do not she will continue her preparations for war as she has done for the last seven years.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

1136. ANSWER of the GRAND VIZIR to the COUNT RUGGIERO MARIGLIANI.

To the honoured among the Lords of the Christian nation, to the esteemed among Princes of the nation Nazarene, the Ambassador of Spain; may his end be good.

From your man, Giovanni Stefano Ferrari, we have received your letter, from which we learn of your arrival in Ragusa, and have understood all he said to us. We have related everything at the foot of the throne of the happy Emperor, preserver of the world. The Emperor has been pleased to send a chavass, together with Giovanni Stefano, with orders that you should come to the Sublime Porte.

The first of the month Rabielnel, year one thousand from the transmigration of the Prophet.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1137. LORENZO BERNARDO, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

One of the chief difficulties experienced by Ferrari is in the form of the order for the arrival of Marigliani. Ferrari wished the form to be free, and to run thus, that Marigliani might come and go as he choose; the Grand Vizir would not consent to this and insisted that the order should merely state that Marigliani is free to come.

Ferrari was forced to be content with this, though many think that Marigliani may take this excuse for not coming any further, as Ferrari has already seen that there is no chance of an Armada being ready by next year, and that is enough at present for the service of the King; while he has encountered such difficulties owing to the machinations of the English and others, that the arrival of Marigliani may only prove a source of insults.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 27th December 1591.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Dec. 30. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1138. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Your Serenity knows how the King, with the support of the Queen of England and the States, embarked upon the siege of Rouen. His Majesty, with his wonted activity, constructed his

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trenches in a very few days, planted his artillery, and in a short time put an end to the sorties of the garrison. His Majesty ran some risk in his desire to set an example to the others, who are backward at attacking unless his Majesty exposes himself to danger.

The siege goes on continually, and the English, the Swiss, and a large body of sappers and miners, are chiefly employed.

Chartres (*Sciartres*), 30th December 1591.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

CROYDON PUBLIC LIBRARIES CENTRAL

APPENDIX.

1583.
May 17.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1. GIOVANNI FRANCESCO MORESINI, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On my arrival here I found, among the others in the service of your Serenity, a certain Giacomo de Merzé, a Perotte, your Consul in Palermo. I heard an excellent account of this man on all sides, and also that in case of need he would act as dragoman, being master of Turkish, Greek, and Italian. He is very poor, drawing a salary of not more than twenty ducats a year, because commerce is so reduced that the fees on the shipping in Palermo do not amount to more than that sum. When the English Ambassador arrived, this man, without saying a word to me, went and offered his services as dragoman, and made his bargain without renouncing his post as Consul, or even informing me of his action.

As I held a high opinion of his value I endeavoured to persuade him not to abandon the service of your Serenity, and added that he would soon receive a more important post than the one he now occupied, as both Mateca and Pasquale were so ill that they could not continue much longer in service. He absolutely denied having pledged himself to the Ambassador, but he said that he had been offered fifteen thousand aspers and four suits a year. He declared that he had declined this offer, and certainly would not accept it now that he was assured of my good offices. With this he left me. All the same I have learned that he went straight to the English Ambassador's house where the suits were cut for him.

The following day, deeming it advisable to make a visit of ceremony to the said Ambassador, who has kissed hands, I left my house with all my suite. I sent Pasquale, the dragoman, who was on horseback, ahead of me to announce my coming. The Ambassador replied that his house was in such disorder that he could not receive me, and he bade Pasquale beg me to do him the favour not to arrive. Pasquale returned with this message, and found me about half way. I, thinking this answer might be dictated by modesty, sent Pasquale back to say that it mattered nothing that his house was not yet in order, for I knew well that when one is just arrived one cannot instantly have all one wishes, and that being so far on my road I desired to visit him in discharge of my duty. The Ambassador, however, persisted in his request that I would turn back. I did so, but scarcely had I got home, when he, recognising his mistake, sent three of his suite, and the said Giacomo de Merzé to act as dragoman, to offer me apologies, and to beg me not to take his conduct amiss, for both he and his house would always be at my service. I thanked his Lordship for this message, and assured him that I had desired to visit him merely to show the good-will which existed between your Serenity and the Queen.

With that the English left, and the Consul of Palermo remained behind. I asked him how his affair was going on, and whether he

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was settled yet. He began to vacillate; said he was poor; if he lost this opportunity he would be ruined; begged my leave to accept. I endeavoured once more to induce him to remain in your service, and promised that his needs would be considered at least in part, or that your permission would be granted to him to accept this offer, otherwise he might rest assured that he would never be employed again by your Serenity. He replied that he was not so far committed that he could not draw back, but he repeated his request that I would give him leave.

I said I would write, as I did not wish to give him permission on my own authority. He, though acting falsely, for he had already made his bargain, received the money and the suits,—pretended to be persuaded, and duly begged me to speak to the English Ambassador so that he might not take it amiss that he had to await a reply from Venice.

I believed his lies; and knowing that Rabi Salamon was an intimate of the Ambassador I begged him to do whatever seemed best fitted to preserve this fellow for your Serenity's service. He went to the Ambassador, and, as if of himself, he said that here it had never been the custom for one Ambassador to take away another Ambassador's servants; nay, if one dismissed a servant none of the rest would take him in unless begged to do so by his former master. The Ambassador replied that he had need of de Merzé, who had told him that he already had my permission. Rabi Salamon said that could not be the case; whereupon the Ambassador called de Merzé, who shamelessly denied having ever said anything except that he wished to leave your Serenity's service, and declared that he was at liberty to serve whom he pleased. After a long conversation the Ambassador sent his servant to beg me to write to your Serenity a request that you would grant him this man, whom he will not make use of till your answer arrives. I am sure, however, that they are already agreed among themselves; and a clear proof is that two days later the Consul came to the Chancery to renounce his office.

I have not thought fit to take any steps against him. I await your Serenity's orders. As a warning to others it would be advisable to deprive him in perpetuity of all offices in these parts. Pray you instruct me as to the answer I shall return to the English Ambassador.

He has been here this morning to apologise for what happened on the day I went to visit him; he throws all the blame on Pasquale, whom, he says, he did not understand.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 17th May 1583.

[*Italian.*]

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CORRIGENDA.

Page 17, line 18 and passim, *for* Vimioso *read* Vimiosa.
Page 21, line 15, *for* Maggelan *read* Magellan.
Page 26, line 16, *for* Dunkerque *read* Dunquerque.
Page 111, line 20 and passim, *for* Germiny *read* Germigny.
Page 124, lines 33, 35, *for* Gallicia *read* Galicia.
Page 128, line 28 and passim, *for* Capadun *read* Capudan.
Page 137, line 8, *for* 348 *read* 318.
Page 150, line 49, *for* positions *read* possessions.
Page 154, line 44, *for* hautiness *read* haughtiness.
Page 165, line 11 and passim, *for* Leva *read* Leyva.
Page 187, line 24, *for* Gowzaga *read* Gonzaga.
Page 192, line 46, *for* Court Marigliano *read* Count Marigliani.
Page 195, line 6, *after* Pantalara *read* (Pantellaria).
Page 253, line 11 and passim, *for* Champigny *read* Champagny.
Page 260, line 13, *for* the envoy that *read* that the envoy.
Page 328, line 13, *after* Gordano *read* (Gourdain).
Page 364, line 50 and passim, *for* Seralvo *read* Seralva.
Page 389, line 30, *for* 35 *read* 735.
Page 428, last line and passim, *for* Maine *read* Mayenne.
Page 450, line 8, *for* Feuntes *read* Fuentes.
Page 451, line 48, *for* Ainto *read* Pinto.
Page 452, line 2, *for* knows *read* know.
Page 512, line 36, *for* Nun *read* ruin.

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